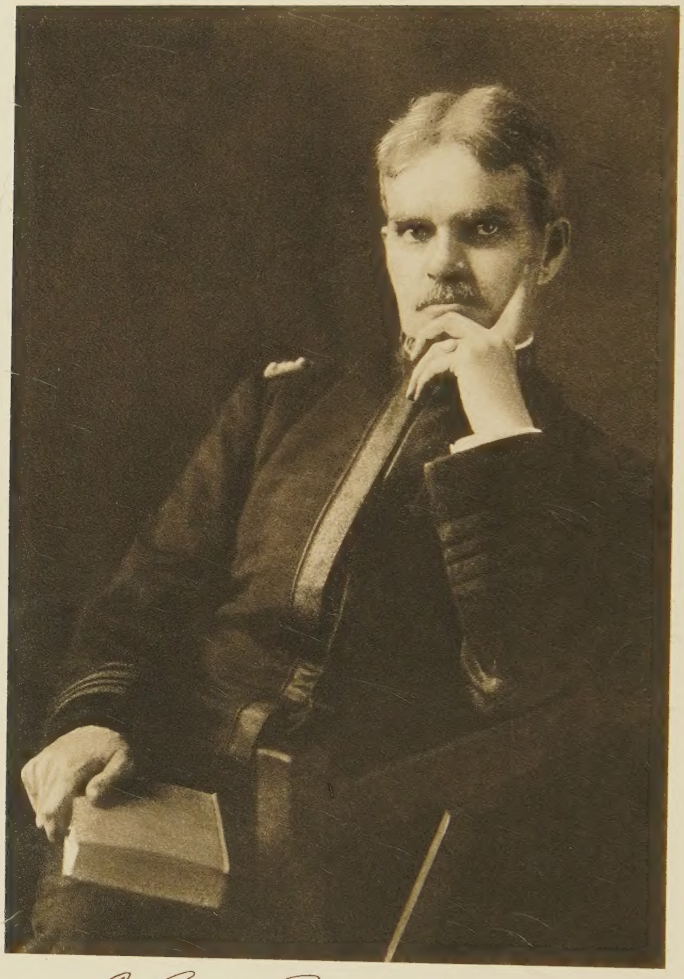
DAVID C. HALSTED

History of Martha's Vineyard

VOLUME I



Chas. E. Banks

THE HISTORY
OF
MARTHA'S VINEYARD
DUKES COUNTY
MASSACHUSETTS
IN THREE VOLUMES

VOLUME I
GENERAL HISTORY

BY
CHARLES EDWARD BANKS, M. D.
SURGEON, U. S. MARINE HOSPITAL SERVICE

BOSTON
PUBLISHED BY GEORGE H. DEAN
1911

Digitized by the Internet Archive
in 2026

https://archive.org/details/historyofmarthas0001unse

PREFACE

The following pages represent the net results of twenty years of constant accumulation of material which I have collected to illustrate the history of the Island of Martha's Vineyard and its dependencies, although it need not be said that all of that time was actually employed in this task. Official duties have been a constant obstacle to its rapid fulfillment, and the prosecution of the work has been followed, at times under the most discouraging circumstances. Since it was begun, in 1890, when I first became interested in, and connected with, the Vineyard, I have not had the advantages of a continued residence on the Island, beyond a few weeks at a time, and have served at six different posts elsewhere in the meanwhile. This has entailed the transportation of my manuscript material, arranged in half a hundred volumes, over the entire eastern half of the country from time to time, and it can be said, with truth, that this history has been written in Maine, Canada, New York, Washington, Illinois, Florida, besides in our own Commonwealth, under conditions not favorable for systematic or continuous work. Being thus away from my "base of supplies," much of the time has been consumed in necessary correspondence connected with the records, in verification of data obtained therefrom, and the numerous other incidental processes following this situation, all tending to lengthen the period required for its completion.

These materials have been gathered from National, State and local archives, in England and America. The principal sources in England are the Public Record Office and the Prerogative Court of Canterbury, both of which I visited, together with some local depositaries examined by me in search of special information. In our own country the State Archives of New York and Massachusetts have yielded the greatest stores of original material, much of which has never before been published. The county archives at Edgartown have been the foundation of this history as far as persons and estates were involved, while the secular and church records of the several towns afford material for the construction of a narrative of these distinctive communities, as integral parts of

the whole. In addition to this there is in the Library of Congress, at Washington, a considerable collection of valuable original papers, of the date of the first quarter of the 18th century, consisting of documents, and drafts of legal instruments prepared by James and Jabez Athearn in their capacities as officials and attorneys. These I have consulted and will refer to as the "Athearn Mss." in my notes. In addition to these public depositaries I have had the benefit of numerous private papers held by families or collectors of ancient documents, particular reference to which must be made in the text.

Before making the customary acknowledgments of assistance given to the author in the furtherance of his work, grateful thanks should first be rendered to the "townsmen" of Edgartown, Tisbury, Chilmark, Oak Bluffs, and West Tisbury for their material aid in encouraging this undertaking, without which it might never have been placed before the people for whom it has been written.

I next owe to Mr. William J. Rotch of West Tisbury a special debt of gratitude for his constant and hearty aid, and valuable counsel in the development of the work. He has ever been ready with his time and pen to procure material for me, besides which I have profited by his long and intimate knowledge of the island, its people and its traditions, when in need of light on an obscure matter. His enthusiasm has kept me from discouragement when others failed me.

Mr. Beriah T. Hillman, as Register of Probate, has not only given me the usual facilities of his office, but has been a frequent contributor to my store of material, always responding to my requests for particular information. But for the special privileges cheerfully granted to me by Mr. Littleton C. Wimpenny, the Register of Deeds, much of my scant time for studying the records under his control would have been lost, and I refer to his courtesies with pleasure in acknowledging my appreciation of his kindnesses. The same may be said in connection with the Office of Clerk of Courts, where Mr. Samuel Kenniston afforded me every facility for examining the judicial records of the County.

Mrs. Fannie Deane, of Edgartown, has loaned to me several historical papers prepared by her father, and Miss Annie F. Mayhew has rendered me distinct service in many ways, too numerous to mention. To these names I add that of Hon. Howes Norris, who rendered me special aid in the history of his native town.

Preface

The town clerks of Edgartown, Tisbury and Chilmark have extended to me, or those acting for me, the privileges necessary for copying the records in their custody, but fortunately for my purposes the town records of Tisbury, and the vital records of Chilmark, Tisbury and Edgartown have been printed since I began my labors.

Mr. A. D. Hodges, Jr., of Boston, has been a valuable coadjutor in solving knotty genealogical problems, furnishing me with manuscript notes tending to their solution, at the evident expense of much time and labor, but "without money and without price." I hope he will find reward in the perusal of these pages to follow.

To Judge Wm. Wallace Tooker, of Sag Harbor, L. I., the Indian place-names of the Vineyard were submitted for the advantage of his authoritative knowledge of the Algonquian language, and he entered into the study of them with an interest which was continuous for several years. His deep learning and convincing logic in the rendition of these Amer-Indian terms will appear throughout the book, and our people owe him a debt of gratitude for the time he has spent, as a labor of love, in paraphrasing our place-names for the benefit of the present and future generations. It affords me pleasure to tender him thanks for his generous attention to our local aboriginal nomenclature, which now, for the first time, becomes a new inspiration to us.

In another place I shall consider the bibliography of this island, but it seems not out of place to refer to those who have gone before me in the same field. The late Richard L. Pease, of Edgartown, had in contemplation, as early as 1850, the preparation of a history of Martha's Vineyard, and for many years preceding his death, collected with the zeal of a true antiquary, everything of a manuscript nature which related to the island and its people. It was generally supposed that he was preparing such a work, but beyond writing occasional contributions for the local papers on genealogical subjects it is not known that he ever began the actual construction of a chapter of a general history. His collection of old historical manuscripts, which passed into the possession of his family after his death, was said by those who had seen it to be very valuable. It has recently been dispersed by the surviving heir of the estate. The genealogical portion of his papers, became the property of Prof. Alexander Graham Bell of Washington, D. C., who had become interested in the study of deaf-mutism

and its heredity on the island, and under his direction, Mrs. Annie F. Pratt, of Chelsea, Mass. (the widow of one of my old and highly esteemed professional friends, the late Dr. John F. Pratt), began the arrangement of this material for future publication. An enormous amount of work was done by her, in person, and by the aid of others, notably the late Miss Harriet Marshall Pease, here and elsewhere, in the preparation of the genealogies of the Vineyard families, and their descendants throughout the United States. The extent of the task, and the vast quantity of material obtained through the course of several years, apparently caused its abandonment for other lines of research. With great liberality, characteristic of the man, this mass of genealogies was placed at my entire disposal for use in the preparation of my work. It has only been possible to employ a part of it as there is enough to fill a dozen volumes of printed matter in the manuscripts which Professor Bell's assistants had accumulated.[1]

To Edward L. Smith, of Boston, I owe more than a formal statement in acknowledging his ever-valuable assistance extending over the last years of my labor. A stranger to me personally, he tendered his aid freely while I was stationed at a distant post, and I found him a skilful and zealous coadjutor in solving many difficult historical and genealogical problems. His readiness to assist me has been seemingly without a sense of weariness in a work that had no special interest to him, and it has continued to this writing. Since coming to a more convenient location in the North I have had the opportunity of making his acquaintance and now claim a personal friendship begun under the above circumstances.

Mr. William W. Neifert has also been a valued contributor to my store of material, and cordially responded to my frequent appeals for his aid while I was beyond the reach of libraries and records.

It was my fortune to have the co-operation of the late Harriet Marshall Pease, during the last year of her life, and I recall with satisfaction the days I spent with her in comparing my notes with her own in special lines. She freely opened up the manuscript treasures of her father's collection as well as her own and loaned me important papers for transcription. I regret that her decease has deprived me of the pleasure of

[1]About 1890 the late Leander Butler, a native of Tisbury and resident of Boston, announced that he was preparing a history of the island, but it is not known what progress, if any, he had made, before his death, which occurred soon after.

placing this finished work in her hands, a work that she anticipated as a devoted daughter of her native isle.

Dr. Walter H. Chapin of Springfield, Mr. John McIlvene of Northampton and Mr. Fred S. Ferrey of Pittsfield have been specially helpful to me in tracing Vineyard families who migrated to that section of Massachusetts.

For the indexes and some original drawings my thanks are due to Dr. M. M. Seiler, and the value of the work has been enhanced by this important portion of every historical and genealogical volume. The remainder of the original drawings were all done by the author specially for this history.

Among the many friends interested in this work, either from local or family reasons, I may record the names of Miss M. B. Fairbanks of Farmington, Maine, and Boston, an expert genealogist, who descends from Vineyard stock, and has always been ready to give me the benefit of her knowledge of those families who migrated to Maine; Mrs. Annie Daggett Lord of Franklin, Penn., a loyal daughter of the Vineyard, has helped me along the lines of island lore gathered from her forbears; while Mrs. Margaret N. Claghorn of Vineyard Haven has given me bountifully of her store of the local traditions of Eastville.

In the course of a decade and a half it is probable that some have aided me, whose names I do not now recall, but I have not intentionally omitted them in this recital, and must include them in a general expression of thanks to all who have in any way furthered my efforts to prepare a full and accurate history of the Vineyard. I should, however, be remiss if I failed to mention the aid and encouragement given to me by my daughters, who devoted many hours of their time to the mechanical drudgery of copying from printed authorities, or transcribing my field notes into permanent books of record.

While all the foregoing references allude to the contributory sources and responsibility for the literary material of which this book is the finished product, it is incumbent on the author to make a last expression of his acknowledgment to the one who has made its presentation to the public an assured fact — the publisher. Mr. George Hamilton Dean, a son of Martha's Vineyard, and a successful printer in Boston, has given his mercantile credit to the financing of the work as it passed through the press, and shares with the author the responsibility for it in its permanent dress. The durable paper, new and large type used in the text, and other mechanical

features, which only a skilful printer can obtain in artistic combination will be found in the pages that follow. If this is not apparent to those who consult this work nothing further that the author could say would help to such a conclusion.

The end is now reached, and the story ready for perusal. A work of this kind has in it the countless sources of error in dates, names, and events, and it would be folly for me to assert for it more than a reasonable freedom from mistakes. It may be that it is wanting in some materials here and there, now in private hands, but with a knowledge that this work was being prepared, criticisms for such omissions will not have good standing. I have been diligent in gleaning materials, but the last fact will never be found for many years to come.

CHAS. E. BANKS.

January 1, 1911.

TABLE OF CONTENTS

CHAPTER I. GENERAL AND STATISTICAL. PAGE

Situation and Area. Geology. Meteorological Conditions. Flora. Fauna. Population. 17–30

CHAPTER II. THE ABORIGINAL INHABITANTS.

Indian Name of the Vineyard. The Pokanauket Indians. Tribal Government. The Four Sachemships. Manners and Customs. Language. Myths and Traditions. Mythology. Weapons and Utensils. Population. 31–57

CHAPTER III. EARLY VOYAGES OF DISCOVERY.

Verrazano. Gosnold. Champlain. Block and Christiaensen. Smith. Dermer. Pilgrim Period. 58–72

CHAPTER IV. WHAT IS THE CORRECT NAME OF THE VINEYARD?

Documentary References. "Martin's." "Martha's." Cartography. 73–79

CHAPTER V. PURCHASE OF MARTHA'S VINEYARD BY MAYHEW.

Earl of Stirling. Sir Ferdinando Gorges. Mayhew's Associates. Date of Settlement by the Proprietors. . . . 80–88

CHAPTER VI. THE LEGENDARY SETTLEMENT BEFORE 1642.

The Pease Tradition. Alleged Landing of Pease, Vincent, Norton and Trapp. The Internal Evidence. The "Black Book" Incident. Character of the Tradition. Discrepancies in the Legend. Probable Sources of the Tradition . . 89–103

CHAPTER VII. THE ENGLISH FAMILY OF MAYHEW.

Early Records of Name. County Families. Pedigree of Mayhew of Dinton Co., Wilts. Parish Records of Tisbury Co., Wilts. Baptism of Thomas Mayhew. Will of Matthew Mayhew, his father. Barter Family. Thomas Mayhew in England 104–116

CHAPTER VIII. THOMAS MAYHEW IN MASSACHUSETTS.

Emigration. Representative of Matthew Cradock. Residence at Medford. Removal to Watertown. Financial Reverses. Purchases Martha's Vineyard. Removal to the Island. . 117–126

CHAPTER IX. THOMAS MAYHEW, JR.

Birth. Early Education. Removal to Vineyard. Personal Description of the Missionary. Family. 127–130

CHAPTER X. Independence of the Vineyard, 1642–1665.

The First Government. Mayhew in Sole Authority. The People Dissatisfied. The Province of Maine as Suzerain Authority. The King Confirms Gorges' Title. . . . 131–138

CHAPTER XI. Sale of the Islands to the Duke of York.

The Gorges Title Ignored. Organization of the Dukes Province. Col. Richard Nicolls. Francis Lovelace. Mayhew Ignores New Authority. 139–146

CHAPTER XII. The Conference at Fort James, 1671

Mayhew's Voyage to New York. Appointed Governor of the Vineyard for Life. Provisions for Local Government. Returns with the Charters for New Townships. 147–153

CHAPTER XIII. The "Dutch" Rebellion, 1673.

Mutinous Vineyarders. The Rebels Demand Mayhew's Abdication. They Appeal to Massachusetts. Massachusetts Declines to Interfere. Independent Government Started. Similar Conditions at Nantucket. 154–163

CHAPTER XIV. Restoration of Mayhew's Authority, 1674–1682.

Governor Andros Deals with the Rebels. Governor Mayhew Institutes Reprisals. Punishments Inflicted. Quiet Finally Restored. 164–171

CHAPTER XV. Administration of Matthew Mayhew, 1682–1692

Appointment as Chief Magistrate. Manor of "Martins" Vineyard Created. Matthew Mayhew, Lord of the Manor. Sale of Manor to Governor Dongan. Mayhew Family Nepotism. New Protestant Regime in New York. The Vineyard Annexed to Massachusetts. 172–181

CHAPTER XVI. The Vineyard and the Charter of 1692.

Mayhew Element Opposes the Change. Simon Athearn courts the New Authorities. Mayhew's Surrender to Massachusetts Authority. The Paper "War" between Phips and Fletcher. New York Officials Deny Legality of Change of Jurisdiction. 182–194

CHAPTER XVII. The Island Under Puritan Control.

Mayhew's Acquiescence Insincere. Final Acceptance of the New Order. Rivalry of Athearn and Mayhew for Political Supremacy. Taxation of the Vineyard Towns. . . . 195–204

CHAPTER XVIII. Political History of the Vineyard, 1700–1900.

New York Again Asserts her Claims. John Butler Arrested in New York. Micajah Mayhew Asserts his Lordship. The Stamp Act. Later History. County Representation at General Court. 205–212

Table of Contents

CHAPTER XIX. The Missionary Mayhews.

Thomas Mayhew, Jr. His Work Among the Indians. Contemporary Accounts. Death at Sea. "Place on the Wayside." Thomas Mayhew, Sr. His Long Services. Rev. John Cotton. Death of Governor Mayhew. John Mayhew. Experience Mayhew. Zachariah Mayhew. Frederick Baylies 212–257

CHAPTER XX. County of Dukes County.

Organization and Jurisdiction. Origin of Name. Early Judicial Affairs. Capital Trials. Attorneys. Shire Town. Early Court Houses. Campaign for Removal of Shire Town to Tisbury. New Court House at Tisbury. Later Court Houses. Edgartown Finally made Sole Shire Town. County Jail. Seal of the County. 258–293

CHAPTER XXI. Military History, 1645–1775.

The Colonial Wars. The Puritan Militia. King Philip's War. French and Indian Wars. The Louisburg Expedition. Crown Point Campaign. Muster Rolls of Vineyard Troops. The Siege of Quebec. Miscellaneous Service in Canadian Garrisons. Island Militia. 294–320

CHAPTER XXII. The Vineyard in the Revolution, 1774-1778.

Pre-Revolution Sentiment. The Vineyard Joins the Movement. County Congress Adopts Resolutions. Committees of Safety Formed. The Vineyard Prepares for the Struggle. Organization of the Sea Coast Defence Troops. Conservative Element Betrays Timidity. Re-enlistment of the Vineyard Companies. Muster Rolls. Martha's Vineyard and Nantucket Accused of Disloyalty. Petition for More Troops. Sea Coast Defence in 1776. Additional Troops Sent to the Island. Muster Rolls. 321–354

CHAPTER XXIII. The Vineyard Abandoned to Neutrality.

Sea Coast Defence Abolished. One Company Retained at Vineyard. The Vineyard Left to its Own Devices. Abandonment of the Island Considered. The Island Reduced to a Neutral Zone 355–366

CHAPTER XXIV. Grey's Raid.

Commander of the Expedition. Staff and Regimental Officers. The Fleet at Homes Hole. The Foraging Begins. Militia Officers Arrested for Concealing Arms. Incidents of the Raid. Amount of Plunder Obtained. Grey's Reports. The Fleet Departs. 367–383

CHAPTER XXV. Long Campaign to Obtain Redress.

Action of the Three Towns. James Athearn Permitted to Visit the British General. Estimates of the Losses. Claimants at Edgartown. The British Commander Refuses Payment for

Cattle. Suffering of the People. Further Efforts to Obtain Redress. Beriah Norton Goes to England. Board of Inquiry Approves the Claim. War Ended. Colonel Norton Sticks to his Mission. Government of United States Refuses to Endorse Claim. Colonel Norton Again in England. . 384–403

CHAPTER XXVI. Naval History in the Revolution.

First Naval Engagement of War in Vineyard Sound. Capture of Transports "Harriot" and "Bedford." Capture of Transports "Annabella" and "Howe." List of Privateers. Loss of "General Arnold." Picaroons. Miscellaneous Incidents. The Liberty Pole. Martyrs in Prison Ships and Prisons . 404–415

CHAPTER XXVII. Military History, 1800–1900.

The War of 1812. Its Disastrous Effects on the Merchant Marine of the Vineyard. Mexican War. Civil War, 1861-1865. Quotas of Soldiers Furnished. Spanish–American War 416–429

CHAPTER XXVIII. Whale Fisheries.

First Known Vineyard Whalers. Growth of the Industry. Disastrous Effects of Revolution. Employment of Indians. Extension of Enterprise to Pacific Ocean. Hazards of the Occupation. Tragedies of the Sea. Burke's Tribute to our Whalers. 430–451

CHAPTER XXIX. Travel and Taverns.

Ferry, Packet and Steamboat. The Packet Service. The Steamboat Service. Steam Railroad. County Highways. Old Tavern Days. Telegraphs, Cable and Telephones. . 452–467

CHAPTER XXX. Life During Colonial Times.

The Family. Christenings. Primogeniture. Social Distinctions. Divorces. Houses. Household Furnishings. Utensils. Literature. Paper and Writing. Colonial Visitors. Amusements. Tippling. Tobacco. Beating the Bounds. Computation of Time. Agriculture. Domestic Animals. Ear Marks. Currency. Practice of Medicine. Diseases. Small Pox. Burials. Division of Estates. Memorials of the Dead. Obituary Poetry. 468–504

APPENDIX

Judicial Officers 507
Representations to the General Court 509
Militia Lists, 1757 513
Army 518
Naval Service 524
Indexes 529

ILLUSTRATIONS

		PAGE
Portrait of Author. (*Frontispiece*)		
Old Cedars at West Chop		30
Map of Vineyard with Indian Place-Names	*Facing*	40
Stone Implement		57
Arms of Gosnold		72
Earliest Map of Martha's Vineyard		78
Marginal Text—"Brereton's Relation," 1602		79
The Earl of Stirling	*Facing*	80
Map of Martha's Vineyard, 1624		84
Arms of Sir Ferdinando Gorges		88
Arms of Lord Stirling		103
Church of S. John the Baptist, Tisbury, Eng.		107
Facsimile Baptismal Record of Thomas Mayhew		108
Font in Church, Tisbury, England		116
Signature of Thomas Mayhew		117
Cradock House, Medford, Mass.		126
Arms of Mayhew of Dinton		130
Duke of York	*Facing*	139
Fort James, New York, 1671		146
Provincial House, New York		147
Signature of Francis Lovelace		153
Seal of the Duke of York		163
Seal of Governor Mayhew		171
Title Page.—"Massachusetts Psalter"	*Facing*	250
Rev. Frederick Baylies	"	256
Seal of Martha's Vineyard, 1655		293
Signature of Zaccheus Mayhew		320
Sir Charles Grey	*Facing*	370
Col. Alexander Leslie	"	376
Relics of Grey's Raid		383
Map of Martha's Vineyard, 1784	*Facing*	396
Signature of Beriah Norton		403
Major-General William J. Worth, U. S. A.	*Facing*	425
Souvenirs of Foreign Wars		429
Whalers at Edgartown Wharf		439
Harpooning the "Right" Whale		451
Strs. "Eagle," "Hamilton" and "Telegraph"	*Facing*	456
Str. "Monohansett"	*Facing*	458
Claghorn Tavern Sign		463
Our Earliest Ferry		467
Title Page.—"Conquests and Triumphs of Grace"	*Facing*	478
Gravestone of Rev. John Mayhew		504

History of Martha's Vineyard

CHAPTER I.

General and Statistical.

SITUATION AND AREA.

The island of Martha's Vineyard, situated five miles from the mainland, south of the "Heel of the Cape," lies between 70° 27′ 24″ (Cape Poge light) and 70° 50′ (Gay Head light) west longitude, and between 41° 18′ 04″ and 41° 28′ 50″ (West Chop light) north latitude. Its longest measurement east and west is about nineteen and one-fourth miles, and its greatest width from north to south is nine and three-eighths miles, in which is comprised about one hundred square miles, or about sixty-four thousand acres of land. With the Elizabeth Islands (Gosnold) and Noman's Land it constitutes the county of Dukes County, the last two having about seven thousand acres of superficial area, making a total of about seventy-one thousand acres of actual extent in the entire county.[1]

GEOLOGY.

Geologically considered, these islands are glacial moraines, and they form a part of that fringe of low land mainly composed of glacial drift, which extends from New York to Cape Cod.[2]

[1]Dukes County, including Gosnold, according to our State Census, the only one giving opportunity for comparison, contains 33,645 acres of farming lands, in 371 farms; having 4,893 acres of cultivated land, appraised at $30.12 per acre; 18,000 acres of pasture or unimproved land at $9.34; 9,200 acres of woodland at $12.42, and 1,858 acres of unimprovable at $1.43 per acre. (Report of Mass. Board of Agriculture, 1883.)

[2]The geology of this region has been made the subject of extended study by Prof. Nathaniel Southgate Shaler, of North Tisbury, and the results are published by the U. S. Geological Survey. From this report the statements which follow have been extracted in brief, and all credit therefore is due to our distinguished citizen, and not to the author of this book, who claims no special knowledge in geology.

The eastern part of this littoral fringe consists of a double belt, the outer line composed of Noman's Land, Martha's Vineyard, Muskeget, Tuckernuck, and Nantucket, and the inner of the Elizabeth Isles and Cape Cod. The triangular contour of the Vineyard as we now know it is of post-glacial growth, as the large "ponds" now known as Sengekontacket, Lagoon, Tashmoo, Menemsha, and the many on the south side of the island, were once open bays or inlets, which have been closed in by the action of the sea through the formation of walled sand beaches, a fact particularly evident on the south shore. The narrow gut which divides Chappaquiddick is not always a constant condition, as it has been closed at its lower opening within the memory of the living. It is probable that Chappaquiddick was once a part of the Vineyard, and the name given to it by the natives—"the Separated Island"—may indicate that in their traditional knowledge the breach between the two was made by the action of the waves and storms. Nor are these the only changes of importance in the progress of the ages; for it is regarded as certain "that Martha's Vineyard has been connected with the mainland since the close of the glacial period. The animals and plants of the island are in no way peculiar. We can hardly believe," says our authority, "that several large-seeded plants and many of the land animals have found their way across the five miles of water which separates the Vineyard from the continent."[1]

The surface of the Vineyard is distinctly divided into three parts. On the north side, extending from West Chop to Gay Head, there is a belt of hills composed of sand, gravel and bowlders, averaging a mile and one-half in width, and rising in height from about fifty feet at its eastern extremity to three hundred and ten feet at Peaked and Prospect hills in Chilmark. South of this belt the surface passes suddenly into a plain on the eastern half of the island, gradually sloping to ten feet above the sea level at the shore. West of this is the Gay Head peninsula, where the district is again hilly, rising to an average height of about one hundred and fifty feet above the sea level. The external aspect of this island differs materially from Nantucket, although both are of the same geologic formation, the detritus of glacial floes, probably representing the extreme southern edge of the drift deposits. Nantucket is practically devoid of trees, while the greater part of the Vineyard is forest-clad, and in

[1]The channel of Vineyard Sound does not exceed seventy-five feet in depth.

earlier days undoubtedly had a much heavier growth than at present.[1]

The drift material of which this island is composed consists of four groups of glacial deposits:—ground moraines or till, left by melting of the ice sheet, frontal moraine deposits pushed before the glacier, kame (i. e. comb-like) deposits brought hither by sub-glacial streams, and terrace deposits formed by tidal action.[2] Of the first named the example is the Gay Head plateau, which rests on a bed of tertiary clay. The deposit averages about ten feet in depth, and is composed of sand, pebbles, and the pulverized granitic rocks from the mainland. The second group, or frontal moraine, is represented by the hills on the north shore between Tashmoo and Menemsha, which were pushed up by the face of the floe, and the surface is marked by the deposition of countless massive blocks of syenite, so numerous "that on the steeper parts of the hills the bare masses of angular fragments remind the observer of cyclopean masonry." The amount of detrital deposit in this belt is greater than any of a similar nature in New England.[3] None of these large blocks or bowlders are believed to have come from a greater distance than fifty miles, and the total deposit represents an erosion of about a thousand square miles.

The third named group, the kames, from a Scotch word signifying a comb, is represented by the drifts on the eastern shore of Lagoon pond, on Chappaquiddick and on the northeast shore of Tashmoo pond. They are composed of the usual detrital material in strata formed into plateaux having irregular depressions or valleys as a result of swift currents of sub-glacial streams cutting through them. The last, or terrace drift, composes the great "Ragged Plain" sloping southward with gentle undulations to the sea, a formation better shown on this island than in any other part of New England.

The source of all this deposit, from its character, is believed to have been the region between Newport and the head of Buzzard's Bay. The great bowlders of quartz, feldspar, and

[1]Prof. Shaler thinks it due to greater exposure to sea winds on Nantucket, and the browsing of young trees by sheep in open pastures on that island.

[2]There are no lenticular hills or "drumlins" on the island, and but one group of "Indian ridges" or warlike variety of the kames.

[3]Prof. Shaler estimates this at half a cubic mile, or a mass as large as Monadnock Mountain. He further estimates that the ice front remained at this point twelve to twenty-four thousand years. There is no trace of it in the sea south of the island.

hornblende, the largest of which contains about a hundred cubic feet, now to be seen on the Chilmark hills, are typical of the region indicated on the mainland. There are many other rare varieties of rock found in the Gay Head district, such as ilmenite, or titaniferous magnetic iron ore, which only occurs in a solitary circumscribed area in the town of Cumberland, R.I., the only known place in New England. A fragment weighing ten pounds was discovered near the western end of Squipnocket pond, actually imbedded in the drift deposit. Cretaceous rocks occur at two points; one south of Indian hill and east of a ruined building known as the "Wood school house," and the other on the eastern shore of Lagoon pond, both of very limited areas. The tertiary beds of the island are the most northern of all the known deposits of that age on the eastern versant of North America, but only a small portion of these beds is exposed to view, at Gay Head and the base of the Nashaquitsa cliffs.

Gay Head deserves special mention, as it is one of the most striking geologic phenomena on the Atlantic coast, and is a unique exhibition of Nature in one of her rococo moods. With its escarpment of over six thousand feet showing parti-colored sands and clays to the height of eighty feet, it well merits the name of "Gay," although its earliest name, given by Gosnold, was Dover Cliffs, in honor of the English seaport.[1] Divided into three portions, it faces north, west, and south-west, showing steep beds of extremely vivid clays of contrasting colors from dazzling white to the nearly pure black carbonaceous layers, and intermediate hues of red, brown, green, and yellow. The white sandbeds of powdered granitic rock are the most abundant element, and the next most conspicuous beds are those of red clay, probably pulverized sandstone like that of the Connecticut valley. The "greensand" so called, consisting of the brownish, yellowish, and greenish clays, are at the northern end of the cliffs, and in them are found numerous fossils, such as vertebræ of whales, sharks' teeth, crabs, many lignites, and some few specimens of fossil resin.[2] From this,

[1] It will be remembered that the Dover cliffs are a pure white. It seems proper to suggest here that this unique natural phenomenon at Gay Head should be made a public reservation, and thus save it from despoilment by commercial exploiters, who are denuding it, as they did the Palisades of the Hudson, of its wonderful natural attractions.

[2] In the Boston Journal of Natural History (1863) is a description of "The Fossil Crab of Gay Head." In the region of Cotamy bay there have been found a number of molluscan fossils, an oyster of exogyron aspect, a pecten of costata type,

Professor Shaler argues that the Gay Head was part of a delta of a great river, which he terms the Vineyard river.

The geology of the Elizabeth Islands and Noman's Land differs in no important particular from that of the Vineyard, being of the same general character.

The shore line of the Vineyard, particularly on its southern littoral, presenting an unobstructed and projecting front beyond the trend of the mainland to wave action, is undergoing gradual erosion. The late Professor Henry L. Whiting estimated the recedence on the south beach at about two hundred feet, at Nashaquitsa cliffs two hundred twenty feet, and at Chilmark pond, one hundred eighty feet in a period of forty years covering his work in the coast survey. In addition to this, what he terms the "overshot" into the ponds on that side represents encroachments greater than the effects of normal sea-dash, amounting to between five and six hundred feet in the Chilmark and Tisbury ponds.[1] In consequence of this, a group of small ponds connecting the Great Herring pond with Katama bay have been obliterated. This included the Crackatuxet pond of the first settlers. The tip end of Chappaquiddick on which the lighthouse now stands was once an island known early as Capawack and later as Natuck. It was doubtless connected by the great storm of 1722, which also closed an opening into Pocha pond.[2] The whole eastern fringe of Chappaquiddick was probably an outer bar of beach separated from the rest of the island. From analogy and historic references it can be inferred that Squipnocket pond was open to the sea on the south after the settlement by the whites. A document dated 1694 refers to the neck of land joining Gay Head to Chilmark, where the main road now runs, as "the place where the casks were rolled over out of one into the other pond when a shippe was left on the south side of the island."[3] The present drawbridge on the "Beach road" connecting Cottage City, spans an opening into Lagoon pond which was made about sixty years ago. The original opening was at the western end of the beach, adjoining Vineyard Haven, and the ferry to Woods Hole in early days found its harbor inside the opening. Similar phenomena have been

and about a dozen other allied varieties of the Lower Cretaceans. Post-glacial fossils have also been found at Gay Head, similar to those discovered at Sankaty Head, Nantucket.

[1]Letter dated September 15, 1886.

[2]Dukes Deeds, VI, 401. Testimony of Benjamin Norton.

[3]Ibid., I, 27.

observed at the south opening of Katama bay in very recent years, and the changes in that strip of beach due to sea-dash have been frequent and striking. The north side of the island has suffered less, but both East and West Chops have shown considerable erosion, and within the past decade the general government has fortified these two points by jetties and rip-rap to prevent further loss and the shoaling of Vineyard Haven harbor.

METEOROLOGICAL CONDITIONS.

The climate of the Vineyard is obviously an insular climate and therefore the temperature ranges are not as marked as on the mainland, due in a great measure to the mitigating effects of the ocean.

From official data of the weather bureau the annual mean maximum temperature is found to be 59.2°: and the annual mean minimum, 43.7°: thus making an annual mean of 51.4°. The records show that the hottest month in the history of the station at Vineyard Haven was July, 1894, with a mean of 73.4°: and the coldest month was January, 1893, with a mean of 24.9°. The minimum temperature rarely goes to zero—about once each season—and remains only a few hours at most. It does, however, go below 32° on an average of 86 times each year. The absolute minimum record is —7° on Jan. 29, 1888. The maximum reaches 90° about three times in each two years. The absolute maximum noted is 96° on July 29, 1892.

Light frosts occur generally during the first week of October, the earliest record being September 22. The average date of the first killing frost in autumn is October 25. The average date of the last killing frost in spring is April 18, and the date of the last killing frost known, is May 24.

The average precipitation of the seasons is: spring, 11.7 inches; summer, 9.9 inches; fall, 12.4 inches; winter, 11.1 inches; making an annual mean of 45.1 inches. The annual mean snowfall is 33 inches. Precipitation in measurable amounts occurs on 130 days of the year. The wettest month within the history of the station was September, 1888, with a total of 11.4 inches, and the dryest was the month of the same name in the year 1897, with a total of only 0.80 inch.

The prevailing winds are from the northwest during the colder months, and from the southwest during the remainder of the year. The average hourly velocity is 9.6 miles. The

average number of gales (40 miles or over) is eight per year. Dense fog prevails on thirty-five days of the year, hail on one day, thunderstorms on thirteen; the average number of clear days is 137, partly cloudy, 80, and cloudy, 148.[1]

The temperature of Martha's Vineyard is much more favorable than in most of the state, not varying much from that of Nantucket, where there are 230 days without frost, while the other parts of the state only enjoy from 140 to 160. The Vineyard, however, has some advantages over Nantucket in not receiving the sharp northeast winds which sometimes sweep down around Cape Cod but hardly ever touch this island. It is a noticeable fact that while the mean summer temperature of the water in Massachusetts bay is 52°, in Buzzard's bay on the south and in the Sound it is 72°. The influence of the Gulf Stream seems to be very perceptible on the south shore; a number of times within the past thirty years the island has been visited by the golden mullet, a very delicate fish of the South, and never known to be north of the Carolinas. Some years ago a true pelican was shot in one of the salt ponds opening into the sea.

Once or twice in a generation the harbors and the surrounding waters will be frozen enough to prevent navigation, as in the recent winter of 1905. The winter of 1856-7 is also remembered by the older inhabitants as one of such severity as to cause similar effects, but as a rule the winters are "open" for the reasons above given. Parson Homes of Chilmark records the winter of 1725-6 as of exceptional severity, the snow lasting from November through the middle of March.

FLORA.

The flora of the islands first attracted the attention of the historian of the Gosnold expedition. He said that "the chiefest trees of this island are Beeches and Cedars," and in another place he refers to the "Cedars tall and straight, in great abundance." The other trees mentioned by him are the following: "Sassafras, Cypres trees, Oakes, Walnut trees great store, Elmes, Beech, Hollie, Haslenut trees, Cherry trees, Cotten trees, Other fruit trees to us unknowen." He said the islands were full of "high timbered Oaks, their leaves thrice

[1]These facts were compiled for the author by William W. Neifert of the Weather Bureau, who was in charge of the local station at Vineyard Haven for a number of years. This station was established Nov. 6, 1886, and discontinued June 18, 1900. These records, therefore, cover a period of fourteen years.

so broad as ours," and that the walnut trees were in abundance, "the fruit as bigge as ours, as appeared by those we found under the trees, which had lien all the yeare ungathered." Of the cherry trees he noted that "the stalke beareth the blossomes or fruit at the end thereof, like a cluster of Grapes, forty or fifty in a bunch." Sassafras trees were in "great plentie all the Island over." Among the edible flora he reported some "low bushie trees, three or foure foot in height, which bear some kinde of fruits," which may have been the beach plum, a variety of the prune family, now common on the island. Others noticed and listed were "Strawberries, red and white, as sweet and bigger than ours in England, Rasberries, Gooseberries, Hurtleberries (i. e. huckleberries), and such an incredible store of Vines, as well in the woodie parts of the Island, that we could not goe for treading upon them." He said they were "in more plenty than in France."[1] The only vegetable mentioned by him are Peas, "which grow in certeine plots all the Island over." It seems certain that he failed to observe the other legume, cultivated by the natives, the bean,[2] and it is quite probable that, had he gone into the interior of the Vineyard, he would have found fields of corn, and squash vines trailing through them.[3] Corn was pre-eminently the Indian's cereal, called by him "weatchimin," and our word "succotash" is derived from their term "msickquatash" which means literally, corn beaten in pieces. Ground-nuts, "good meat, & also medicinable," probably the bulbs of the lily family, such as may be found now at Squipnocket, which derived its name from the red lily growing in its marsh soils, were also noted by the journalist of the expedition who adds:– "They also gave us of their Tobacco, which they drinke greene, but dried into powder, very stronge and pleasant and much better than I have tasted in England."[4] This was, probably, the so-called "Indian tobacco" of this region, the lobelia, although they may have obtained the Virginian variety by a

[1]These vines gave the island its name. Remains of them may be seen on northern and western hills of Chilmark and Gay Head.

[2]It is possible that he mistook beans for pease, of which he saw a large quantity. The English-Natick dictionary of Trumbull does not contain an Algonquian word for "pease," and it seems that the journalist must have seen the bean, which we now know as one of the native vegetables.

[3]Indian corn or maize was also known as "turkey wheat" by our ancestors.

[4]"Drinking" tobacco is the ancient term for smoking that weed.

> "I did not, as you barren gallants do,
> Fill my discourses up drinking tobacco."
>
> CHAPMAN, *All Fools*, *II*, 1.

system of barter from tribe to tribe.[1] "We had, also," writes Brereton, "of their Flaxe, wherewith they make many stringes and cords, but it is not so bright of collour as ours in England: I am persuaded they have great store growing upon the maine."[2]

Of the trees mentioned in Brereton's list, the cypress has disappeared, and if there be any hazelnut or "cotton" trees on the island at present, they are unknown to the author. The cedar, also, has practically vanished, and only gnarled and bent specimens survive as the relics of "tall and straight" ones seen by the first explorers. The evergreen trees, pines, firs, spruce, have scattered growth still on the island, but their early extent is problematical. Oaks, great and small, are the principal constituents of our forests, and the great plain land is a dense jungle of the "scrub oak" which thrives despite repeated devastating fires covering large areas. Professor Shaler states that "originally this region was heavily wooded, mainly with coniferous trees, the present prevalence of the deciduous species being due to the peculiar endurance of their roots in the fires, a capacity which does not exist in the conifers."

Apple trees were brought to Massachusetts in 1629, but there is no record of the date when this fruit was first cultivated here on the island. The earliest mention of it is in 1660, when "sider" was made a prohibited article of sale to the Indians, but apple trees are not specifically named until 1744. Quince trees were found at Tashmoo in 1721, but both these dates are accidental references, and it is probable that they were planted many years before. An "orchard" is mentioned at Chickemmoo in 1688.

Additions to the list of small fruits given by Brereton, now to be found on the island, will include the blackberry and cranberry, both undoubtedly native products. Cranberries were first mentioned in the records in 1755, at Nashamoiess.

To attempt an enumeration of the Vineyard flora would require space out of proportion to its relation with the scope of this work. It will be sufficient to say that a specialist who has made a study in this field for fifteen years has analyzed and classified over seven hundred species of plant life found upon the island. Similarly, the marine algæ show almost an infinite variety of delicate beauty in form and color.

[1]Brereton refers to their pipes, made out of "red and white clay" hard dried, showing that they were of the Gay Head clay.

[2]Flax was sown at Pocha in 1723. (Dukes Deeds, IV, 14.)

FAUNA.

Brereton is our first authority on the fauna of the Vineyard, although we cannot be sure that he has not included in his lists some animals seen by him on the mainland. He enumerates "Deere in great store, very great and large, Beares, Luzernes (lynx), Blacke Foxes, Beavers, Otters, Wilde-Cats, verie large and great, Dogs like Foxes, blacke and sharpe nosed (and) Conies (hares)." It is known that deer can swim across a stretch of water as wide as Vineyard Sound, and their habitat on the island is not improbable, but the same cannot be said of the "beares."

The wild animals of the Vineyard have practically disappeared, and the formidable list of Brereton contains only two which can be said to exist today, the fox and rabbit. It may be that some of our dogs might claim a pedigree dating from the "sharp-nosed" kind seen in the beginning of the 17th century, but they have long since been domesticated.

Brereton also speaks of reptiles, but confines himself to "Snakes foure foot in length, and sixe inches about, which the Indians eat for daintie meat, the skinnes whereof they use for girdles." There are but a few varieties of snakes on the islands, all of a harmless species.

His list of birds includes the following varieties, some of which are evidently extinct at the present day: "Eagles, Hernshawes (herons), Cranes, Bitters (bitterns or small herons), Mallards, Teales, Pengwins, Ospreis, and Hawks, Crowes, Ravens, Mewes (gulls), Doves, Sea-pies (oyster catchers), and Blacke-birdes with carnation wings." The penguin is essentially an inhabitant of the Southern hemisphere, and has disappeared from these waters if it ever came here.

It is not known that a comprehensive study of the birds which nest on the Vineyard has ever been undertaken, but observers have made records of the arrival of the migrants in their annual flights to the North. The list may serve to show the varieties which find their way to our woods and fields, although it is not offered as a complete enumeration of the many aerial and aquatic birds which become temporary sojourners on the island. It is as follows: robin, crow and red-winged blackbird, meadow lark, blue jay, chickadee, red-headed and golden-winged woodpeckers, song, tree, and vesper sparrows, orchard and Baltimore orioles, white-breasted nuthatch, fish, hen, pigeon, and sparrow hawks, gray owl, grosbeak,

chewink, king fisher, red thrush, flycatcher, barn and chimney swallows, cuckoo, redstart, whippoorwill, and the yellow, blue, cow, cat, king, snow, humming, and cedar birds.

The many ponds on the south side of the Vineyard offer attractive feeding grounds for the game birds, and with the exception of the marshes of the Cape this region is one of the few virgin sections left for these hunted birds to find a resting place at night, or in stormy weather.

The list of birds would not be complete without special mention of the heath-hen or pinnated grouse, which has been on the island for at least a century. It was probably brought here for breeding as a game bird, and in 1824 laws for its protection were passed by the voters of Tisbury, where it is found to-day in its feeding grounds on the plains. A cock, hen, and their young may frequently be seen from the state highway in that town.[1]

Brereton gives a list of fishes which he said he saw "notwithstanding our small time of stay." These are comprised in the following list: "Whales, Tortoises, both on land and sea, Seales, Cods, Mackerell, Breames, Herrings, Thornbacke (ray or skate), Hakes (codlings), Rockefish, Dogfish, Lobsters, Crabbes, Muscles, Wilks (snails), Cockles, Scallops, (and) Oisters."

To the shell fish named by Brereton should be added that valuable bivalve the clam, of which there are two abundant varieties, the "poquauhock" of the Indian, or round clam ("little necks"), and the "sikkissuog" or long clam, with soft shell. These are found principally in the waters about Chappaquiddick and Capoag pond, and their gathering for the market constitutes a large business for the fishermen of that section. Oysters have practically disappeared, but at one time must have been plenty in the ponds bordering the south beach. Indeed, one of them is named Oyster pond, presumably because of its being one of the principal places where the beds existed. In 1792, the citizens of Tisbury found it necessary to pass a vote prohibiting all persons "from Catching Oysters in the Pond Called Newtown Pond, to carrey to Market off the Island of Marthasvineyard, or to sell by Cart Loads on the Island."

The fish which inhabit these waters and form one of the profitable industries of the island, are in addition to those

[1]It is traditional that when an effort was made in the State Legislature to secure a law for the protection of the heath hen, an error of the printer in the title of the bill made it read "An Act for the protection of the Heathen of Martha's Vineyard."

enumerated by the journalist of Gosnold's voyage, the striped bass, blue fish, sword fish, porgie, tautaog, chogset, squeteague, eels, "spanish mackerel," so-called.[1]

Of the fresh water fish, it is difficult to determine what varieties are native and what may be artificially stocked, but the various ponds and streams yield trout, perch, black bass, and pickerel.

POPULATION.

From 1641 to 1670, the period elapsing between the first settlement at Great Harbor and the beginning of the new town at Takemmy, the entire English population was resident at the east end of the island. We have no records bearing upon this subject at that early date, but we can reach some proximate and satisfactory conclusion from a knowledge of the families who lived here at that time. The first list of proprietors embraces nineteen men, some of whom were not then married, and of the others we are in possession of the number of their children. It is possible to estimate sixty-five persons as constituting the total of whites at that time. In 1660, a second list gives twenty-six different proprietors, and the same process yields about eighty-five persons, and by the end of the next decade there might have been a hundred, in round numbers. The settlement of Tisbury brought, between 1670 and 1680, about a dozen families, so that in a statement of the relative strength of the Indians and whites on the Vineyard in 1675, it was reported that there were "not above forty men on the island capable of bearing Armes."[2] This means men between the ages of sixteen and sixty, and reckoning three-fourths of them as married and heads of families, with six as a multiple, we can place the population at 180, at the time of King Philip's War. No further data until 1692 enables us to estimate the intervening increases. In that year Simon Athearn informed the General Court: "We are but about fifty 7 or 8 famelys on the Iland," and allowing two families for the Elizabeth Islands, making sixty, and computing the ratio which has since obtained in the county, we are justified in calculating 350 as the total at that time.[3] Probably at the close of the 17th century there were four hundred English people residing within the limits of Dukes County. There is no subsequent

[1]Tisbury records, page 284.

[2]N. Y. Col. Mss. (Council Minutes), II (2), 51.

[3]Mass. Archives, CXII, 422.

statement or record for fifty years, during which time immigration and the natural increase had greatly affected the numerical strength of the white race. In 1742, a contemporary writer placed "about two hundred fencible white men on the Vineyard,"[1] and computing the known increase, with the adopted multiple, we have about twelve hundred persons resident in the county, exclusive of negroes and native aborigines.

The Provincial census of 1765 gives us the first definite figures of enumerators, and from it the following statistics are extracted:

	Houses	Families	Whites Under 16 Years		Ditto Above 16 Years		Negroes		Indians		Neutrals Under 16		Ditto Above 16		Total
			Male	Female	Male	Female	Male	Female	Male	Female	Male	Female	Male	Female	
Edgartown	128	150	234	209	233	248	12	8	37	49					1030
Chilmark	90	114	152	156	159	179	9	8	72	116					851
Tisbury	110	100	165	166	226	233	4	5	15	24					838
	328	364	551	531	618	660	25	21	124	189					2719

It will be seen that there were 2460 white persons, a doubling in twenty years and an average annual gain of about three hundred in the half century. It will be seen that the average family consisted of six persons, the multiple used in previous computations, and that the families exceeded the number of houses by sixty-six, and there were seven persons to a house. When we recall the size of the buildings erected in those days for dwellings, it is easy to understand that they lived in "close quarters." The next enumeration by the Provincial authorities in 1776, shows the following statistics: families, 482; persons, 2822; negroes, 59, an increase of nearly twenty-five per cent. in twelve years. These figures take no account of the population of the Indian settlements, which will be dealt with in a separate chapter. In the period between 1641 and 1776, the average annual growth had been two hundred, while in the same time the unfortunate native element had been decreasing in about the same ratio. No further figures are available for statistical purposes until 1790, the date of the first census of the general government, from which time,

[1]Douglass, Summary, I, 405.

by decades, with the intervening enumerations of the state, we reach accurate tabulations.

The following figures show the population of the county as enumerated in the decennial census of the United States from 1790 to the present time:

In 1790 were 3245; in 1800, 3118; in 1810, 3290; in 1820, 3292; in 1830, 3517; in 1840, 3958; in 1850, 4540; in 1860, 4403; in 1870, 3787; in 1880, 4300; in 1890, 4369; in 1900, 4561.

The population of the county shows a gradual increase of 1300 for sixty years, when the number dropped about 800 from 1850 to 1870, which may be accounted for by the losses and changes of residence during the war of the Rebellion.

During the 110 years of the census enumerations, the county has increased 40%, notwithstanding the losses which followed the emigration into Maine in the first decade of the above named period, and a similar exodus into the western states between 1820 and 1840. Losses of this character have been constant ever since, but they are in part made up by the immigration of others who in recent years have availed themselves of its climatic and natural attractions to select the island not only as a summer home but for a permanent residence.

OLD CEDARS AT WEST CHOP.

Survivors of the "Tall and Straight" Cedars seen by Brereton in 1602.

CHAPTER II.

The Aboriginal Inhabitants.

At the dawn of the 17th century the island now known as Martha's Vineyard was simply one of the nameless, shapeless islands seen on the rude charts of the early explorers, constituting a part of that fringe of islands on the eastern coast of the new but unknown continent toward which the voyagers of all the European nations had been for a century turning the prows of their adventurous crafts. Could we see it in reproduction now we should behold it in its modern shape and size, for it has not been materially altered by sea action, except on its southeastern littoral, but differing in respect to the fulness and character of its foliage. Then it doubtless had a more luxuriant growth of evergreen trees, plentifully intermingled with clumps of wild fruit trees and bushes bearing native berries. The same condition existed on Noman's Land.

While Brereton's description of Noman's Land gives us a picture of a dense jungle of trees tangled with undergrowth, we shall be in error if we apply this literally to the Vineyard. Noman's Land was then "without house or inhabitant," while the Vineyard was the home of several thousand aborigines at that date. In the nature of things they could not travel nor hunt under such conditions, and we do not have to imagine the denizens of the island devoid of means to render the territory they inhabited suitable for their occupation and in a condition to support life. There were large, open spaces, overgrown with grass and planting fields which they had cultivated for centuries. Wood in his *New England Prospect* (1634) speaks of the Indian custom of burning the ground each fall: "there is no underwood save in the swamps and low places; for it being the custom of the Indians to burn the woods in November, when the grass is withered and the leaves dried it consumes all the underwood and rubbish." Morton refers to the same thing, and we can readily believe their statements that on the coming of the English to this coast there were open fields covered with grass. It is a fair presumption that the Vineyard presented a general aspect of fresh verdure to the explorers, for its virgin soil had not been exhausted by the

improvident whites, nor its groves of beeches, cedars, and firs denuded to provide tribute for hundreds of wasteful fireplaces, where ancestral shins were toasted and "all outdoors" heated through chimney flues large enough to exhaust a brickyard.

The hills and meads of the island were clad in a rich covering of evergreen that is now all gone, and its place taken by the walnut and hickory and the endless prospect of dwarf oaks that now struggle for a parched existence on the great plains of Tisbury and Edgartown. It is difficult for us to conceive of Noman's Land, which is now as innocent of any foliage as an infant's poll, once supporting great forests and a thicket of undergrowth, yet in two centuries the whites, without forethought or wisdom, had despoiled it of its verdure and rendered it an unproductive, barren isle, where for centuries the aboriginal occupants had preserved its fertility and the productiveness of the Vineyard, sparing the trees as a part of nature's household economy. On Noman's Land, in the swamp, may be seen the trunks and stumps of huge cedars, the decaying remains of a noble forest growth that existed two hundred years ago.

INDIAN NAME OF THE VINEYARD.

To the people who held it by that unwritten tenure of nomadic tribal authority, a people without records or civilization, but to whom it was a home, there belonged a name attached by them to it, which from the point of a later literary standard is superior to the name bestowed upon it by its English sponsor. The aboriginal name for the island was Noë-pe, a compound term consisting of the radical Noë, signifying, middle of, midst, amid, and the generic -pe, which in all Algonquian dialects signifies "water,"—and thus we have the full and free definition "amid the waters," a name of singular beauty and poetry. While this might be said to be applicable to any island, yet it appears to have a deeper significance. If the Algonquian sagamore who perhaps first gave it the name of Noë-pe had merely wished to call it an island," he would have chosen another word, Aquiden.[1] But the savage was a child of Nature, observant of her myriad manifestations, and in his method of bestowing names on persons or things

[1]This word, in the form of Aquiden-et or Aquidnet, is familiar to us as the name of the city of Newport, an island.

he usually selected some special attribute attaching as the basis for the title. So he observed in his crude way the tidal peculiarities of the waters as they were ceaselessly flowing about the sound, and noted that this island was at the meeting place of the currents coming from the northeast and southwest. This phenomenon, now well known to the residents here and to all those engaged in navigating our coast, results in a subdivision of the daily tides, by which we have four instead of two as common elsewhere along the New England littoral, two ebb and two flood, churning northeastward through the Vineyard sound and Buzzard's Bay and southwestward over the treacherous Nantucket shoals. "The region about Martha's Vineyard," says a report of the U. S. Coast Survey, "is the dividing space between the co-tidal hours of XII and XV, and in this locality the combination of two apparently distinct tidal waves is observed. This combination presents the most singular forms, giving at times four high tides in one day near the junction of Nantucket and Martha's Vineyard sound. These tides exhibit diurnal and semi-diurnal elements. The semi-diurnal waves exhibit two heads at the locality of the greatest interference (Falmouth), one of their meeting points."[1]

The authority for *Noepe* as the true Indian name of this island rests upon indisputable ground, and is none other than the statement of the Rev. Thomas Mayhew, the apostle to the Vineyard Indians, who was learned in their speech and taught them in their own tongue. In a letter written by him dated Oct. 22, 1652, reciting the conversion of the Indians, he says: "I drew forth the same morning in the Indian Language, which I have here sent in England," the covenant of the Indians, which begins, "We, the distressed Indians of the Vineyard, (or Nope, the Indian name of the Island)."[2]

The use of this curious word, pronounced in two syllables, No-pe, is of rare occurrence in the early records. The first instance is the one just cited; the second is by Daniel Gookin in his "Description of the New England Indians," written in 1674 (1 Mass. Hist. Soc. Coll., I, 141). The next is quoted by Freeman (History of Cape Cod, II, 274), from a deed dated Sept. 7, 1680, when John Yanno, "Indian of Gay Head at Nope Island," sells certain property in Barnstable. Another is a reference made by Josiah Cotton, at the end of

[1] Report, 1855, pages 222-3; 1856, pages 261-263.

[2] "Tears of Repentance, etc." (London 1653).

his Indian Vocabulary, compiled about the year 1727 (3 Mass. Hist. Soc. Coll., II, 147-257), who says, in a dialogue between himself and a Plymouth Indian, that the Indians of the mainland find it difficult to understand him because he learned from his father (Rev. John Cotton), who had acquired his knowledge "at Nope," his father having been a missionary to the Indians at the Vineyard, 1665-8.[1]

It is true that the early writers who published descriptions of New England from the time of the first explorations, Smith, Winslow, Wood, Gorges, and others, call it the Isle of Capowack (in variations of spelling), and I am familiar with the authorities of that period so far as to admit that this name was generally used to designate the Vineyard. This name had the advantage of undisputed usage (up to the time which I shall cite hereafter), and therefore is entitled to all the privilege which exclusive occupancy of the field may bestow.

An examination of the Coast Survey charts and current maps of Martha's Vineyard will show off its eastern shore and closely contiguous, a curiously shaped island, with a long, sickle-shaped neck of land extending therefrom, now called the island of Chappaquiddick, while the extreme north end of this pointed neck is known as Cape Poge. The evolution of the name Cape Poge is easy of demonstration. The name was originally, as I believe, Capoag or Capoak, and by giving each vowel its syllabic value in pronunciation, we have Ca-po-ag, or Ca-po-ak, which was, probably, an Indian name of a definite locality; and the early voyagers, hearing this pronounced and noting the phonetic resemblance of the first syllable to our geographical word "cape," immediately applied it to that portion of the island answering the physical features of a cape, and the map-makers accordingly registered their decrees. In the DeLaets map of 1630, showing the Vineyard, we see the legend "C. Ack," or Cape Ack, and in the Novi Belgii map of 1671, it is repeated with a slight change, "C. Wack als Ack," that is Cape Wack or Ack, appearing in both instances at the eastern side of the island, where Cape Poge is known at the present day. In the DesBarres chart of 1781 it is Capoag (one word), and by pronouncing it in two syllables we have Ca-pōg, which is the general local pronunciation to-day. It is, however, spelled Cape Poge or Pogue.

[1]In a deed dated June, 1681, Matthew Mayhew is called "Sachem of all Nop." (Dukes Deeds, VIII, 67). Kendall writing in 1814 while on a visit to the island says it was called "by the Indians Nope and Capawac." (Travels, II, 183).

From all evidence now obtainable the tip end of Chappaquiddick was a separate island two hundred years ago, and was then called the island of Natuck or Capoag, as shown by the following deeds:

I. 388. Pahkepunnasso, sachem of Chappaquiddick, sold the island called Natuck to Thomas Mayhew, 16 (6) 1663.

IV. 158. Micajah Mayhew leased "the island of Natick alias Capoag near unto Chappaquiddick," 4 March, 1727.

IV. 328. Micajah Mayhew leased the "Isle of Capoag . . . . which lieth a little to the Easter Northard of the Isle of Chapaquidet" 27 February, 1729.

This last seems entirely conclusive of the fact that a little island bore the name of Capoag or Capawack from time immemorial, but in further evidence of the general proposition that Capowack is not the correct Indian name of Martha's Vineyard I submit the following facts:

I. Neither the town records of Edgartown, from 1642 to 1670, which are, in fact, the earliest muniments of title on the Vineyard; the court records of the county of Dukes County, from the earliest entry in 1673 to 1700, nor the town records of Tisbury, from 1671 to 1700, all of which I have examined personally, and from which I have full abstracts for the periods cited, disclose the use of the name Capowack as a place name for the island as a whole. This is of course negative testimony, but it may pass as such for cumulative or circumstantial evidence.

II. In the court records of the county of Dukes County, under date of Oct. 13, 1675, an order relative to trading with the Indians is entered, and as a part of the plan for prohibiting non-residents from bartering surreptitiously with them, it was provided "That no man presume to land any goods anywhere at Marthas Vineyard, Capepowak, Nomans Land, or Elizabeth Isles, unless at the places appointed." This topographical list includes the whole of the county as then and now constituted, and serves to show that "Capepowak" was by the inhabitants considered as distinct and separate a place from Martha's Vineyard as Noman's Land or the Elizabeth Isles.

III. When the New England charter of 1692 was issued it disclosed the fact that unbeknown to the people of the Vineyard, and to the government of New York, under which it had been since 1671, the island was placed under the govern-

ment of the Massachusetts Bay. In the acts of the General Court of that year, providing for the control of, and the civil authority on the Vineyard, it was called "Martha's Vineyard alias Capowack." This official designation aroused the inhabitants to protest against the further use of this title for the island, and in obedience to this sentiment, and acting on his instructions as representative of the towns of Edgartown and Chilmark to the General Court, at the next session after the passage of these acts, Mr. Benjamin Smith addressed the Governor and Representatives in this language:—

> I am to shew that it seemeth grevious to us that wee seem to be named in divers acts of the assembly here by a name in no waies acknowledged by us. . . . . .
>
> I am to shew to your honours that if an act be made that whereas in the divers acts mentioning Martha's Vineyard Alias Capowick, If it be inserted Martha's Vineyard and Capowick, it will be more satisfactory to our people. (Mass. Arch. cxii., 453.)

This evidence seems to me to establish conclusively that however much others, through ignorance or inadvertence, had given credence to the original use of the title Capowack as representing the Vineyard in its entirety, yet the inhabitants, who were peculiarly familiar with the Indian language and had been brought into long and intimate relations with the natives through their missions, disavowed the name as applicable to the whole island.

It is a difficult matter to dislodge a fixed belief, even if it be erroneous, but it is hoped that this will find its quietus now that the means of correction have been found.

THE POKANAUKET INDIANS.

The race of men who peopled the Vineyard at the beginning of the 17th century were members of that almost-vanished aboriginal family known to ethnologists as the Algonquian Indians.

This great family with its numerous tribal divisions ranged the entire eastern half of North America, from the frozen waters of Hudson Bay in the north, to the tepid savannahs of the south, and from the promontories of Nova Scotia in the east to the snow-clad peaks of the Rocky mountains in the west. It is the race known to us in song and story. They were the Indians of Sprague and Cooper, of Longfellow and Catlin. Of members of this great family in the northeastern

portion of our country those most familiar to us are the Micmacs of Nova Scotia, the Abnakis of Maine, the Massachusetts of our own Commonwealth, and the Narragansetts of Rhode Island. Of the last-named tribe, whose great chieftain, Metacomet, long held the white invaders at bay, were the Pokanaukets, a sub-division residing to the eastward of Narragansett Bay, and probably dwelling on the shores of Buzzard's Bay.

Daniel Gookin in his description of the New England Indians, written in 1675, makes the following statement:

> The Pawkunnawkutts were a great people heretofore. They lived to the east and northeast of the Narragansetts, and their chief sachem held dominion over divers other petty sagamores, as the sagamores upon the island of Nantucket, and Nope or Martha's Vineyard.[1]

This authority on the Indians of New England is corroborated by an example of this control which is to be found entered in our land records under date of March, 1661, when Womsettan, "chief sachem of Cossomsett" sold to William Brenton of Newport "all my right on Nope, alias Martha's Vineyard," and the next year personal delivery was made by Womsettan by turf and twig of this property, of which he reserved one-twelfth to himself.[2] The Vineyard Indians were members of this tribe, and until Christianized, owned fealty to King Philip of Pokanauket during his life-time.[3]

TRIBAL GOVERNMENT.

There does not appear to have been any single chieftain on the island to whom the subordinate sachems yielded precedence, and it is probable that these local head men were directly responsible to the great chief of the Narragansetts.

As these people were without written records, it is not possible to accurately define the relations which did exist, but from the fragmentary allusions in the early writings of the English historians and observers, the island was divided into four parts, each presided over by a sagamore, as will be more particularly explained. As to their form or method of government, if it may be so termed, we have the detailed

[1] 1 Mass. Hist. Soc. Coll., I, 141-227.

[2] Dukes County Deeds, III, 12, 13. Wamsutta or Wamsettan was an elder brother of Philip or Metacomet, and son of Massasoit, the great chief of the Wampanoags. He resided in the region between Buzzards and Narragansett bays.

[3] Plym. Col. Rec., IV, 164.

explanation furnished by our first local author, Matthew Mayhew, and it will be better placed before the reader in his own words, and is therefore reprinted here verbatim:[1]

Their Government was purely *Monarchical*: and as for such whose dominions extended further than would well admit one Princes personal guidance, it was committed into the hands of *Lieutenants*, who Governed with no less absoluteness, than the Prince himself: notwithstanding, in matters of difficulty, the *Prince* Consulted with his Nobles, and such whom he esteemed for wisdom; in which it was admirable to see the Majestick deportment of the Prince, his speech to his Council, with the most deliberate discussion of any matter proposed for their advice; after which, what was by him resolved, without the least hesitation was applauded, and with at least a seeming Alacrity attended.

The *Crown* (if I may so term it) alwayes descended to the *Eldest Son* (though subject to usurpation), not to the Female, unless in defect of a *Male* of the Blood; the Blood Royal, being in such Veneration among the People, that if a Prince had issue by divers Wives, such Succeeded as Heirs who was Royally descended by the Mother, although the Youngest, esteeming his issue by a *Venter* of less Quality than a Princess, not otherwise than *Sachems* or *Noblemen*.

Their *Nobles* were either such who descended from the Blood Royal, or such on whom the Prince bestowed part of his Dominions with the *Royalties*, or such whose descent was from Ancestors who had time out of mind been so Esteemed as such.

Their *Yeomen* were such who having no stamp of *Gentility* were yet esteemed as having a natural right of living within their Princes Dominions, and a common use of the *Land*; and were distinguished by two names or Titles, the one signifying *Subjection*, the other *Titles of the Land*.

Although the People retained nothing of *Record* nor use of *Letters*, yet there lived among them many Families, who, although the time of their Forefathers first inhabiting among them was beyond the Memory of man, yet were known to be *Strangers* or *Foreigners*, who were not Privileged with *Common Rights*, but in some measure Subject to the *Yeomanry*, but were not dignified, in attending the Prince, in *Hunting* or like Exercise; unless called by particular favor.

The Princes, as they had not other *Revenue* than the *Presents* of their subjects (which yet was counted Due debt), *Wrecks* of the sea, the *Skins* of Beasts killed in their Dominions, and many like things, as *First Fruits*, &c, so they wanted none; for in case of *War*, both *People* and *Estate* was wholly at their dispose; therefore none demanded nor expected *Pay*. In respect to their *Court*, it was doubtless maintained in great Magnificance in distinction from the *Subject* which is the utmost can be obtained by the greatest monarch; their Families and attendants being well Cloathed with *Skins* of *Moos*, *Bear*, *Deer*, *Beaver*, and the like; the Provisions for their Table, as *Flesh*, *Fish*, *Roots*, *Fruits*, *Berries*, *Corn*, *Beanes*, in great abundance and variety was alwayes brought by their Neighboring subjects; of all which they were as void of Care as the most Potent Princes in this Universe.

[1]Mayhew: "Triumphs and Conquests of Grace," pages 13-17.

As the *Prince* was acknowledged *Absolute Lord* of the *Land*, so he had no less Sovereignty at *Sea*; for as all belonged to him, which was stranded on the shore of his *Sea Coast*, so whatever *Whales* or other *wreck* of value, or floating on the sea, taken up on the seas washing his shores, or brought and Landed, from any part of the Sea, was no less his own.

THE FOUR SACHEMSHIPS.

The Vineyard was apparently divided into four governmental sections, of which two, Chappaquiddick and Gay Head, were separated by natural boundaries from the main island. This latter territory being divided into two chief sachemships, which had a definite line of demarcation, represented as accurate a partition as could be devised. By a straight line drawn from the Blackwater brook emptying into the sound, to Watchet, the sachemships of Nunnepog and Takemmy were divided by the "old Sachems and Cheefe men of Nunpoag on the one side, and the old Sachchims and Cheefe men of Takymmy on the other side." The particulars of this division deserve quotation in full:

"that is at the black water or wechpoquasit being the pond and Run of water into the sound and said bounds to Run southwardly as the said Run of water cometh from the spring called ponk quatesse and from said spring of water to the middle of watchet on the south side of this Iland so that all the Est side of said bounds to belong to Nunpoak and on the west side of said bounds unto Takymmy, which bounds was setteled many years ago."[1]

At the coming of the whites then there were four chief sagamores or sachems in authority, ruling over Chappaquiddick, Nunnepaug, Takemmy, and Aquiniuh (Gay Head). The sagamores of these four places were at this period Pahkepunnassoo, Tewanticut, Mankutoukquet, and Nohtooksaet respectively. These four greater chiefs or sagamores subdivided their territory into petty sachemships, who ruled within certain well-defined limits: for example; Cheesehahchamuk was the sachem of Homes' Hole,[2] and when his son Ponit succeeded to his father's authority, the bounds of his sachemship were declared "to have bin set by towonticut by a fut path which gose from Weakuttockquayah unto cuttashimmoo on the other side of the neck."[3] This means a line drawn

[1]Tisbury Records, p. 43.
[2]Dukes Deeds, I, 355.
[3]Court Records, 1685.

from the head of the lagoon to the head of Tashmoo pond. It appears that Cheesehahchamuk had sold land in the Chickemmoo district as early as 1658.[1] Wampamag was the sachem of Sanchacankacket in 1660 and he exercised authority over that neck, from the pond north to the Chop.[2] These sachemships were held by inheritance; usually from the father, but occasionally through the mother, if she had acquired the title by descent. Wampamag was the son of Adommas," queen sachem," as she was called.

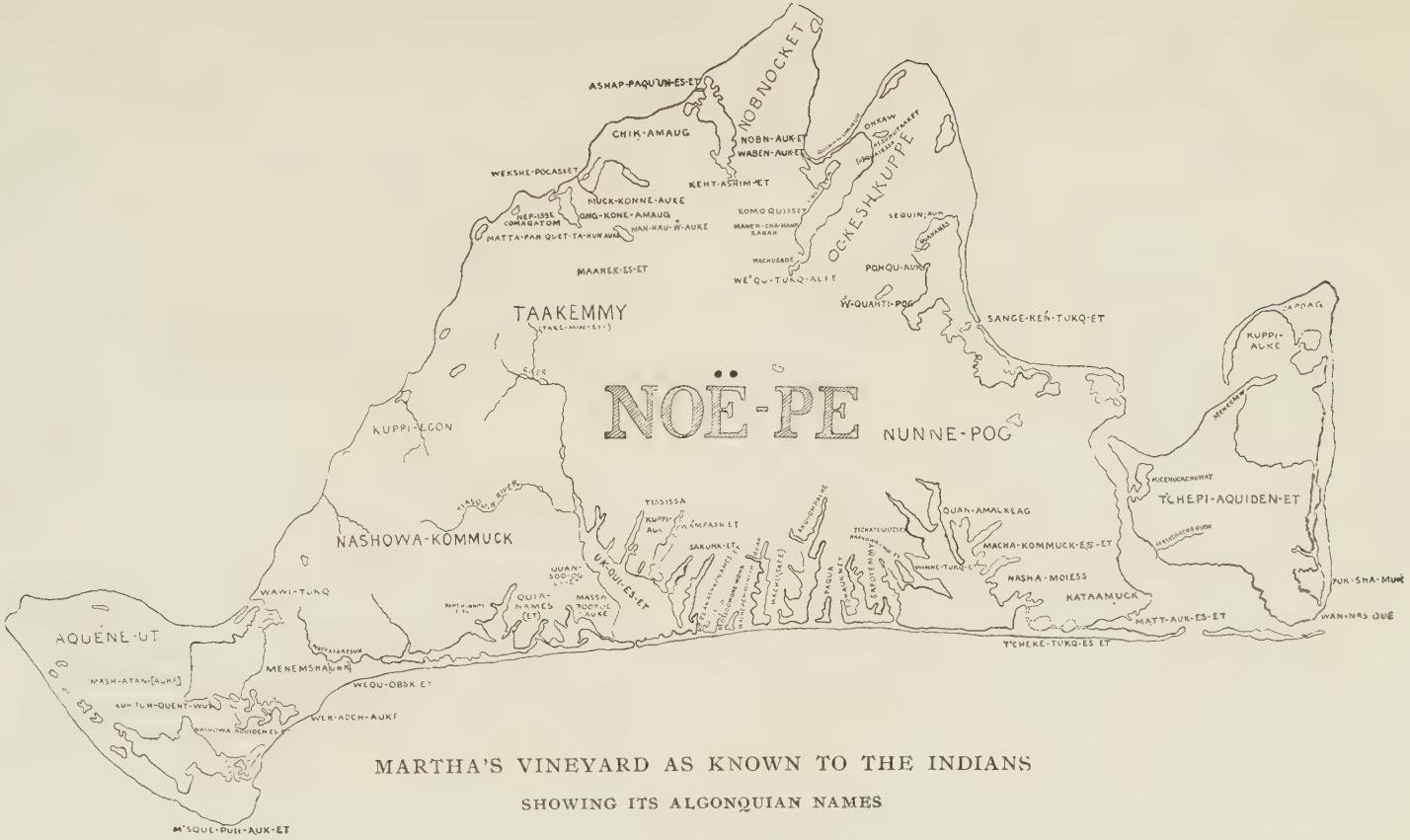
These sachems were not always natives of the Vineyard, but in what manner they acquired their rank and entered into the enjoyment of their prerogatives is not known,—probably by selection of the mainland chiefs. Nohtooksaet, the sachem of Gay Head, "came from the Massachusetts Bay."[3] and Wannamanhut, the sachem of Manitou-Watootan (Christiantown) "came in his younger time from towards Boston to Martha's Vineyard, and settled att Takeemmee."[4]

Concerning this particular importation from the mainland, it is of record that "at a great meeting of indians at Tisbury" the sagamore "with the rest of the sachems agreed that Wonamonhoot should have all the land to the westward of a place called Nippessieh to be at his own disposal."[5]

In another case involving the title to a sachemship in 1675, Mittark, the then ruling sachem, as son of Nohtooksaet, was challenged in his rights by "the person called Omphannut," who claimed he was the eldest son of the deceased sachem. A council was held, composed of the chief men of the island, and "as far as the mane land" and they decided that "Omphannut speak true." Thereupon they assigned to the latter one-quarter of all the land on Gay Head.[6] Toohtoowee was the sachem on the north shore of Chilmark in the Keephigon region, in 1673.[7] The sons and daughters of all these petty magnates in succeeding years exercised authority over the tribes, and sold land within their territory as late as the middle of the 18th century.

The prominent Indian of Edgartown known by his English name of "Tom Tyler" came to the island before 1673,

[1]Deeds, I, 182, 355.
[2]Deeds, II, 253.
[3]Indian converts, 67.
[4]Sup. Jud. Court files, No. 10, 774.
[5]Deeds, II, 142.
[6]Deeds, VI, 369.
[7]Deeds, III, 201.



MARTHA'S VINEYARD AS KNOWN TO THE INDIANS

SHOWING ITS ALGONQUIAN NAMES

and lived here many years and probably ended his days at Sanchacantacket, where Tyler's Field remains as a memory of his habitation. He was of "royal" blood, but it does not appear that he acquired any particular distinction here among them as a "prince" or sagamore. He was the "sonne of Sagamore of Agawamm (Ipswich), a known man in the countrey; he that sold the Town of Ipswich," whose name was Masconomet.[1]

APPEARANCE, MANNERS AND CUSTOMS OF THE INDIANS.

Brereton thus describes the personal appearance of the savages as seen by him on the Vineyard and the surrounding islands:— "These people as they are exceeding courteous, gentle of disposition, and well conditioned, excelling all others that we have seene; so for shape of bodie and lovely favour I thinke they excell all the people of America; of stature much higher than we; of complexion or colour much like a dark Olive; their eie-browes and haire blacke, which weare long tied up behinde in knott, whereon they pricke feathers of fowles, in fashion of a crownet: some of them are blacke thin bearded; they make beards of the haire of beasts; and one of them offered a beard of their making to one of our sailers, for his that grew on his face, which because it was of a red colour, they judged to be none of his owne." But few of the women came under the observation of Brereton, and none of their children, if we may thus interpret his silence about them. Of the former he says: "Their women (such as we saw) which were but three in all, were but lowe of stature, their eie-browes, haire, apparell, and manner of wearing, like to the men, fat, and very well favoured, and much delighted in our compane; the men very dutifull towards them."

Of the manners and customs of the Indians, much that is interesting and authentic has come down to us from the writings of the early explorers, to show their characteristics and habits before the white settlers disturbed their life and robbed it of its picturesque features. It is stated that the Indians of the Vineyard lived "in several villages," and again "in severall Townes."[2] Properly interpreted, this means that there was a village for each sachemship, and possibly smaller settlements at convenient points. The principal

[1]Essex Deeds, VIII, 106.

[2]Glorious Progress, 1647; comp. Records Com. United Col., II, 242.

village in Nunnepog was on the shores of the Great Herring pond, near Mashacket, which name, as will be hereafter shown, has a special significance. In Takemmy, the settlement was on the Great Tisbury pond, while Chappaquiddick and Kuhtuhquetuet (Gay Head) each had its village. It is probable that smaller communities made abiding-places within the limits of the territorial authority of each petty sachem. In this way, I believe, we may infer that Wekwetuckauke (the lagoon), Sanchacantacket, Onkokemmaug (North Tisbury), and Nashowakemmuck (Chilmark) were the locations of such subordinate villages. Of the character of these settlements it can be said that they had no permanency. Composed as they were of loosely constructed wigwams, they were easily transported from place to place, as the requirements of the season demanded. In the summer they were doubtless picketed about the inlets of the coast, while in winter they were removed to the protection of the woods and hills from the icy blasts of the north. The circumscribed territory, however, prevented extended migration, and within a small compass the various companies owning fealty to the local great men, moved from place to place, when the refuse heaps became too large or the game grew too wary.

Their dwellings were known as wigwams, a corruption of the Algonquian word "wekuwomut," meaning, in our language, a house.[1] The younger Mayhew described these structures as "made with small poles like an arbor covered with mats, and their fire is in the midst, over which they leave a place for the smoak to go out at."[2] This was in 1650, and probably is a correct description of them as they were used before the coming of the whites. The island Indians did not use skins for a covering like those on the mainland, as there were not any animals numerous enough to supply them for that purpose. The mats were woven from the common marsh flag, or flower-de-luce, and probably long, native grasses were added for binding.[3] The name of Scrubby Neck, or a portion of it, in Algonquian, was Uppeanash-Konameset, meaning the "covering mat place," where the cat-tail flags grew in profusion, and were woven into coverings for their wigwams.

[1]Trumbull, English-Natick dictionary, 279. It is written *weetuomet* at times (Eliot, Bible, Isaiah: 40; 22), of which *wetu* is probably the third person singular indicative of a verb that means approximately "he makes his home."

[2]Light appearing, etc. (London, 1651), page 5.

[3]In a deed "mapsho grass that is suitable for matts" is mentioned (Dukes Deeds, IV, 45).

LANGUAGE OF THE VINEYARD INDIANS.

The language spoken by our Indians was a dialect of the great Algonquian tongue, and was the language of the Indians of Massachusetts, with slight differences, as testified to by all early students, but it is probable that those variations were largely due to the interpreters themselves. Experience Mayhew, perhaps the greatest philologist in this language after Eliot, has left a brief statement of the Vineyard dialect, which is here quoted as the only authoritative one we have on the subject:

.....The Martha's Vineyard Indian Dialect and that of Natick according to which Mr. Eliot translated the Indian Bible, are so very much alike that without a very Critical observation you would not see the difference.....Indeed, the difference was something greater than it now is, before our Indians had the use of the Bible and other Books translated by Mr. Eliot, but since that most of the Little differences that were betwixt them have been happily Lost and our Indians Speak but especially write much as those of Natick do.....[1]

My Grand Father in his time composed a large and Excellent Catechism for the Indians of this Island, agreeable unto their own Dialect; but not being printed, the original is, I think, utterly lost, and there only remains of it about forty pages in octavo, transcribed as I suppose by some Indian after his death.....

I learnt the Indian Language by Rote as I did my Mother Tongue, and not by Studying the Rules of it as the Lattin Tongue is commonly learned, besides, as you know, I am no Gramarian.....I shall then observe:

1. That all the articulate sounds used by the Indians in these Parts may be spelt with several Letters fewer than are used by the English; for I know of no word in the proper dialect of the Indians of the island but what may be very well written without any of these Consonants, viz; b. d. f. g. l. r. x. Indeed, some of them are frequently to be seen in our Indian books, but in words that are purely Indian, I think unnecessarily; in words derived from the English they are frequently needed.

2. That the Indian Vowels are the same with the English, save that the y. is never used with them as a vowel, and that o. is frequently pronounced through the Nose, much as one would pronounce it with the mouth close shut.

3. That Dipthongs or Duble sounds are of very frequent use with the Indian Language, as ae, au, ei, ee, eu, eau, oi, oo. Especially "oo" dipthong is of most frequent use, there being often two of them together in the same word.

[1]When Judge Sewall visited the island in 1702, he was told by Mayhew and the Indian preacher Japhet that "tis hardly feesible to send any [ministers from the Vineyard] to the Eastward to convert the Indians, their Language is so different." (Diary, III, 397).

4. That Some Indian words have so many consonants sounded in one and the same sillible as render the word somewhat difficult to pronounce.

5. That In the Indian Language there are so few if any proper partciples that it is unnecessary to Reckon the Partciple as one Part of their Language.....

6. That the Indian Pronoun is not declined or varied except where it is used in composition with other words or parts of speech.....

7. That the variation of Nouns is not by Genders or Cases, as in some other Languages, but in other accounts as the Numbers singular and Plural; Their Nature, whether Animate or inanimate; Their Magnitude, Great or small; Their being in present existence, or being past and gon.....

8. That the Noun Adjective or adnown, is declined as well as the nown substantive to which it relateth.....

9. Respecting Verbs, several things may be observed; (1) there is no compleat and intire word for the verb substantive, as am, art, is, etc..... (2) Other verbs there be both active and passive....(3) The most Indian verbs are personal, yet there are some impersonals....(4) Indian verbs have both modes and tenses belonging to them....(5) Verbes in Indian are both positive and negative.....Generally, concerning Indian verbs, I may say; That in the various conjugations or different formation of them, a very great part of the Indian Language does consist.....

10. Indian Adverbs are words attending on their verbs, and shew the Quallity of the actions signified by them, also their character, extention, duration, cessation, etc., such as in English end in -ly, comonly in Indian end in -e.

11. I may further observe that Indian words, especially the names of persons and things, are generally very significant, by far more so than those of the English, as the Hebrew also are; For with them, the way used was to call every place, Person, and thing by a name taken from some thing remarkable in it or attending of it. Thus the place where I dwell is in Indian called Nempanicklickanuk, in English, The place of Thunderclefts, because there was once a Tree there split in pieces by the Thunnder.....

12. I shall observe to you that the Indian Language delighteth greatly in compounding of words; in which way they frequently make one word out of several, and then one such word will comprehend what in English is four, five, or six; but as by this means they often have much in a little room, so it is also true that this sometimes makes their words very long, the rules of their Language calling for it.....I will give you an Instance of one: Nup-pahk-top-pe-pe-nau-wut-chut-chuh-quo-ka-nehcha-nehcha-e-nin-na-mun-nonok. Here are fifty-eight letters and twenty two syllables, if I do not miss count them. The English of this very long word is: Our well skilled Looking glass makers.....

I shall at present ad no more concerning the Indian Language, save in general that I think it good and regular. That it may seem otherwise to some is, as I judge, because ther is not yet a good Gramer made for it, nor are the Rules of it fully understood.....Nor are the Indians yet

so much beholden to other Nations, for words borrowed of them as the English are, or otherwise would be much poorer than now they be.[1]

In order that those interested in a further investigation of the language may have a concrete example of it as it looks when written out, the following document, taken from the land records, dated 1669, is here reproduced for diligent examination and study. There are many such deeds recorded in the original Algonquian, mostly by the Rev. Experience Mayhew, and they must remain a valuable contemporary evidence of the language of our island Indians as translated into English symbols by the diligent and painstaking missionaries.

DUKES DEEDS, VI. 412.

Wachtook wame Kenao woskatomppaog Tayu ohguompbi Nen Indiane Sachim Wompbamaog yug uessooog muttumsisog mache Chupbohtoogahkuh Taogkashkupbeh Neatkittammuk guanaimmuh Wutche Nen Wompbamag Noowekont ammooomk Nohmaktamckit aspoowesit Ales Setum wutchubpaoom ne ankuhque Rishkag Nessinnehehak Wonn napanna Radtoo Noh Nohtoe Ussoowegoo Keziah Setum neankuhque kishkug Wuttisham piog Nupomppunna Rudtoo Neankuhque kishkag nessee Tannkkanmoouk Neunnukkuhque kishkaiEnsompe quehpee hummiyu Pache Deagit oo bonus Watiskin Nen Wompamog Nissingu Minnuhki wussombpohtaunnau newutche mache Nutohup bmuummauonnooyu Tahshin ahkuhen Ales Setum Wona Keziah Setum (Wuttonnessuh Thomas Setum) wuttinnau nissinwona wame Uppemeteuukkunooout mikene asah Wattauwatuonkkanoout Wounnahtoae ahtauhiitich Michime yu Tahsin ahsk Newutche mattape Nupbappennoowehtoooun asahowan kannootammanshittogknoussontummoonk matpe wuttiss wnnau Seewunaahteaonk kune ahtauhuttit yu Tahehin ahkuh Ales Setum Keziah Setum Wona wame Ummeehummonk yo ahk March 14 Daye 1669.

Nen Wompammag Indian Sontum Numminnehkehtaum yu deede

(Seal)

Nen bonid Wauwaenin. oo X mark
noo X mark.

Onen Isack Omppanne Wannaenin.
noo X mark.

When he wished to express himself, however, in English, the native was not so verbose, as witness the following deed, written directly to the point:—

[1] Extracts from a letter of Experience Mayhew to Judge Paul Dudley, dated Chilmark, March the 20th, 1721–2.

"Josiah Cotton, in his vocabulary, compiled about 1727, says that he 'had some of his father's (Rev. John Cotton's) words, and he learned Indian at Nope, and these Indians (Plymouth) don't understand every word of them Indians.'"

DUKES DEEDS, I, 18.

Awannamuck and Kesuckquish of Unnunpauque we have bargained: I give him my land at Pahaukanit from the pointward to the headward, twenty-two rodde and half in length, and all toward the shore hee hath. I, Awannamuck, say so.

This is my hand. n.— *Wittinesses,*
Awannamuck hath five shillings.— WAMPAMUCK S.
I, Kesuckquish, say it.— PATTUCKQUITTAALICK G.
MANITTOCKET O.

Indeed, Brereton found them in 1602 speaking some English, if we may credit his roseate view of all the things he saw. He said:

They pronounce our language with great facilitie; for one of them one day sitting by me, upon occasion I spake smiling these words: "How now (sirha) are you so fancie with my Tobacco; which words (without any further repetition) he suddenly spake so plaine and distinctly, as if he had beene a long scholar in the language.[1]

THEIR MYTHS AND TRADITIONS.

Like all primitive races, the savages of North America had their myths and traditions, as respected their origin, the development of their surroundings, and the supernatural being who ruled all things for good or evil. Each division of these aboriginal peoples treasured the stories of the wonderful doings of this mighty spirit, to which a local coloring was given to invest the tales with human interest. These traditions had one common origin, and are closely correlated to the folk-lore of other races in distant lands and of widely separated stock. In the Amerindian lore, the all-powerful being who presided over their destinies was called Mich-a-bo, the Great White Hare, and from the remotest wilds of the northwest to the Atlantic, and from the southern savannahs of Georgia to the cheerless shores of Hudson's Bay, the Algonquians were never tired of circling around the winter fire in their wigwams and hearing the story of Michabo, whom all the tribes, with great unanimity, regarded as their common ancestor. He was recognized by them as the maker of all things on the earth, and had his abode in the heavens. He was the founder of the medicine hunt, in which, after appropriate ceremonies, the Indian sleeps and Michabo appears to him in his dreams and tells him how and where to find his game.

[1] "True Relation," II.

He devised all their implements, nets, weapons, and charms, and handed them down to his children for use in peace and war. In the autumn, the "moon of the falling leaf," he filled his great pipe and enjoyed a mighty smoke, ere he composed himself for the winter, and the clouds of balmy odor float over the hills and dales, filling the air with the haze of the Indian summer. Michabo was, in short, their omniscient, omnipotent one, who ruled the destinies of their world, and who entered into the smallest concerns of their daily lives. "Indeed," says the old missionary Brebœuf, in a tone of disgust with such puerilities, "without his aid, they think they could not boil a pot."

"It is passing strange," says Brinton, in his Myths of the New World "that such an insignificant creature as the rabbit should have received this apotheosis." In its various forms we may see the analogue of the "Bre'r Rabbit" stories of the negroes, which are constructed upon the same foundation. It is not a simple animal worship, although the name Michabo, in all its different local forms, lends emphasis to that hypothesis, as it is a compound word, which has been translated by the Indians themselves as meaning "great," and "hare" or "rabbit." Brinton, however, shows that these words had a deeper significance, an esthetic sense, which admits of a different interpretation, and "discloses at once the origin and the secret meaning of the whole story of Michabo, in the light of which it appears no longer the incoherent fable of savages, but the true myth, instinct with nature, pregnant with matter nowise inferior to those which fascinate in the chants of Rig Veda, or the weird pages of Edda."

The word "michi" (mashi, machi, etc.) signifies "great," and "abos" a hare, while the initial syllable of this last word, meaning "white," from which is derived their words for the east, the dawn, the light, and the morning. "Beyond a doubt" says Brinton, "this is the compound in the name Michabo, which therefore means the Great Light, the Spirit of Light, of the dawn or the east, and in the literal sense of the word, the Great White One, as indeed he has sometimes been called." Max Muller says that "the whole theogony and philosophy of the ancient world centred in the dawn, the mother of the bright gods, of the sun in his various aspects, of the morn, the day, the spring, herself the brilliant image and visage of immortality." In effect, the folk lore of the Algonquians, of which the Martha's Vineyard tribe had their share, was but

the crude form of a divine worship veiled under a local garb of fanciful coloring. In the few myths which have come down to us from the tribe which inhabited this island, we shall see the story of Michabo credited to Maushope (pronounced in three syllables), and his wonderful works here are but variants of the same tales told by other tribes on the Great Lakes, the shores of Nova Scotia, and the swamps of the Carolinas.

The following legend relates to the beginnings of the aboriginal life upon the Vineyard:—

"The first Indian who came to the Vineyard was brought thither with his dog on a cake of ice.[1] When he came to Gay Head he found a very large man, whose name was Moshup. He had a wife and five children, four sons and one daughter, and lived in the den. He used to catch whales, and then pluck up trees, and make a fire and roast them. The coals of the trees and the bones of the whales are now to be seen. After he was tired of staying here, he told his children to go and play ball on the beach that joined Nomans Land to Gay Head. He then made a mark with his toe across the beach, at each end, and so deep that the water followed and cut away the beach; so that his children were in fear of drowning. They took their sister up and held her out of the water. He told them to act as if they were going to kill whales, and they were all turned into killers (a fish so-called). The sister was dressed in large stripes; he gave them a strict charge always to be kind to her. His wife mourned the loss of her children so exceedingly that he threw her away. She fell upon Seconnett, near the rocks, where she lived some time, exacting contribution of all who passed by water. After awhile she was changed into a stone. The entire shape remained for many years, but after the English came some of them broke off the head, arms, &c, but the most of the body remains unto this day. Moshup went away nobody knows whither. He had no conversation with the Indians, but was kind to them, by sending whales &c ashore to them to eat. But after they grew thick around him he left them."[2]

[1]This is common to many legends of the origin of different tribes. As an example of its widespread character, the Sarcee Indians of Alberta, Canada, have the same story of the first of their people floating from the north on a cake of ice.—*Journal of American Folk Lore*, 1904, page 180.)

[2] 1 Mass. Hist. Soc. Coll., I, 139.

This tale was told over a hundred years ago to Benjamin Bassett, of Chilmark, by Thomas Cooper of Gay Head, who was born about 1725, and who learned it from his grandmother who, to use his own expression, "was a stout girl when the English came to the island." This legend is a fragmentary outline of the national myth of the Algonquians, Moshup being an obvious dialectic or Anglicized corruption of Michabo, while the deeds of this great being partake of local coloring, as was the character of all their tales about his wonderful powers. The four sons are the four cardinal points, and the daughter the Light of the Dawn, her "stripes" representing the rays of the sun. Among other tribes this legend would vary with their surroundings; at the Great Lakes, those bodies of water were his beaver dams; cataracts were torn up by his hands, and large depressions on the surface of the earth were his footsteps, which were eight leagues in length; and such like stories, told by the powwaws to their listeners made up the miracles of Michabo, the Great White One.

Another tale which has come down to us from the Vineyard Indians is as follows: "One day he decided to go to Cuttyhunk, which was but a few strides for one so famous as he, but he did not wish to get his feet wet, and taking some stones in his apron he began laying the foundations of a bridge. While engaged in this absorbing occupation a monster crab bit his toe and firmly held that member in its great claw, which caused Michabo to roar with pain, and in his anger he threw his load in every direction in his efforts to release himself. The rocks thus scattered mark the place now called the "Devil's Bridge," a fateful spot for mariners.[1] On another occasion an offering was made to him by his subjects of Nope, of all the tobacco on the island, and filling his great hopuonk or pipe, he sat down in front of his "den" and enjoyed this huge smoke. After taking his fill of this diversion, he turned over the bowl and knocked the ashes from it, and as they were carried by the wind to the eastward, they fell in a heap and formed the island of Nantucket, which was known as the Devil's Ash Heap by the natives."[2]

[1]"The natives of the Elizabeth Island say that the Devell was making a stone bridge over from the main to Nanamesit Island, and while he was rowling the stones and placing them under water, a crab catched him by the fingers, with which he snatched up his hand and flung it towards Nantucket, and the crabs breed there ever since." ("Memoranda of Naushon," by Wait Winthrop, 1702.)

[2]Mrs. Mary A. Cleggett Vanderhoop, of Gay Head, prepared a very interesting series of popular articles on the "History and Traditions of the Gay Head Indians" for the New Bedford Standard, which were published in the summer of 1904, and the

As there was a benevolent god which the Indians credited with all their good fortune, so there was an evil spirit who brought them sickness and mischance. This was Chepy or Cheeby, sometimes called Abbamocko.[1] This god was a universally accepted personage in the Algonquian mythology, and part of his performances relate to the Vineyard, where he vented some of his anger upon the terrified natives of Nope. Another of their bad deities was one called Squantum, "but worship him they do not," says an early traveler among the tribes of New England.[2] This name is a contracted form of "musquantum," meaning "he is angry," and when accidents befell them, the terrified natives would say with bated breath, "musquantum manit!" The local legend is to the effect that Squantum lived with Moshup as his wife, and that her eyes were square, and to hide this hideous deformity, she wore her hair over her face. Twelve children were born to them, all daughters, and they lived an ideal home life in the "Den" on Aquinniuh, the Indian name for Gay Head. Her life was so subordinated to this domestic situation that we do not hear much of her miraculous deeds except in the manner of her "taking off." Traditions differ as to this event, some saying she jumped from the highest of the chromatic cliffs of the western end of Nope, and passed forever out of sight into the blue waters of the Atlantic, while a more romantic version is to the effect that, led by Moshup along the glistening sands of the beaches of Gay Head and Squipnocket, the twain disappeared in one of the huge hummocks near "Zac's Cliffs." Imaginative children of Algonquian ancestry were kept within leash by whispered references to the mysterious reappearances of Squantum in this region, where she came out to smoke or to bathe, and any unusual sounds at nightfall were attributed to "Old Squant'," who was said to be warning mariners against shipwreck. This form of legend does not fit the accepted type of lore about the Squantum of the Indians elsewhere, but it is given for what it is worth—a ghost story.

author of this book regrets that there is not space to quote all of her picturesque narrative of the legends she has incorporated in her chapters about Moshup and his mythical associates. They vary in some particulars from the legends which are in print, but this is inseparable from such literature.

[1]This word is another form of Tchippe, meaning separated, apart, that is, dead; hence, a spirit, a ghost, one apart from the living. "Abbamocho or Cheepie many times smites them with incurable diseases, scares them with apparitions and panic terrors." (Josselyn, Two Voyages, 133).

[2]Josselyn: "Two Voyages"; comp., Higginson, "New England's Plantation," and Roger Williams' "Key into the Language of America."

The last myth which it will be profitable to consider in this section relates to Cheepy, the other Evil One, and includes a version of the building of the "Devil's Bridge." The building of this bridge was a matter of dispute between two elements of Aquinniuh; one whom we may designate as the progressive party, desired it for convenience of traveling to the main land, while the conservative portion of the inhabitants felt that it would serve as a thoroughfare for those on the main as well, and thus they would be crowded by strangers, and their peaceful homes disturbed by a foreign element. The progressive sentiment prevailed and we consider it as the element inimical to the interests of the Indians, for it was influenced by the wiles of Cheepie. He agreed to build a permanent structure, not an unsubstantial affair of wood. A formal agreement and contract was drawn up between the people and Cheepie, by which he was to complete the bridge from Aquinniuh to Poocutoh-hunk-konnoh, now called by the shortened form of Cuttyhunk, between the hour of sunset and before the crowing of the cocks in the morning. Beginning the gigantic task according to his compact, Cheepie worked with all of his Titanic powers, and was making wonderful progress, when a plot contrived by one of the opposition was brought into action. Doubtless it was devised by the Good Spirit, Michabo, but the local tale is silent on this phase of the legend. The bridge was rapidly pushing its length across the sound, when the trick was disclosed. It was based upon the habits of the cock, under the influence of light, whether it be natural or artificial, and one of the opposition was given the means to flash a torch in front of the cock whose crow was to mark the limit of time for Cheepie's contract. Waving the light before the astonished fowl, a loud crow and the flapping of wings was the response to the glaring flame, and the day was saved for the good Indians who opposed the mighty Evil Spirit.

But in after years it did not need a bridge to make a way for the alien, and he came in great canoes, larger than they had ever seen before, and they were filled with Wautaconu-a-og, men with coats; of another color, from the east. They brought with them strange weapons, fashioned out of a new material, had red beards, and knew not Michabo or Cheepie, nor yet Squanto. It seemed as if they were of the expected people who were to come out of the rising sun, from the dawn, white ones like Michabo, and inhabit their hunting and fish-

ing grounds. The destiny of Moshup, the Good Spirit of Nope, was about to be fulfilled. "He told them, his simple subjects," as narrated by the grandmother of Thomas Cooper, before quoted, "that as the light had come among them and he belonged to the Kingdom of Darkness, he must take his leave; which, to their great sorrow, he accordingly did, and never has been heard of since."

THE INDIAN MYTHOLOGY.

The religion of the Indians of Nope was that of their great parent stock, a form of Polytheism. Besides the good and evil Ones, whose names are given in the relations of their folk-lore, they had more than a score of others. The younger Mayhew, in his story of the conversion of Hiacoomes, the first Christianized Indian of the Vineyard, states that the former companions of this primeval convert would catechize him about the new religion. "Myoxeo asking him how many Gods the English did worship, he answered, 'one God,' whereupon Myoxeo reckoned up about thirty-seven principal Gods he had, and 'shall I (said he) throw away these thirty-seven Gods for one?' "[1] Evidently this incredulous native considered the subject from a mathematical standpoint, and thought the showing was distinctly unfavorable for the whites. Roger Williams confirms this enumeration in his investigations among the Narragansett tribe, who were allied to our own. "They have given me the names of thirty-seven, which I have, all which in their solemn worships they invocate."[2] Among these gods of the Indian mythology were Wompanand, the "Eastern God," that is, of the dawn, or of daylight; Wunnanna meanit, the "Northern God"; Chekesuwand, the "Western God"; Kautantowwit, the "Southwestern God," in whose domain, says Roger Williams, "the souls of all their great and good men and women go." This was their crude form of likening the rising sun to the beginning of life, and the setting of the same in the west as the end of light and life. Other gods were of special quality, such as Keesuckquand, the "Sun God"; Squauanit, the "Woman's God"; Wetuomanit, the "House God"; Paumpagussit, the "Sea God"; Yotaanit, the "Fire God"; Nanepaushat, the "Moon's God," and distinctive gods for good

[1] Letter of Mayhew to Whitfield, Sept. 7, 1650.

[2] "Key to Language, etc.," page 110.

and evil functions. The name adopted by the early Indian students, Mayhew, Eliot, Williams, and others, was Manitou, a word probably derived from "anue," meaning "above," with the suppositive participial form and indefinite prefix "m'anit," "he who is above."[1]

This religion was interpreted to the natives by a regular priesthood, whose members were called powwaws, or pauwaus, persons who are described by the missionary Mayhew as "such as cure by devilish sorcery, and to whom the devil appears sometimes."[2] Their influence over the natives of the island was powerful, and it is constantly referred to by Mayhew as the principal obstacle to his progress in the work of teaching the Christian doctrines to those who wished to investigate the new belief. Their priestly duties comprised all forms of control of secular as well as spiritual affairs. Williams tells us that "they make solemn speeches and orations, or Lectures to them concerning Religion, Peace, or Warre, and all thinge."[3] Hariot says of them: "The inhabitants give great credit unto their speeche, which often tymes they finde to be all true,"[4] and Wood, one of the earliest writers on the manners and customs of our New England aborigines, confirms this in his references to the powwaws. He states: "Their *pow-wows* betakeing themselves to their exorcisms and necromanticke charmes by which they bring to passe strange thinge, if we may believe the Indians."[5]

The information about the Indians derived from Thomas Cooper, above quoted, includes a description of the form of worship. "Whenever the Indians worshipped," he says, "they always sang and danced, and then begged of the sun and moon, as they thought most likely to hear them, to send them the desired favor; most generally rain or fair weather, or freedom from their enemies or sickness." These dances took place in the open, and one of their places of congregation for such ceremonies was the "Dancing Field" in Christiantown.

As an illustration of the manner of these powwaws in exorcising disease, the testimony of the younger Mayhew is of interest, as it came under his observation. "There was a very strange disease this yeare (1643)," he wrote, "amongst

[1]Trumbull, "Natick Dictionary," 268.

[2]Letter of Mayhew to J(ohn) D(ownam?), Nov. 18, 1647.

[3]Key to Language, page 111.

[4]Narrative (1685).

[5]New England's Prospect, c. xii (1634).

the Indians: they did run up and down till they could run no longer; they made their faces black as a coale, snatched up any weapon, speaking great words, but did no hurt; I have seen many of them in this case."[1] The Cooper legend, already quoted, gives us another picture of the native making a sort of sacrificial offering for the benefit of others less fortunate than himself, and leaves the realm of lore for that of fact. He says that consumption and yellow fever were the scourges of the Indians before the coming of the whites. In this nomenclature we must make some allowance for error, in the light of our knowledge of the diseases mentioned. It is probable that small pox was referred to in the term "yellow fever," as this disease is a tropical product exclusively, except in isolated cases which are imported to the north by rapid conveyance, at the present time. The pustular eruptions of small pox, with the incrustations following, gave the body a yellowish appearance, which was described as a "yellow fever." This disease could be "laid," as he explained, by the following ceremonies: "The rich, that is such as had a canoe, skins, axes, etc., brought them. They took their seats in a circle; and all the poor sat around without. The richest then proposed to begin to lay the sickness; and having in his hand something in shape resembling his canoe, skin or whatever else his riches were, he threw it up in the air, and whoever of the poor without could take it, the property it was intended to resemble became forever transferred to him or her. After the rich had thus given away all their movable property to the poor, they looked out the handsomest and most sprightly young man in the assembly and put him in an entirely new wigwam, built of everything new for that purpose. Then they formed into two files, at a small distance from each other, one standing in the space at each end, put fire to the bottom of the wigwam on all parts, and fell to singing and dancing. Presently the youth would leap out of the flames and fall down, to appearances dead. Him they committed to the care of five virgins, prepared for that purpose, to restore to life again. The time required for this would be uncertain, from six to forty-eight hours, during which time the dance must be kept up. When he was restored, he would tell that he had been carried in a large thing high up in the air, where he came to a great company of

[1]Letter, Mayhew to Whitfield, Sept. 7, 1650. ("Light Appearing," etc., p. 4).

white people, with whom he had interceded hard to have the distemper layed; and generally after much persuasion would obtain a promise, or answer of peace which never failed of laying the distemper."

INDIAN WEAPONS AND UTENSILS.

The implements used by the aborigines belonged to the stone age, with some exceptions referred to later on. Their weapons were made of various kinds of stone, and fashioned into arrow heads, spear points, and hammers, which were fastened to shafts or handles by thongs of skin, or the inside of the bark of willow trees.[1] Articles of domestic service, such as mortars and pestles for pounding up and pulverizing their corn, were made of stone, and possibly mortars were fashioned out of oak wood by charring and hollowing out a cavity by successive applications of live coals. Fishing implements were probably made of bones ingeniously bent into form like a hook, and it is known that they were cognizant of the use of nets constructed of animal gut, flax, and vegetable binders, grasses, bark, and the like, as well as of the making of weirs for the herring runs. Undoubtedly they used spears for the larger fish, along the shores, but it is doubtful if they were ever much engaged in hunting the striped bass or blue fish with their primitive devices. One custom learned from the Indians was a form of fishing by torch-light, and known as "wequashing," a word which survives to this day in certain portions of New England. It is an anglicized participial form of *weekquash*, an eastern Algonquian term for fishing by an artificial light. The word *wequai* means "light," and we find *wequananteg*, a candlestick, mentioned by Eliot. The Indian fishing stations on the island are well defined by the names which have survived. Kataamuck (Katama), a crab fishing place; Chickemmoo, weir fishing place; Uncawamuck (Eastville), further or utmost fishing place; Quanaimes, the long fish place; Ashappaquonsett, where the nets are spread, and others along the sea inlets and creeks.

Many of the smaller stone implements are found every year in the farms about the island, when the ground is plowed

[1]The means employed by the Indians in making these small arrow-heads, some of them small and delicate stones, has long remained a mystery. Recently, a student of archæology, after repeated experiments, has demonstrated the process by the use of a small hard-wood mallet. The shape of it is beveled and the stroke applied according to the cleavage of the stone employed.

deeply. By this means several collections of arrow heads, spears, pestles, etc. have been made by those interested.[1]

The method employed by the Indians for starting a blaze, by the use of flint and tinder, is thus related by Brereton: "They strike fire in this manner; every one carrieth about him in a purse of tewed leather a Minerall stone (which I take to be their Copper), and with a flat Emerie stone (wherewith Glasiers cut glasse, and Cutlers glase blades) tied fast to the end of a little sticke, gently he striketh upon the Minerall stone, and within a stroke or two a sparke falleth upon a piece of Touchwood (much like our Spunge in England), and with the least sparke he maketh a fire presently."[2]

That the aborigines had knowledge of the use of copper is clearly established by the testimony of Brereton. The objects fashioned from it must have been obtained from the natives of the Lake Superior region by a system of exchange or purchase, through intermediaries on the main land. The journalist of Gosnold's voyage says:

> None of them but have chaines, earrings, or collars of this mettal; they head some of their arrows herewith, much like our broad arrow heads, very workmanly made. Their chaines are many hollow pieces semented together, ech piece of the bignesse of one of our reeds, a finger in length ten or twelve of them together on a string, which they weare about their necks; their collars they weare about their bodies like bandelieres, a handfull broad, all hollow pieces, like the other, but somewhat shorter foure hundred pieces in a collar, very fine and evenly set together. Besides these, they have large drinking cups, made like sculles, and other thinne plates of Copper, made much like our boare speare blades, all which they so little esteeme, as they offere their fairest collars or chaines for a knife or such like trifle, but we seemed little to regard it; yet I was desirous to understand where they had such store of this mettall, and made signes to one of them (with whom I was verie familiar), who, taking a piece of Copper in his hand, made a hole with his finger in the ground and withall pointed to the maine from whence they came.[3]

ABORIGINAL POPULATION.

Of the number of Indians living on the island at this period, we are without definite knowledge. One author-

[1]The late Rev. Daniel Stevens of Vineyard Haven was an early collector and his specimens, inherited by a son, are now on deposit in an historical museum in Bristol, R. I., while a fine array of all varieties of implements has been gathered by Mr. Chester Poole, Mr. Daniel Vincent and Mrs. Frank P. Flanders, all of Chilmark. The author also has a small collection of arrow heads and spear heads.

[2]Brief and True Relation, 10.

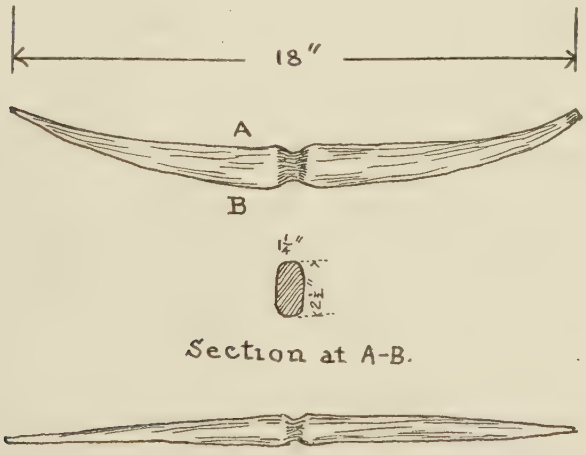
[3]True Relation, 9.

ity estimated the Indian population in 1642 as three thousand.[1] Whether their numbers had been affected by the "epidemicall disease" which, for three years prior to the landing at Plymouth had decimated some tribes, and is believed to have been the small-pox, is not known; but presumably they suffered somewhat from the then prevailing scourge, which existed along the coast from the Penobscot to Narragansett bay.[2]

These, then, were the people inhabiting our island as lords of the soil, from the remotest periods to the time when it passed into the possession of the English owners by "right" of discovery and settlement.

[1] 2 Mass. Hist. Coll., III, 92.

[2] Daniel Gookin, writing in 1674, says: "I have discoursed with some old Indians, that were then youths, who say that the bodies all over were exceeding yellow (describing it by a yellow garment he showed me), both before they died and afterwards." (Ibid., I, 148).



STONE IMPLEMENT,

FOUND AT MILL HILL, EDGARTOWN.[1]

[1] The author is indebted to Mr. Geo. M. Warren, engineer in charge of the construction of the water supply system of Edgartown, for a description of this stone weapon found by him in 1906 during excavations at this place.

CHAPTER III.

Early Voyages of Discovery.

It cannot be said that the history of Martha's Vineyard begins with the voyages of the Norsemen to the country called Vinland by them during their visits to an unexplored region in the unknown west, in the 10th and 11th centuries, for much of the truth of their discoveries lies hidden in the mysterious descriptions of the Icelandic sagas. The general consensus of historical judgment is that these hardy mariners penetrated our New England coast lines during the period covered by their voyages, and the only points of dispute that arise touch the attempted identification of localities described by them in their sagas. Here local pride and historical acumen often strain at their moorings in the endeavor to adopt the generalized narrative of the writers to local surroundings. The most careful and conservative commentary on the subject accepts the view of their visit to the southern coast of New England, and upon this basis proceeds to a scheme of identification of locality. This feature is the work of Professor C. C. Rafn, the learned geographer and student of Norse literature.[1]

In the saga of Thorfinn Karlsefne, narrating a voyage undertaken in the year 1006, the following description occurs respecting the locality about the south shore of Cape Cod, which they called Kiarlness, Keel-nose, because it resembled the keel of a ship. The writer thus continues:

> They sailed into a frith; there lay an island before it, round which there were strong currents, therefore called they it Stream island. There were so many eider ducks on the island that one could scarcely walk in consequence of the eggs.

The name of Stream island in Icelandic is Straumey, which the learned geographer Rafn has identified as Martha's Vineyard, and which is accepted by the editor of the sagas as the correct inference. In the light of such high authority, we may rest our case of the visit of the Norsemen to the Vineyard and adopt their conclusions. So the first known

[1]Voyages of the Norsemen in the 10th and 11th centuries, by Edmund F. Slafter, A. M., D. D., Prince Society, Vol. X.

name of our island, christened almost nine centuries ago, was Straumey, the stream island, so called because of that peculiar co-tidal phenomena which impressed all the early voyagers, sailing into these waters.

VERRAZZANO'S VOYAGE, 1524.

Over five hundred years elapse before we have any further definite record of a European exploration into these waters, and this was the voyage of the Italian navigator, Giovanni da Verrazzano. He was a corsair in the French service and left France in 1523, in command of an expedition which explored the coast of North America, from North Carolina to Newfoundland during 1524, and in the course of this extended travel along our shores, he entered New York bay and spent some time in and about Narragansett Bay. While it is not possible to say that he set foot upon the Vineyard, yet it is within the probabilities that he did not pass by the largest island on the coast without making a landing. He is supposed to have disembarked upon one of the islands off this coast, which some have thought to be Block island, but it does not seem reasonable that he would specially designate a small island, and not notice one next to it thrice its size. But the maps and narratives of the early explorers are mysterious reading, and it is only possible to say that he named an island off the south coast of New England in honor of the mother of Francis I. of France. Mercator, who made the map based upon the explorations of Verrazzano, confounded the name of Claudia, the wife of Francis I., with that of the king's mother, Luisa, and so placed the former name on his charts. Others followed his nomenclature, and it was not until modern discovery of Verrazzano's own map showed that the voyager had properly placed the name of Luisa on the island he had found. A number of historical students consider that it refers to the Vineyard.[1] If this be true, it will be seen that our island bore the name of Luisa before it came to be known as Martha.

THE LANDING OF GOSNOLD, 1602.

With our succeeding navigator, Bartholomew Gosnold, we are getting upon sure ground, as his voyage is so well

[1]Brodhead, History of New York, I, 57; comp., Historical Magazine, II, 99; Magazine of American History, February 1893, p. 91.

described by two journalists, that we may follow him from his port of departure, "upon the five and twentieth of March, 1602, being Friday," when he set sail "from Falmouth, being in all two and thirty persons, in a small barke of Dartmouth, called the Concord, holding a course for the north part of Virginia," as all this region was then called. Of the personality of this early discoverer, but little has been known, until recent years, when, through the investigations of an antiquarian, his lineage has been established, and we now know that he was the son and heir of Anthony Gosnold of Grundisburgh, in the county of Suffolk, and of the older family of Gosnold of Otley in the same county.[1] His mother was Dorothy, daughter of George and Margaret Bacon of Hessett, county of Suffolk, and through this connection he was related to the well known Nathaniel Bacon, the "rebel" of Virginia, although they were of different generations, and distant kindred comprised the distinguished names of Sir Nicholas Bacon and his more famous son, known as Lord Bacon, "the wisest, brightest, meanest of mankind." Another relative connected with early American colonization was Edward Maria Wingfield, Governor of Virginia in 1607, when Gosnold was a resident of that colony. The wife of Captain Gosnold was Catherine Barrington, thought to be the daughter of Sir Thomas Barrington of Hatfield, county of Essex, and thus it will be seen that he was of the best stock in England at that time; but his fame does not rest upon this aggregation of distinguished names, for his own eminent services to his country are enough to place him above the reflected glory of kith and kin, however celebrated. This dauntless pioneer, who sailed the shorter route across the Atlantic, discovered, or at least named the Elizabeth islands and founded the first settlement of white men on our shores, has a personality of his own, which we are glad to recognize, in view of his intimate connection with the beginnings of the definite history of Martha's Vineyard.

Of his voyage hither, his journalist says that it was longer than expected, notwithstanding they made a direct course from the Azores, because the bark was "weake" and the sailors few, and "our going upon an unknowen coast made us not over-bolde to stand in with the shore." On Friday, the 14th of May, early in the morning, they made land, nearly

[1] J. Henry Lea in Genealogical Register, LVI, 402, et seq.

six weeks after leaving Falmouth, and they found their fall along a shore marked by low hummocks, full of "fair trees," and reaches of white sand.[1] At noon Gosnold anchored, when "sixe Indians, in a Baske shallop with mast and saile, an iron grapple, and a kettle of copper, came boldly abord us, one of them apparrelled with a wastcoat and breeches of black serdge, made after our sea-fashion, hose and shoes on his feet; all the rest (saving one that had a paire of breeches of blue cloth) were all naked." It seemed that some fishermen of St. Jean de Luz, as they supposed, had been trading or fishing there at some time previous.[2] Gosnold weighed anchor at three in the afternoon, and standing on a southerly course the rest of the day and the night following, they found themselves in the morning "embayed with a mightie headland," and at nine o'clock Gosnold anchored and went ashore with four of the ship's company and marched "all that afternoon with our muskets on our necks." They found this headland to be a part of the main land. During their absence the crew had busied themselves with catching fish, and "had pestered our ship so with Cod fish that we threw numbers of them over-bord againe." In commemoration of this event, Gosnold named the place "Cape Cod," a name it has ever since borne.

"From this place," continues the narrator, "we sailed round about this headland, almost all points of the compasse, the shore very bolde; but as no coast is free from dangers, so I am persuaded, this is as free as any; the land somewhat low, full of goodly woods, but in some places plaine; at length we were come amongst many faire Islands, which we had partly discerned at our first landing; all lying within a league or two one of another, and the outermost not above sixe or seven leagues from the maine." It is evident that Gosnold had doubled Cape Cod and coursed along in Nantucket sound and gone outside, through Muskeget channel, as the safest direction, to prevent a possible entrance into a bay with uncertain water.

The narrative continues: "But comminge to an anker under one of these (i. e., islands), which was about three or foure leagues from the maine, Captaine Gosnold, myselfe,

[1]This landfall was about the region of Cape Ann. Pring, in the narrative of his voyage the next year (1603), says: "We bare into that great Gulfe which Captaine Gosnold overshot the yerre before" (Massachusetts Bay).

[2]S. Jean de Luz is a little fishing port on the Bay of Biscay, on the French coast, almost to the Spanish frontier. Doubtless many of these hardy, but unknown mariners, had made unrecorded voyages to our coast for years prior to 1600.

and some others, went ashore, and going round about it, we found it to be foure English miles in compasse, without house or inhabitant, saving a little, old house made of boughes, covered with barke, an old piece of a weare of the Indians, to catch fish, and one or two places where they had made fires." This was the present Noman's Land which they explored, but in the margin of the text is this legend, opposite this description: "The first Island called Marthæs Vineyard." Thus appears for the first time in any printed or written record the name which is now attached to our island. The journalist then describes the flora and fauna of this islet, noting "an incredible store of Vines, as well in the woodie part of the Island, where they run upon every tree, as upon the outward parts, that we could not goe for treading upon them."

He then speaks of "a great standing lake of fresh water, neere the sea side, an English mile in compasse, which is mainteined with the springs running exceeding pleasantly thorow the woodie grounds, which are very rockie." It is only fair to say that no such "lake" now exists on Noman's Land, and it may be that Gosnold's journalist was drawing on his imagination for the benefit of the English reading public, or that the narration was purposely erroneous to deceive rival navigators of the French and Spanish nations. It will be understood that at this time there was great jealousy among the maritime peoples as to priority of discovery, and each explorer was bound to mislead the competing captains of his rivals, and it was a common thing for them to give wrong latitude and other points for this purpose.[1] It is still a question in the mind of the author whether Gosnold did not really land on the Vineyard proper, and so confuse his narrative to the end that others might not profit by it, except in a general way. Indeed, his description of "another island" so fits the topographical conditions of the south side of the Vineyard that one can hardly refrain from declaring it to be a true statement of the case. He says: "From hence (i. e., the first or Noman's Land) we went to another Island to the Northwest of this, and within a league or two of the maine, which we found to be greater than before we imagined, being 16 English miles at the least in compasse; for it conteineth many pieces or necks of land, which differ nothing from severall

[1]Brereton says the latitude was 43, which would take us up to Portsmouth, N. H. The actual latitude of Cape Cod is 41.32 to 42.05.

Islands, saving that certeine banks of small bredth do like bridged joyne them to this Island." The necks running into the south beach never had a more picturesque description than this. Opposite this, however, in the margin, is the legend "Elizabeths Island," and we must suppose that Cuttyhunk is intended, but making all due allowance for the contour of that island, sand spits and all, the circumference of it is not half of sixteen miles credited to the one he was describing. But the Vineyard is greater, and roughly speaking, about sixty miles in circumference, and the question arises, did the journalist mean sixteen or sixty "English miles, at the least, in compasse"? He goes on further: "On the northwest side of this island, neere to the sea side, is a standing Lake of fresh water, almost three English miles in compasse, in the middest whereof stands a plot of woodie ground, an acre in quantitie, or not above." The pond on Cuttyhunk is supposed to be referred to here, though it is stated to be on the island sixteen miles, at least, in circumference, while the pond itself is only about a mile and three-quarters in circumference, following all its windings. These variations from the actual measurements will give some idea of the difficulty of arriving at certain conclusions from the narratives of the early voyagers.

On May 24, they set sail and doubled the cape of another island next to the one first explored, and this they called Dover Cliff, which undoubtedly refers to Gay Head, "and then came into a fair sound, where we rode all night." The next day the company went on an errand of investigation and "discovered" another cape that lay northwest of this, "between us and the main, from which were a ledge of rocks a mile into the sea," a description that well fits Cuttyhunk and the Sow and Pigs reef. They went about this and came to anchor in eight fathoms, "a quarter of a mile from the shore, in one of the stateliest sounds that ever I was in. This we called Gosnold's Hope, the North Bank whereof is the main, which stretcheth east and west." This is the present Buzzards Bay, which they explored to some extent, and returned to the ship for the night. "Now the next day," the narrative continues, "we determined to fortifie ourselves in the little plot of ground in the midst of the Lake above mentioned, where we built an house and covered it with sedge, which grew about this lake in great abundance; in building whereof, we spent three weeks and more."

Their intercourse with the natives was of a pacific character, the simple savages coming freely to them for the purpose of trading his furs and copper ornaments for such trinkets as the company had, knives, cloths, and articles of personal adornment. A party of fifty came at first, after some ceremony, including the exchange of presents; when these formalities were finished, Captain Gosnold "sent for meat aboord our shallop, and gave them such meats as we then had readie dressed, whereof they misliked nothing but our mustard, whereat they made many a sowre face." The rest of that day was spent in trading with them for furs, "which are Beavers, Luzernes, Marterns, Otters, Wild-Cat skinnes, very large and deepe furre, blacke foxes, Conie skinnes, of the colour of our Hares, but somewhat lesse, Deere skinnes very large, Seale skinnes, and other beast skinnes to us unknowen." These Indians staid about their island for three days, retiring every night "to the furthermost part of our island, two or three miles from our fort," which would land them into the sea, if they really went that distance, as the island is barely two miles long at its extreme limits.

During the rest of their stay there the company gathered sassafras root, in which they were assisted by the natives, and loaded their vessel with this product of the new country. At that time the roots were worth three shillings a pound, and it was a valuable commodity. The climate was entirely satisfactory to them, as Brereton states that "we found our health & strength all the while we remained there, so to renew and increase, as notwithstanding our diet and lodging was none of the best, yet none of our Company (God be thanked) felt the least grudging or inclination to any disease or sickness, but were much fatter and in better health than when we went out of England." The middle of June had arrived and their vessel had been filled with skins, furs, sassafras, cedar, and other commodities, and part of them desired to return. "Some of our company," continues the journalist, "that had promised captaine Gosnold to stay, having nothing but a saving voyage in their minds, made our company of inhabitants (which was small enough before) much smaller; so as captaine Gosnold, seeing his whole strength to consist but of twelve men, and they but meanly provided, determined to returne for England, leaving this island (which he called Elizabeths Island) with as many true sorrowful eies, as were before desirous to see it. So the 18 of June

being Friday, we weighed, and with indifferent faire winde and weather came to anker the 23 of July, being also Friday (in all, bare five weeks) before Exmouth." The voyage from port to port was exactly four months, of which over half was spent on the ocean, and exploring, but short as was their stay in this region it is generally regarded as the true beginning of the history of New England.[1]

Gosnold never returned to the scene of this first settlement on our shores. He was afterwards second in command of the little fleet which set sail for Virginia on Dec. 20, 1606, under Captain Christopher Newport, and he became a member of "His Majestie's Counsel of His First Colony in Virginia." He died there on Aug. 22, 1607, and his bones lie in some nameless grave about Jamestown. Little or nothing is known of the subsequent history of John Brereton, the historian of the voyage, unless he be the same person who was convicted of manslaughter in 1611, and pardoned, or the John Brereton who applied for a license in 1613 to keep an inn at Chester. The known members of the company, besides those already mentioned, were Bartholomew Gilbert, second officer; Robert Saltern, who was afterwards a clergyman; Gabriel Archer, gentleman and journalist; John Angel, William Streete, Robert Meriton and . . . Tucker.

In 1903, in commemoration of the ter-centennial of the events above described, several gentlemen interested in historical matters, erected a granite shaft on Cuttyhunk, which should be a beacon for mariners, and a memorial of the first settlement of Englishmen in New England.

CHAMPLAIN'S VOYAGE, 1606.

The next voyager to visit our island was the celebrated Frenchman, Samuel Champlain, who has perpetuated his name in one of the largest and most beautiful of the New England lakes. In 1606, he skirted along the coast, doubled Cape Cod, which he had christened Cap Malebarre, and made a harbor inside of Monomoy. Here he anchored in Oyster Bay, drew an excellent chart of the haven and road-

[1] The original authorities on this voyage are: Brereton's "A Briefe and true Relation of the Discoverie of the North part of Virginia &c," London, 1602; and Gabriel Archer's Relation of Captain Gosnold's Voyage to the north part of Virginia, begun.....1602, &c.," in Purchas, his Pilgrimes, vol. IV, London, 1625; reprinted in 3 Mass. Hist. Coll., VIII, Boston, 1843.

stead, and had a sharp conflict with the natives. Then he sailed on and thus narrates his progress westward:

> After having gone some six or seven leagues (about twenty miles), we sighted an island which we named La Soupçonneuse, because, in the distance, we had several times thought it was not an island.

From the low decks of their small shallops they were not able to distinguish the natural features of the land and water sufficiently to demonstrate between the main, the islands, peninsulas, tidal inlets, and rivers, and so, in their quandary, as they approached the unknown island, Champlain christened the Indian Nope as La Soupoçnneuse, meaning "the suspicious" literally, or freely translated "the doubtful." Thence they passed by the Chops and Woods Hole, where Champlain, noticing the strong tidal outflow concluded it to be the mouth of a river, and gave his name to it as such. Our island has thus a third name to its credit, La Soupçonneuse.

BLOCK'S AND CHRISTIAENSEN'S VOYAGES, 1611–1614.

Subsequent years brought the adventurous Dutchmen into the field of colonial enterprise, and the next exploration of this region was made by Hendrick Christiaensen of Cleves, near Nymegen, who, with Adriæn Block, sailed for Manhattan about 1611, and having successfully accomplished the voyage, were sent back again in the next year. Block Island is a memorial of this hardy navigator from Holland.[1]

In 1614, Block again sailed upon this coast, and explored Buzzards Bay, and in the course of his narrative describes the large "white and clayey" island commonly called "Texel" by tbe Dutch cartographers, in honor of one of the West Friesian islands off the coast of the Netherlands, which was probably applied to the Vineyard by Block himself. South of Texel he observed a small island, which he furnished with the name of his old companion, Hendrick Christiaensen, and for years after, in the old maps of Dutch make, this mariner's name is given to Noman's Land.

It is more than probable that many of these voyagers landed upon this island, now known by the name of Martha's Vineyard, in the course of their explorations, but the record of it has not come down to us. In the case of the Dutch

[1]Wassenaar, Historische Verhael, etc., VIII, 85. Christiaensen afterwards made ten voyages to Manhattan.

they had a definite object in view, the settlement of Manhattan island, and did not undertake to investigate other places, except incidentally.

CAPTAIN JOHN SMITH, 1614.

The next explorer to engage our attention is the redoubtable John Smith, the "Captain" John who had so many romantic adventures in Virginia, in 1607 and 1608, of which the Pocahontas incident is the most famous. Captain Smith, after his return to London, interested some merchants of that city in an expedition which he projected for the exploration of the northern Atlantic coast, and in 1614 he set sail with a small number of vessels, having under him, among other masters, a Captain Hunt, in command of the "Long Robert." Smith sailed along the New England coast from Penobscot to Cape Cod, and after finishing his voyage, he returned home, leaving this Hunt to continue the work. It appears that Captain Hunt must have gone around the cape, perhaps in the region of Chatham or the south shore about Monomoy, where he found opportunity to surprise and capture about two dozen of the natives who had come aboard his ship. Smith thus comments upon this act of treachery:—

> But one Thomas Hunt, the Master of this ship (when I was gone), thinking to prevent the intent I had to make there a Plantation, thereby to keepe this abounding Countrey still in obscuritie, that onely he and some few Merchants might enjoy wholly the Trade and profit of this Countrey, betraied foure and twenty of those poore Salvages aboord his ship; and most dishonestly and inhumanely, for their kinde usage of me and all our men, carried them with him to Maligo, and there for a little private gaine sold those silly Salvages for Rialls of eight; but this vilde act kept him ever after from any more emploiment in those parts.[1]

Accounts differ as to the precise place where this kidnapping affair occurred. Smith, who wrote nearer the time of the event, states that "at Capawe(k) they tooke Coneconam and Epenow," while Sir Ferdinando Gorges, who prepared his narrative of his Colonial adventures more than two score years after, says that the capture took place "upon the main."[2] It is not very material to us, except that it has

[1] Generall Historie, VI, 205.

[2] Gardiner in his "New England's Vindication" says: ".....and one Hunt at the end of his voyage, in the Long-Robert betrayed 22 of the Natives aboard his ship, carried them for Spain, to sell them for slaves; (an Ill act) they would not work; the Spaniards refused them; brought for England; Hunt taken by the Turks coming home. (p. 2.)

a particular bearing on our local history, for one of the prisoners was a Vineyard native, named Epenow, or Appanow, and his subsequent adventures form an extended story in Gorges' book. It will be best to let that author present the facts about this savage in his own words:

While I was laboring by what means I might best continue life in my languishing hopes, there comes one Captain Henry Harley unto me, bringing with him a native of the island of Capawick, a place seated to the southward of Cape Cod, whose name was Epenowe, a person of a goodly stature, strong and well proportioned. This man was taken upon the main with some twenty-nine others, by a ship of London, that endeavoured to sell them for slaves in Spain; but being understood that they were Americans, and found to be unapt for their uses, they would not meddle with them, this being one of them they refused. Wherein they expressed more worth than those that brought them to the market, who could not but know that our nation was at that time in travail for settling of Christian colonies upon that continent, it being an act tending to our prejudice, when we came into that part of the countries, as it shall further appear. How Captain Harley came to be possessed of this savage, I know not; but I understood by others how he had been showed in London for a wonder. It is true (as I Have said) he was a goodly man, of a brave aspect, stout, and sober in his demeanor, and had learned so much English as to bid those that wondered at him "Welcome! Welcome!" this being the last and best use they could make of him, that was not grown out of the people's wonder.

At the time this new savage came unto me, I had recovered Assacumet, one of the natives I sent with Captain Chalownes in his unhappy employment, with whom I lodged Epenow, who at first hardly understood one another's speech; 'til after a while I perceived the difference was no more than that of ours is between the Northern and Southern people; so that I was a little eased in the use I made of my old servant, whom I engaged to give an account of what he learned by conference between themselves, and he as faithfully performed it. Being fully satisfied of what he was able to say, and the time of making ready drawing on, folowing my pretended designs, I thought it became me to acquaint the thrice honoured Lord of Southampton with it, for that I knew the Captain had some relation to his Lordship, and I not willing in those days to undertake any matter extraordinary without his Lordship's advice; who approved of it so well that he adventured one hundred pounds in that employment, and his Lordship being at that time commander of the Isle of Wight, where the Captain had his abiding place under his Lordship, out of his nobleness was pleased to furnish me with some of his land soldiers, and to commend to me a grave gentleman, one Captain Hobson, who was willing to go to that voyage and to adventure one hundred pounds himself. To him I gave the command of the ship, all things being ready, and our company came together, attending for a fair wind. They set sail in June, in anno 1614, being fully instructed how to demean themselves in every kind, carrying with them Epenow, Assacomet, and Wenape, another native of those parts, sent to me out of the Isle of Wight

for my better information in the parts of the country of his knowledge. When, as it pleased God that they were arrived upon the coast, they were piloted from place to place by the natives as well as their hearts could desire. And coming to the harbor where Epenow was to make good his undertaking, the principal inhabitants of the place came aboard, some of them being his brothers, others his near cousins; who, after they had communed together, were kindly entertained by the Captain, departed in their canoes, promising the next morning to come aboard again and bring some trade with them. But Epenow privately (as it appeared) had contracted with his friends how he might make his escape without performing what he had undertaken, being in truth no more than he had told me he was to do, though with loss of life; for otherwise, if it were found that he had discovered the secrets of his country, he was sure to have his brains knocked out as soon as he came ashore. For that cause I gave the Captain strict charge to endeavor by all means to prevent his escaping from them; and for the more surety, I gave order to have three gentlemen of my own kindred (two brothers of Sturton's and Master Matthews) to be ever at hand with him, clothing him with long garments, fitly to be laid hold on if occasion should require. Notwithstanding, all his friends being all come at the time appointed with twenty canoes, and lying at a certain distance with their bows ready, the Captain calls to them to come aboard; but they not moving, he speaks to Epenow to come unto him where he was, in the forecastle of the ship. He then being in the waist of the ship, between two of the gentlemen that had him in guard, starts suddenly from them and coming to the Captain, calls to his friends in English to come aboard; in the interim slips himself overboard, and although he was taken hold of by one of the company, yet being a strong, heavy man, could not be stayed, and was no sooner in the water but the natives sent such a shower of arrows, and withal came so desperately near the ship, that they carried him away in despite of all the musketeers aboard, who were for the number as good as our nation did afford."[1]

Captain John Smith gives us some further light upon this voyage. He says:—

Some of *Plimoth* and divers Gentlemen of the West Countrey, a little while before I returned from *New England* in search for a mine of Gold about an Ile called *Capawick*, Southwards from the Shoules of Cape James (Cod), as they were informed by a Salvage called Epenow." He further adds: "that having deluded them as it seems thus to get home, seeing they kept him as a prisoner in his owne Countrey, and before his friends; being a man of so great a stature and it seems of no less courage and authoritie than of wit strength and proportion. For so well had he contrived his businesse, as many reported he intended to have surprised the ship; but seeing it could not be affected to his liking, before them all he leaped overboard. Many shot they made at him, thinking they had slaine him; but so resolute were they to recover his body, the master of the ship was wounded and many of his company. And thus they lost him; and not knowing more what to do, returned againe to England for nothing."[2]

[1]Briefe Narration, 13-16.

[2]Generall Historie, VI., 206.

This incident remained an unpleasant memory in the minds of the natives of the Cape and the Vineyard for many years. After the Pilgrims had landed at Plymouth, the Indians of that region and to the southward held resentment against the whites for this act. Morton, the secretary of the colony, in his "Memorial," a history of events beginning with the arrival of the Mayflower, says under date of 1621: "This people are ill affected to us because of Hunt, who carried away twenty from this place we now inhabit, and seven from the Nausites, as before observed."[1] Nauset is the present Eastham, and the Nausites were the tribe which inhabited that territory. Smith adds the following information upon this point about the year 1623: "Massasoit, on his sick bed, told Governour Winslow that all the people (Indians) of Powmet, Nawset, Succonet, Mattachist, Manamet, Agawam, and Capawac were joyned to murder us (i. e., the English at Plymouth)."[2]

DERMER'S VISIT, 1619.

Another English seaman, exploring the New England coast in 1619, came to the Vineyard in the course of his voyage, and renewed acquaintance with Epenow, whom it seems he had met in England. In a letter to Samuel Purchase, dated Dec. 27, 1619, this explorer, Captain Thomas Dermer, says:—

"Departing hence (Manamock, i. e., Monomoy), the next place we arrived at was Capavek, an island formerly discovered by the English, where I met Epenow, a savage that lived in England and speaks indifferent good English, who foure yeeres since, being carried home, was reported to have been slaine with divers of his country men by Saylers, which was false."[3]

The next year Dermer returned to the island and had a narrow escape from death. He was on a trading expedition, and had been at Plymouth, where he took on board the celebrated Squanto, probably as an interpreter, and shaped his course for Nope or Capawack. Morton thus describes the event: "he (Dermer) going ashore among the Indians

[1]New England's Memorial (1669), 21.

[2]Generall Historie, VI, 238.

[3]Among the Indian sachems who came to Plymouth in 1621 and subscribed allegiance to King James was Appanow, but whether this indian was the Vineyard Epenow can not be said with certainty. He was not described as a principal man among the indians by Gorges, but his adventures may have gained him a sachemship. (Morton, Memorial.)

to trade as he used to do, was assaulted and betrayed by them, and all his men slain, but one that kept the boat; but himself got on board very sore wounded, and they had cut off his head upon the cuddy of the boat, had not his man rescued him with a sword; and so they got him away and made shift to get into Virginia, where he died, whether of his wounds or the diseases of the country, or both, is uncertain."[1]

THE PILGRIM PERIOD, 1620–1640.

We are now arrived at the time of the Pilgrim landing at Provincetown and Plymouth in the last months of the year 1620, when it may be said that the period of exploration closed and that of colonization was inaugurated on these New England shores. There is no record of any visitation of these new comers to the Vineyard during the twenty years following, as they were fully occupied in caring for their own little settlements, and could have no time to devote to curious expeditions on contiguous shores. About 1630, the region about Boston began to have its great influx of settlers, and five years later they overflowed into the territory now comprised in Connecticut. Probably many of them went by land, but doubtless numbers sailed round the Cape and sought their new homes by coasting vessels. In their way they must have made harbor in our numerous havens, as now the merchantmen seek them to-day, but they left no trace of their comings or goings. The savage was then too much of a problem for them to try the experiment of isolating themselves on an island populated with them, and thus be out of the reach of help in time of hostile attacks, so the Vineyard and Nantucket were passed by for the present by these seekers of new homes in the newly crowded settlements on the sea coast of Massachusetts.

The Council for New England, which had for thirty years been in active operation for the development of this great region, now comprising the six states, found that it had reached the maximum of its powers and usefulness, and after dividing the territory among themselves, as best they could, with their limited knowledge of the geography of the place, surrendered their charter to the king. This division has an interest to us, for two of the members "drew" shares covering the islands on the south of New England, and be-

[1]New England's Memorial.

cause of their hazy knowledge of the region, conflicting claims arose, as will be detailed later on. Sir Ferdinando Gorges was given that portion of the province of Maine from the Piscataqua to the Sagadahoc, "and hereunto is to be added the North halfe of the Isles of Shoals & also the Isles of Capawock, Nautican &c near unto Cape Codd." Lord Stirling was granted certain territory adjoining to Gorges in Maine, and "hereunto is to belong the Island called Mattawack or the Long Island."[1] This division was effected on Feb. 3, 1634–5, and it was confirmed three years later. On April 3, 1639, King Charles granted a charter to Gorges, conferring extraordinary privileges in the government of this territory, and by its terms "the Isles of Capawock and Nautican, near unto Cape Cod" were specifically included. This charter gave to Sir Ferdinando, therefore, undoubted sovereign rights over Martha's Vineyard and Nantucket. From this it may be seen that the title to this island and Nantucket was surely vested in Gorges, and that the later pretensions of Lord Stirling to any propriety were utterly unfounded.

These islands were yet virgin soil, in the sole possession of the savage. Captain John Underhill, in his account of the settlements in this country in 1638, says:

"Nahanticot, Martins Vineyard, Pequeet, Narragansett Bay, Elizabeth Ilands, all these places are yet uninhabited, and generally afford good accomodation, as a good soyle, as we have expressed; they are little inferiour to the former places."[2]

ARMS OF CAPT. BARTHOLOMEN GOSNOLD.

[1]Records of the Council for New England, 69, 70, 83.
[2]Newes from America (London, 1638), p. 20.

CHAPTER IV.

What is the Correct Name of the Vineyard?

"Martin's Vineyard . . . . some call it Marthaes Vineyard:" thus wrote Whitfield in "*The Light Appearing*" (1651), and it is a strange fact that there was great uncertainty in the 17th century, even among the inhabitants of the island, as to its correct name.

An examination of contemporary literature of that period, printed books, letters, public records, legal documents, etc., confirms this curious fact; and as a result of an extended search the author feels safe in saying that in the public and private records of the 17th century, the name *Martin's* is applied to the Vineyard, to the practical exclusion of Martha's, and this phenomenon has the repeated sanction of Mr. Thomas Mayhew himself, the Governor and "Lord of the Isles," in public and private papers. Our first book of land records, kept by Mathew Mayhew as Register, has on the title page the statement that it is the Record of Lands "Upon Martin's or Martha's Vineyard," and doubtless this legend was engrossed by the Register himself.[1] With such eminent authority as the proprietor and his family in doubt as to the name of the territory they owned, it is small wonder that the general public elsewhere became mixed on the subject.

That an island south of Cape Cod was called *Marthaes* Vineyard by someone connected with the expedition under command of the explorer Gosnold in 1602, is well known (3 Mass. Hist. Coll., VIII, 75), and it seems certain that it was applied to the small isle, now called Noman's Land, lying directly southwest from the Vineyard of to-day. That this cognomen was finally transferred to the present Martha's Vineyard seems equally certain; but that the name *Martin's* was used up to about 1700, even by the residents of the Vineyard, by local historians and cartographers, by public officials throughout New England and New York, must be accepted by the reader upon the array of authorities which follows. What gave rise to this confusion in the 17th century, for in

[1]In most of the jurats on legal documents before 1700 Matthew Mayhew dodged the issue, and dated the acknowledgments at "Mart. Vineyard," which can be read either way.

the next it was settled by the Colonial government of Massachusetts as "Martha," is not easily explained. Such a difference of names, so long persisted in, must have had some substantial basis in fact, for it is not credible that accident or chance or mistake will account for all this mixture.

The question naturally arises, who christened this small island "Martha's Vineyard?" Why should such an insignificant place as Noman's Land be marked by Gosnold himself for distinction in honor of any female member of his family, especially when it was given only a temporary visit by members of his party? Naturally he would reserve such a mark of courtesy for the place he might select as an abode. Unfortunately, the theory advanced that some Martha Gosnold, mother, wife or daughter of the explorer, was so honored, fails of realization because a careful search among the females of this family at that period does not reveal a Martha in any remote generation, who could be available as the patroness of Noman's Land. If any Martha was thus complimented, she was not a Gosnold, and in view of the existing customs and observances of that period, it is doubtful if the name of any woman other than the sovereign or some princess, would be selected for such purposes in a semi-official expedition.

In the following tables is appended a list of references to documents, etc., which show when, where and how the two names were used:

"MARTIN'S" VINEYARD.

Date.	Author.	Book or Document.	Reference.
1638	Underhill, John	Newes from America	passim.
1642	Lechford, Thomas	Plaine Dealing	107
1643	Winthrop, John	Journal	ii. 151
1644	Commissioners of United Colonies,	Records	passim.
1647	Paine, Thomas	Suffolk Deeds	i. 86
1647	Mayhew, Thomas, Sr.	Power of Atty. Aspinwall	111
1647	Davison, Nicholas	Suffolk Deeds	i. 91
1648	Mayhew, Thomas, Sr.	Middlesex Deeds	ii. 17
1648	Winslow, Edward	Good News from New England	
1649	Winslow, Edward	Glorious Progress of Gospel, etc.	
1650	Williams, Roger	Letter to John Winthrop, Jr.	
1651	Whitfield, Henry	The Light Appearing	
1651	Bessey, Anthony	Letters of, in Further Progress of the Gospel, etc.	
1651	Endicott, John		
1651	Allen, Rev. Thomas		
1652	Butler, Nicholas	Suffolk Deeds	i. 196
1654	Johnson, Edward	Wonder Working Providence	226
1654	Massachusetts Colonial	Records	iv. (i.) 199.

Date.	Author.	Book of Document.	Reference.
1656	Johnson,	New York Colonial Documents	i.565,ii.134.
1656	Deed,	Thomas Burchard, Saybrook Deeds	ii. 99
1658	Plymouth Colony Records		x. 209
1659	Suffolk Co. (Mass.) Prob. Records, G.R.		x. 88
1660	Nantucket Deeds,	History of	20
1660	Maverick, Samuel	Description of New England	
1660	Folger, Peter	Deed, in N. E. Hist. Gen. Reg.	xii. 33
1662	Plymouth Colony Records		x. 275
1663	Plymouth Colony Records		x. 293
1164	Patent to Duke of York, 2 Maine Hist. Coll.		iv. 191
1665	Royal Commissioners, 2 Maine Hist. Coll.		iv. 300
1666	Mayhew, Thomas, Sr.	York County Deeds	iii. 161
1666	[Eliot, Rev. John]	Roxbury Church Records	
1667	New York Colonial Documents		iii. 169
1667	Plymouth Colony Records		x. 330
1669	Morton, Nathaniel	New England Memorial	
1670	Norfolk Co. Records		
1671	Commission of Thomas Mayhew as Governor issued by Lovelace		
1672	Plymouth Colony Records		x. 356
1674	Andros, Edmund	Commission of, N.Y. Col. Doc.	iii. 215
1675	Josselyn, John	Two Voyages, etc	157
1677	New York Colonial Documents		iii. 248
1678	Hubbard, Rev. William	History of New England	passim.
1679	Plymouth Colony Records		vi. 48
1681	Plymouth Colony Records		vi. 65
1682	Dongan, Thomas	Commission of, N.Y. Col. Doc.	iii. 328
1688	New York Colonial Documents		iii. 552
1689	[E. R. and S. S.]	Revolution in New England Justified	42
1690	New York Colonial Documents		iii. 752
1691	New York Colonial Documents		iii. 798
1692	Cadillac, M. de la Mothe	1 Maine Hist. Coll.	vi. 288
1693	New York Colonial Documents		iv. 2, 8, 10
1701	Braintree Town Records		p. 742

It is also desirable that such books and documents as disclose the name "Martha's" should be cited, and they are herewith appended:

"MARTHA'S" VINEYARD.

Date.	Author.	Book or Document.	Reference.
1610	Strachey, William	Travaille into Virginia	
1641	Vines, Richard	Hough's Nantucket Papers	4
1663	Winthrop, John, Jr.	3 Mass. Hist. Coll.	
1678	Gookin, Daniel, *et als*	2 Maine Hist. Coll.	iv. 383
1676	Sewall, Samuel	Diary	i. 26
1689	Briefe Relation of the State of New England		19
1692	Acts and Resolves of the Province of Mass. Bay		
1693	Phips, William	New York Colonial Doc.	iv. 6
1696	Mayhew, Matthew	Triumphs and Conquests of Grace, etc.	

The maps of the period are disappointing as a rule, but they give corroborative evidence in the same proportion as the documentary and printed authorities, viz: —

Martin's.		*Martha's.*	
1670	Ogilby.	1610	[Brown, Genesis i. 475.]
1675	Seller.	1624	West Indische Spiegel.
1677	Hubbard.	1626	Speed.
——	French (Mass. Arch. ii. 61).	1671	Novi Belgii, etc.
1688	Blome.	1690	Thornton.
1702	Mather.		

As to the probability of evidence in favor of either name, the case for "Martin" must overcome the statement of John Brereton, the historian of Gosnold's voyage, that an island, Noman's Land, received in 1602 the title of "Marthaes Vineyard." It is known that a Capt. John Martin was with Gosnold in this voyage, who later figures as an associate of Gosnold in the early settlement of Virginia.[1] The suggestion that it was this companion's name, John Martin, which was intended to be honored by the baptism, may be entertained; as much so as Point Gilbert, which was named by him for Bartholomew Gilbert, another companion, and Tucker's Terror, which he applied to a shoal or reef for another voyager. Brereton's relation is not above criticism, for many errors as to sailing courses, longitude and other kindred subjects, are to be found in his book.

We have already noted the names of the island as given to it by various discoverers — Straumey by the Norsemen, Luisa by Verrazzano, La Soupçonneuse by Champlain, and Martha's Vineyard by Gosnold according to the accounts just given. To these must be added another bestowed on it by the Dutch voyagers, probably Block and Christiaensen. Their maps of 1616 (Carte Figurative) and 1621 (West Indische Paskaert), show two names engraved: Texel on the western end and Vlieland on the eastern. These names appear later on Dudley's Arcano del Mare Map of 1646, the Novi Belgii of 1671, and Blaeu's (1685), and for the last time Texel appears alone in 1695 on the Jaillot map. It is probable that these early Dutch cartographers intended to apply Texel to the main island and Vlieland to Chappaquiddick, although the crude drawings could be interpreted so as to apply the latter name to

[1] Brown, The First Republic, 33. He was son of Sir Richard Martin, Master of the Mint.

Nantucket. Texel and Vlieland are two contiguous islands off the Netherlands, forming a part of the chain known as the West Friesian Islands, which separates the North Sea from the Zuyder Zee, and the Dutch navigators were undoubtedly reminded of the similarity of arrangement of the group composed of the islands south of Cape Cod. No attempt was made by the Dutch authorities when in power in New York to give official sanction to the name of Texel for our island. As a further curiosity in nomenclature we find "Maertens Wyngert" applied by Blome, a cartographer, in his map of 1688. This is a Dutchman's attempt to reduce Martin's Vineyard to his own tongue — Wyngert being a wine garden or Vineyard! All this does not seem so absurd when we have seen our own people calling it indiscriminately Martin's and Martha's Vineyard, and if uncertainty prevailed among the residents, the outside world might well join in the confusion. But at length Martha, whoever she was, triumphed over them all, and for two centuries the Vineyard has had her name as a prefix unchallenged, and without a rival.

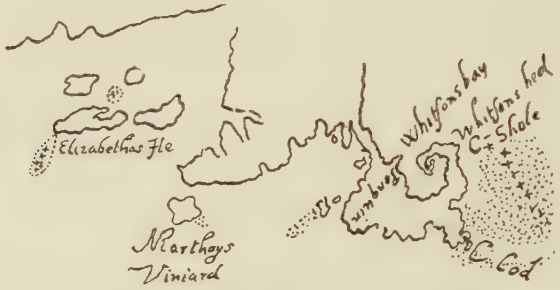
CARTOGRAPHY OF THE VINEYARD.

The maps and globes of Zeno (1400?), La Costa (1500), Ruysch (1508), Stobnicza (1612), Portolano (1514–20), Thorne (1527), Verrazzano (1529), Orontius (1531), Munster (1540), Ulpius (1542), Cabot, Mappemonde (1542), Allefonsce (1543), Dauphin, Henry II (1546), Hohiem (1558), Ruscelli (1561), Zaltieri (1566), Porcacchi (1572), Gilbert (1576), Hakluyt-Martyr (1587), DeBry (1596), Linshoten (1598), Quadus (1600), Champlain (1612), Joliet (1674), Franquelin (1684), Hennepin (1684), Lescarbot (1690), and Champlain (1632), do not show anything beyond nameless dots, which might pass for any of the islands to the south of New England.

Claudia, or properly Luisa, appears in the Loks (1582) map as a triangular island to the south of Norumbega, having previously been indicated on the maps and the charts of Mercator (1569), Ortelius (1570), and Dees (1580). In the Molineaux Globe (1592) and map (1600) it appears as a point and dot respectively, and in the Botero map (1603) it is similarly reproduced.

The voyage of Gosnold and the baptism of our island in 1602 bore fruit in the next map, chronologically speaking, that comes to our attention, the Simancas Map (so-called),

a manuscript chart of the entire Atlantic coast of the present United States, made about the year 1610 in England, and procured by the Spanish Ambassador in London for his master Philip Second. It is the most elaborate and correct map of the regions delineated, and was doubtless based upon the voyages of all the English explorers up to that date. Upon this map first appears our island with its present title, and although the small scale of the map precludes attention to topographical details, yet the reproduction of this region reveals better drawing than is shown in maps of fifty and seventy-five years later.



EARLIEST MAP OF REGION SHOWING MARTHA'S VINEYARD AND THE ELIZABETH ISLANDS. DATED 1610.[1]

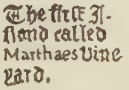
(FROM THE ARCHIVES OF SIMANCAS, SPAIN.)

The Figurative Map (1614), a Dutch production, and the result of the active efforts of the West India Company of Amsterdam in exploration, shows Nantucket, or Chappaquiddick, and the Vineyard joined together as one island, and this arrangement is repeated in Dudley's Arcano del Mare (1646), and in Blaeu (1662 and 1685). Successive maps showing the Vineyard are in order of sequence, the West-Indische Paskaert (1621), Alexander (1624),—which is the map prepared for the Council for New England, and delineates the islands of this region, though without name,—Briggs (1625), shown in Purchas' Pilgrims, DeLaet (1630), Wood (1633), which only shows the Elizabeth Isles in the shape of a devil-fish, Jansson (1636), French map (1650), in the Massachu-

[1]The island called "Marthays Viniard" is the present Nomans Land, and the Vineyard proper may be noted just north of the later island. It is shown as a part of the main land, but the outlines are fairly delineated, and we can make out the Homes Hole of the first settlers, and the irregularities of South beach, a much better representation of the island than appears in later charts. The location of "Whitson's Bay" within Cape Cod on this map, makes it certain that Martin Pring, in his voyage of 1603, did not give that name to Edgartown harbor, as has been thought by some writers.

setts Archives, d'Abbeville (1656), Creuxius (1660), and not until we come to the map of Ogilby (1670) do we see the early name of the island resumed, although in this instance it appears as "Martin's Vineyard." The Novi Belgii (1671) adheres to the Dutch nomenclature adopted in the Figurative map (1614), and names it "Texel al. Elizabeth Eylant." In Blome's L'Amerique traduit de l'Anglois, published at Amsterdam in 1688, a good representation of the island may be seen under the name of "Maerten's Wyngart," considerably better than the map which appeared in Hubbard's book on New England (1677), where it is called "Martin's Vineyard." The Rev. Cotton Mather's map in his "Magnalia Christi Americana," (1702), continues the "Martin's Vineyard" of his predecessors, notwithstanding the gradual evolution of Martin into Martha during the previous decade.

The map of Cyprian Southack (1714) is worthy of note as a distinct advance in the features relating to soundings and sailing directions, and he first shows the peculiar tides and shoals about the Vineyard Sound and Nantucket, noting churches on the island. But by far the finest map of the Vineyard is the large one executed under the direction of Mr. J. F. W. Des Barres, and published in his "Atlantic Neptune," 1781, accompanied with views of Gay Head, Noman's Land and Cape Poag. In the English edition of "Lettres d'un Cultivateur Americain, par Hector St. Jean de Crevecoeur," (London, 1782), may be found a map of the Vineyard, shown on the opposite page. In the state archives of Massachusetts can be seen two surveys, covering the entire island, made in 1795, by order of the General Court, one embracing Edgartown and Tisbury, and the other Chilmark and Gay Head.



THE MARGINAL TEXT IN "BRERETON'S RELATION,"
SHOWING FIRST USE OF NAME,
"MARTHAES VINEYARD,"
1602.

CHAPTER V.

Purchase of Martha's Vineyard by Mayhew.

In 1640 the Earl of Stirling was Secretary of State for Scotland under Charles I, and being high in the councils of the kingdom he had excellent opportunities for exploiting his share in the division of the territory of the New England Council. This he undertook to do, and took into his employ Mr. James Forrett, whom he sent over to act as his agent on the premises. Forrett evidently made his headquarters in New Amsterdam, where he could be near the most valuable of Lord Stirling's property, Long Island. In September, 1641, Forrett appeared in Boston to remonstrate with Governor Winthrop about the unwarranted entry of some people of Lynn upon the lands of Lord Stirling on Long Island, and to assert his title thereto. Incidentally he was there to encourage further migration thither under proper acknowledgment of proprietary rights, and this he succeeded in doing. While on this business he met, perhaps by chance, Mr. Thomas Mayhew of Watertown, who was then in the depths of financial troubles, and it is presumed laid before him the desirability of seeking his fortune elsewhere. He represented, possibly and probably, in glowing terms the advantages of colonizing the unsettled islands of Nantucket and Martin's Vineyard, which he claimed as part of his master's domain. Whether Mayhew had ever seen these islands may be doubted, and in the despair of mind due to business troubles, as it had "pleased God to frown upon him in his outward estate," he accepted this opportunity of restoring his fortunes and beginning again under different conditions. Such may be the process by which Mayhew's attention was brought to these distant isles of the sea, "as yet uninhabited" wrote Underhill several years before, and the elder Mayhew, then in his fiftieth year, determined to purchase them and start a new home, perhaps found a new colony, for they were situated without the lawful bounds of the territory of the Massachusetts Bay.

Meanwhile, however, an unexpected development occurred. "Mr. Richard Vynes," wrote Mayhew, "Steward Gen'll to Sir Ferdynando Gorges, heareing of it, Enterupted showing me his Master's Pattent and his Power, insomuch

WILLIAM ALEXANDER, EARL OF STIRLING

1567–1640

that I was convinced by him and Thomas Gorges who was then Governour of the Province of Maine that [it] was realy Sir Ferdynandoes Right." [1] It somewhat arouses our curiosity to know how Vines, — living a hundred miles distant, should have become aware within a few days of the sale by Forrett to Mayhew, unless we infer, as we are justified in doing by the light of subsequent events, that Mayhew was not satisfied with the title of Lord Stirling, and desiring to satisfy all possible claimants and secure deeds from each, asked Vines to come to Watertown to effect the transfer of his master's right.[2] However, Mayhew says that Vines "heareing of it, Enterrupted," which would indicate that the agent of Gorges acted independently upon learning of the action of Forrett, and Mayhew, in order to secure himself, as he says, "for a some of Money did obtaine from said Vynes a Graunt alsoe." Again he wrote on the same topic: "Meeteing with Mr. Vynes steward general to Sir Ferdinando Gorges whom I then had much interest in he solemnely p'fesses it was his Masters so whereuppon I had it graunted by him & did p'cede mostly uppon that graunt, Mr. Tho. Gorges then gov'nor [of the Province of Maine] approuveing of it." [3]

So far there has been no evidence disclosed that this purchase had any other than a purely business aspect, and in all the various statements made by the Governor about this transaction nothing is claimed by him as to a philanthropic plan of Christianizing the Indians. In a petition forty years after this for certain privileges, Matthew Mayhew gives us the only explanation we have for the purchase of the island by his father and grandfather. He stated that "nothing but the largeness of the grant that could induce [them] to essay the settlement of the said Iland, in hopes to obtain that gradually of the heathen which could not att once by any means be procured." The offer made was in the nature of a "bargain," and Mayhew concluded to accept. Accordingly, he entered into an agreement with Stirling's agent for the purchase of Nantucket, and on Oct. 13, 1641, the deed of sale was executed, granting to Thomas Mayhew of Watertown, merchant, and to Thomas Mayhew, his son, the right "to Plant and Inhabit upon Nantuckett and two other small

[1] N. Y. Col. Mss., XXIV, 92.

[2] For the authority of Forrett see Doc. Hist. of N. Y., III, 22. Soon after the death of the Earl in February, 1640–1, his agency ceased.

[3] Col. Papers, P. R. O., XXI, 93.

Islands adjacent," meaning Muskeget and Tuckernuck. The price paid, £40, is not stated in the document,[1] which is here printed in full: —

These presents doth witness that I, James Forrett, Gentleman, who was sent over into these Parts of America By the honourable the Lord Sterling with a commission for the ordering and Disposing of all the Island that Lyeth Between Cape Cod hudsons river and hath better unto confirmed his agency without any consideration, Do hereby Grant unto Thomas Mayhew of Watertown, merchant, and to Thomas Mayhew his son, free Liberty and full power to them and their associates to Plant and inhabit upon Nantuckett and two other small Islands adjacent, and to enjoy the said Islands to them their heirs & assigns forever, provided that the said Thomas Mayhew and Thomas Mayhew his son or either of them or their associates Do Render and Pay yearly unto the honourable the Lord Sterling, his heirs or assigns such an acknowledgement as shall be thought fitt by John Winthrop, Esq, the elder or any two magistrates in Massachusetts Bay Being chosen for that end and purpose by the honourable the Lord Sterling or his Deputy and By the said Thomas Mayhew his son or associates: it is agreed that the government that the said Thomas Mayhew and Thomas Mayhew his son and their associates shall set up shall Be such as is now established in the Massachusetts aforesaid, and that the said Thomas Mayhew & Thomas Mayhew his son and their associates shall have as much privilege touching their planting Inhabiting and enjoying of all and evry part of the Premises as By the patent is granted to the Patent of the Massachusetts aforesaid and their associates.

In witness hereof I the said James Forrett have hereunto sett my hand and seal this 13th Day of October, 1641.

JAMES FORRETT.

Signed Sealed and Delivered in the presence of
Robert .....
Nicholas Davison[2]
Richard Stileman[3]

This resulted, doubtless, in a conference between the conflicting interests, and as a consequence further amplification of Mayhew's territorial jurisdiction. Forrett added "Martin's" Vineyard and the Elizabeth Islands, in a second instrument which he drew up, and authorized the grantees to plant upon and inhabit those parts, as follows: —[4]

Whereas By virtue of a commission from the Lord Sterling, James Forrett, Gentleman, hath granted Liberty and full Power unto Thomas Mayhew of Watertown, merchant, and Thomas Mayhew his son, and their

[1]Edgartown Records, I, 12.

[2]Nicholas Davison was a Charlestown merchant, agent of Matthew Cradock, and later a land-owner on the Vineyard, but not a resident.

[3]Richard Stileman was of Cambridge at this date, but later removed to Portsmouth. It is probable that this document was executed in Boston.

[4]Edgartown Records, I, 11.

associates to Plant the Island of Nantucket according to the article In a deed to that purpose expressed: Now for as much as the said Island hath not Been yett whole surrendered whereby it may appear that Comfortable accomodations for themselves and their associates will be found there, this therefore shall serve to testifye that I, the said James Forrett, by virtue of my said commission, Do hereby grant unto the said Thomas Mayhew and Thomas Mayhew his son and their associates, as much to plant upon Martins Vinyard and Elizabeth Isles as they have by virtue heretofore of the Deed granted unto them for Nantuckett as therein plainly In all considerations Both on the Right honourable the Lord Sterling's part and on the said Thomas Mayhew & Thomas Mayhew his son and their associates Doth appear In Witness whereof I, the said James Forrett have hereunto sett my hand the 23rd Day of October, Annoque Domini 1641.

JAMES FORRETT.

Signed and delivered In Presence of us
his
John X Vahane.[1]
mark
Garret Church.[2]

But this was not entirely satisfactory, and so he concluded to "make assurance doubly sure" by securing the rights as well from the Gorges interests; and two days later the following instrument, executed by Vines, authorized the elder Mayhew to "plant and inhabit upon the Island Capawok alias Martins Vineyard," as set forth in the following copy: —[3]

I, Richard Vines of Saco, Gentleman, Steward General for Sir Ferdinando Gorges, Knight and Lord Proprietor of the Province of Maine and the Islands of Cappawok and Nautican, Do by these presents give full power and authority unto Thomas Mayhew, Gentleman, his agents and associates to plant and Inhabit upon the Islands Capawok alias Martins Vinyard with all privileges and Rights thereunto belonging to enjoy the premises to himself heirs and associates forever, yielding and Paying unto the said Ferdinando Gorges, his heirs and assigns annually, or two Gentlemen Independently By each of them chosen Shall Judge to Be meet by way of acknowledgement.

Given under my hand this 25th Day of October, 1641.

RICHARD VINES.

Witness:
Thomas Payne [4]
Robert Long.[5]

[1]John Vahane (Vaughan) was a resident of Watertown in 1633, and bore a not very savory reputation for a number of years.

[2]Garret Church was also of Watertown. From the appearance of these two names, it is presumed the document was signed in Mayhew's home town.

[3]Edgartown Records, I, 9.

[4]There was a Thomas Paine, resident of Salem, another resident of Dedham, and a third of Yarmouth. It is not possible to identify this witness. It was not Mayhew's step-son, as he was only nine years old.

[5]Robert Long was a resident of Charlestown.

Armed with these three documents the elder Mayhew was doubly assured of his title to the islands from two sources, and there yet remained, according to his view, one more party to satisfy — the aboriginal owners; "and forthwith," he writes, "I Endeavoured to obtain the Indian right of them." This of course, necessitated a visit to the islands, and it is to be presumed that he made the journey with his son, and possibly others interested in the new territory, and secured the required release. We may consider that his first visit to the island, which was to become his home for the remainder of his life, was made some time prior to Dec. 1, 1642, when he had already selected his own home lot and granted another to John Daggett on "the point next to my lot." [1]

MARTHA'S VINEYARD, NANTUCKET AND ELIZABETH ISLANDS.
[MAP OF COUNCIL FOR NEW ENGLAND.]
1624 [2]

Mayhew, with this island domain now under his control, began to consider plans for colonization and settlement. Watertown neighbors became interested at the first, and on the 16th of March following (1641–2), he made a grant to five of them "to make choice for the Present of a large Towne" with authority equal to that of the proprietors in admitting subsequent inhabitants, and also a future grant of "another Townshipp for Posterity." [3] These five associates were John Daggett, Daniel Pierce, Richard Beers, John Smith, and Francis Smith. Of these only John Daggett took up his

[1] Dukes Deeds, I, 189.

[2] This map was probably used by Mayhew and Forrett to show the location of the territory purchased by the former. It was the only English map of the region available at that date to show the island. Wood's map of 1633 had no representation of the Vineyard or Nantucket, and only a shapeless delineation of what he called "Elizabeths Ile."

[3] Dukes Deeds, VIII, 83.

share in this first grant from the two Mayhews, and as he will be considered later as one of the first settlers, we may take a momentary glance at the others who joined with Mayhew in his venture. Daniel Pierce was a proprietor of Watertown in 1637 and a freeman in 1638. He removed later to Newbury. Capt. Richard Beers was one of the original proprietors of Watertown.[1] He was killed by the Indians Sept. 4, 1675. Francis Smith was a freeman in 1631, and he became a proprietor of Watertown in 1637. He removed to Reading and died there in 1651. It is not sure to claim identification of the John Smith who is the last of the five. He had been a resident of Watertown for a number of years, and there is more than a possibility that he was the person who had used this name as an *alias* and when he came to the Vineyard resumed his proper family name, John Bland. John Smith of Watertown became a freeman in 1636, having previously resided in that place for the five preceding years. His wife Isabel died in 1639, and thenceforth he disappears from the records. The evidence bearing on this is considered more at length under the sketch of John Bland, one of the early settlers.

Whether any Englishman settled even temporarily on Martha's Vineyard before the Mayhews came is not now known, and Thomas Lechford, who was personally acquainted with Mayhew and who sailed for England in August, 1641, wrote in his descriptive work on New England, published the following year, that "Eastward of Cape Codd lyeth an Island called Martin's Vineyard uninhabited by any English."[2] Two months after Lechford sailed Mayhew consummated his two purchases of the agents of Gorges and Stirling, and if Lechford is to be received as a good witness, the Vineyard was "uninhabited by any English," at the time he left the country in the summer of 1641.

The next question that confronts us is the one relating to the date of the first settlement under the purchase just consummated. The Rev. Experience Mayhew writes as follows: "In 1642 he [Thomas Mayhew] sends Mr. Thomas Mayhew Junior his only Son, being then a young Scholer, about 21 years of Age, with some other Persons to the Vineyard, where they settled at the East End, and quickly

[1] "He was one I loved much" wrote Mayhew in later years (4 Mass. Hist. Coll., VII, 42).

[2] Plaine Dealing, 107.

after the Father followed."[1] Again he says: "This person (Towanquatack) was the Chief *Sachim* of the East End of Marthas Vineyard, where the *English* first settled in the yeare 1642."[2] It is within the probabilities that the younger Mayhew made one or more visits of reconnoisance to the island perhaps with friends who later joined his colony, and that he and they made preliminary explorations to choose a site for the town, and to arrange a *modus vivendi* with the savages.

But the most competent witness on this subject is Governor Winthrop, whose invaluable "Journal" of the beginnings of the Massachusetts Bay settlements down to his death, is, next to the public records, the most unimpeachable authority of the times he treats. His book is almost a diary of events under his personal observation or knowledge, and he records the most trivial as well as the most pregnant circumstances with impartial hand. It has stood the test of comparison as to times, places, persons, and events, with the official records bearing upon them, and has merited the credence universally accorded it by historians. Following a previous entry in his "Journal" of the date of Dec. 3, 1643, and before an entry dated "18 Jan 164$\frac{3}{4}$," Winthrop states that "some of Watertown began a plantation at Martin's Vineyard beyond Cape Cod, divers families going thither."[3] It is hardly to be supposed, however, that this entry represents the exact date as to month and day, nor that the colonists went in the winter months. The inference which may be drawn is that the first of the colonists, "divers families," had gone by the time Winthrop made the above entry. He knew every movement of this sort in the colony of which he was governor, and was in the habit of entering anything worthy of notice at the time it occurred. The departure of "divers families" for Martha's Vineyard was an event of some importance, and is so recorded by him.

Gookin, writing in 1674, says that the elder Mayhew "about the year 1642 transplanted himself to Marthas Vineyard with his family,"[4] but this statement, general in its character, thirty-two years after the event, does not outweigh the evidence of the records that the elder Mayhew, in the late

[1]Indian Converts, 280.
[2]Indian Converts, 80.
[3]Journal, II, 152.
[4]1 Mass. Hist. Coll., I, 201.

fall of 1642, was chosen first in the list of selectmen at Watertown and "ordered to make the rates."

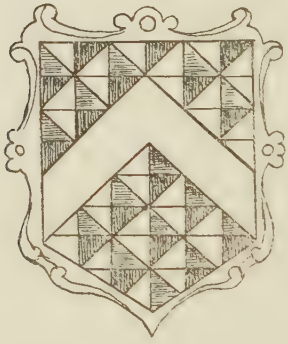
In another place, when relating the early life of Thomas Mayhew, Sr., before his removal to the Vineyard, his movements are traced sufficiently to show that he did not himself remove here until four years after his purchase. But it is evident from all the surrounding circumstances that the young Thomas took posession of the island about 1642, and with a few associates formed the vanguard of English settlers who first established the white man's supremacy here under the laws of the kingdom of England. It was a hazardous and a lonesome task for these few pioneers, cut off from communication with the distant settlements of the main. At this period there were probably not less than three thousand Indians on the islands, and it is doubtful if there were three dozen whites at the new settlement for ten years following its purchase. It was a delicate situation, as a contemporary author, writing in 1641, stated, that the Indians of Nope were "very savage."[1] The memory of the battles of Champlain in 1606 with their tribesmen on the Cape, of the kidnapping of a score of them in 1614 by Captain Hunt, including Epenow of their own people, the battles with Captain Chalownes and Captain Dermer (1619), as a consequence, were still fresh in their minds, and the natives of the Vineyard looked askance at this promised renewal of trouble with the "pale faces." The chief men and powwaws held aloof from the little band who had dropped anchor inside of Chappaquiddick and landed on the shore of Nunnepoag, and they influenced their subjects to maintain the same attitude. Apparently there was no intercourse between the settlers and the natives, until Hiacoomes, of one of the Nunnepoag families, who lived near to the newly-erected settlement, began to show signs of familiarity with the whites in 1643, after they had visited him in his wigwam. "His Descent was but mean" according to an authority, "his Speech but slow and his Countenance not very promising. He was therefore by the Indian Sachims and others of their principal Men, looked on as but a mean Person, scarce worthy of their Notice or Regard."[2] Notwithstanding this inferiority according to their social standards, the leading chiefs and medicine men observed his continued association with the settlers, and they were "much

[1]Lechford, "Plaine Dealing," etc., 107.

[2]Mayhew, Indian Converts, p. 1.

alarmed at it: and some of them endeavoured with all their Might to discourage him from holding Communications with the *English.*" In the following year, "Hiacoomes going to an *Indian's* House, where there were several *Indians* met together, they laughed and scoffed at him, saying, *Here comes* the English *Man.*" Whereupon, the great Sagamore of Chappaquiddick, Pahkepunnassoo, who was present delivered this warning to the butt of their jests: —"I wonder that you that are a young Man, and have a Wife and two children, should love the *English* and their Ways, and forsake the *Pawwaws.* . . . If I were in your Case there should nothing draw me from our *Gods* and *Pawwaws.*"[1] But the peaceable intentions of the English were in time made clear to the suspicious savages, and under the leadership and influence of the high-minded youth who came hither ready to be their benefactor, the natives ceased to be a menace, and ever after the two races lived in unusual harmony.

[1]Mayhew, Indian Converts, 4. The personal names of Indians were complex and difficult of translation. Pahke-pun-asu means "he abides or walks uprightly," or "he is honorable."



ARMS OF SIR FERDINANDO GORGES.

CHAPTER VI.

The Legendary Settlement Before 1642.

It becomes necessary at this point to enter, somewhat at length, into the consideration of the legendary account of a settlement on the island prior to the arrival of the Mayhews. This story, which, if true, upsets the plain historical evidences of original ownership and occupation immediately following the purchase from Vines and Forrett, and imposes on us the necessity of discarding it either as unworthy of serious thought or of accepting it as true in fact as well as fancy. Like all traditions it is entitled to an impartial investigation, a careful examination of all collateral facts bearing upon the points raised, and some kind of a judgment passed upon the case as made up from the material evidence. It has all the unsatisfactory qualities of a tradition, as well as all of the attractive ingredients of one. It is based upon nothing but hearsay, and yet is of a circumstantial detail easily calculated to inspire our credulity and engage our assent. It may be stated from an historical standpoint that all traditions are to be disbelieved, and the burden of proof placed upon the propounders, where it belongs, according to all the rules of evidence. One corroborating fact gives a tradition a standing in court, and each succeeding one removes it from the doubtful list of pleasing legends.

The story to be considered is to the effect that John Pease and some companions landed on the Vineyard and effected a permanent settlement before the purchase by the Mayhews, and in order that the claims may be fairly placed before the reader, a verbatim copy of the legend as prepared by the late Richard L. Pease, in August, 1857, is here inserted:—

> The ship in which John Pease came was bound to Port Penn, in the Delaware, with 140 persons on board; it was in the fall of the year, and they were short of provisions, and sickness prevailed. Owing to a head westerly wind they came to anchor near Stony Point. They landed in a boat at Pease's Point. The Indians came to meet them, holding forth a pine bough to denote their desire for peace. As the whites advanced, the Indians retreated. John Pease, who had on a red coat, took it off, laid it on the ground and made signs for the Sachem to put it on. The Indians approached it with caution, poking it with a stick, until gathering courage

the chief put it on, when Pease by signs give him to understand that he gave it to him.

A good understanding being thus effected, the Indians led Pease and his companions to the cove, near where Mr. Zachariah Pease lived for many years, and showed them how they procured fish. From thence they went to their herring fishing at Mattakeeset. The old creek, the natural outlet of the Great Pond, which at that time existed has for many years been swallowed up by the encroaching sea. They then went to the Green Hollow, beyond the old Burial Ground, where the Indians obtained both fish and fowl. In this Hollow they dug caves—the places are still plainly seen on the North side of the Hollow—and spent the winter. Tradition says *four* men remained. The vessel proceeded on her voyage.

In the spring they went to the Great Marshes (Sandwich or Plymouth) and spent some time, returning to the Vineyard to winter. The next season they again sought the mainland and took to themselves wives.

This story was written out fifty years ago, as told to him by the late Capt. Valentine Pease (born 1764). From another source, Rev. David Pease (born 1783), Mr. R. L. Pease was given the same story as told by the widow Susannah (Butler) Pease (born 1777), who "had heard the story from a very aged person of your family." This account will be quoted later on in the course of this chapter. It is also stated by other members of the Pease family as part of the story, that Obed Pease (born 1743) had talked about a "black book," which mysteriously disappeared in the early days and is supposed to have contained some records bearing upon this question. But of this collateral topic consideration will be given later. It will thus be seen that the legend is one which has its support and origin, probably, among members of the family bearing this name, and unfortunately too, for it thus acquires the coloring of family sentiment and pride in a matter which depends so much upon impartial support for its acceptance. It may be said however that, if true, the descendants of John Pease would be quite as likely as any others to be more familiar with the story.

The tradition became public property a century ago, in the year 1807, as a result of a visit of the late Rev. James Freeman to the island in search of facts and material to aid him in preparing "A Description of Dukes County," which he subsequently published in the collections of the Massachusetts Historical Society. Dr. Freeman was largely aided in the preparation of his sketch by the Rev. Joseph Thaxter of Edgartown, both in personal conversation and by letter. The following is the printed version of the story of the Pease landing which he obtained at that date: —

A DESCRIPTION OF DUKES COUNTY.

At the beginning of the year 1623, however, the people of Plymouth received information that the Indians of Marthas Vineyard and others had joined in a conspiracy with those of Massachusetts to extirpate the English. But the principal conspirators at Massachusetts being slain, such a terrour was struck into the minds of the other Indians, that they forebore to execute any act of hostility.

Afterwards, in what year is unknown, but before the arrival of Thomas Mayhew, eight or ten English families settled in Edgartown. They first landed at Pease's Point, which is part of Starbuck's Neck. The ship in which they came was bound for Virginia, but fell by accident into this port; and being short of provisions these families preferred remaining and taking their chance with the Indians, to proceeding on the voyage. Four of their names have been handed down to us,—Pease, Vincent, Norton, and Trapp, the three former of which still remain on the Island. They landed late in the autumn, and were supplied during the first winter with fish and corn by the Indians. These hospitable natives led them to Great Pond, and showed them their manner of taking fish, which was as follows: A passage was opened from the sea into the Pond and through it the fish entered. There are many coves in this pond. At the entrance of the coves, the Indians placed hurdles under water, in a horizontal position; and when the fish had run over them into the coves, they went in their canoes, lifted the hurdles upright, by means they prevented the escape of the fish, and with their spears struck them in the mud. This event has been preserved by tradition both among the natives and the whites; but has not before appeared in any printed book.

Another account of about the same period appears in a book of "Travels," written by one of the many persons who prepared similar books for the market to satisfy a growing interest in the new nation: —[1]

In the fall of 1632, or a year or two later, a vessel bound from England to South Virginia, fell in with the South Shoal of Nantucket, came up through the Vineyard Sound and anchored off Cape Poge on account of a distemper which, like a plague, raged among the passengers and crew, twenty-five of whom died. Or according to another account, scarcity of provisions was the cause. Four men with their families, requested to be put ashore, preferring to take their chance with the natives, than to pursue the voyage under such distressing circumstances. They landed at the spot since called (Pease' Point) Edgartown. Their names were John Pease, Thomas Vincent, ———— Trapp and ———— Browning or Norton. A red coat, presented on landing, by Pease, to the Chief or Sachem, secured at once the good offices of the tribe, and they were treated with hospitality.

In order to shelter themselves from the approaching winter, Pease and his company made excavations in the side of a hill near the water, whence they could command a full view of the harbor and adjacent bay. Some vestiges of these caves still remain. They remained here through the cold season, and were joined by others at different times, until in 1642 the whole number of families amounted to 24. At this period the Mayhews arrived.

[1]Kendall, "Travels in the United States," 1807.

In order that all the points bearing upon the subject may be stated, a letter from Rev. Mr. Thaxter to Rev. Dr. Freeman under date of Dec. 12, 1814, is reproduced in amplification of some other details, and including arguments offered in support of the story as related at that time.

The account which I gave you of the gathering of the church in this town, was taken from either a preface or an appendix to a sermon preached at the ordination of Mr. Newman, by Mr. Experience Mayhew, and is probably correct. I have searched the records of the town: they are transcribed from a former record, and go no further back than 1661. It is said that the old record was, for reasons now unknown, destroyed. It is beyond a doubt true that several years before the Mayhews had a grant of Martha's Vineyard there were a number of families settled on the island, of which I gave you the traditionary accounts. I am confirmed in this by the division of the town: The Mayhews and their associates had twenty-five shares: the others were called half-share men: and made the number of shares forty-two. These half-share men, it is presumed, were settled here when the Mayhews obtained the grant. It is highly probable that the Mayhews, at least the younger, had been on the Island some time before the grant was obtained. He was a zealous preacher and undoubtedly collected a church in 1641. Experience Mayhew must have had evidence of the fact; otherwise, it is presumed he would not have said it.

Further, as showing the amplification of the tradition in detail, as time progressed, the following statement prepared in recent years by the late Hebron Vincent represents the complete picture of the legendary settlements: —

The account given to the writer nearly seventy years ago by some of the then oldest inhabitants, who themselves received it from an immediate ancestry, is substantially as follows:—That some years preceding the Mayhew purchase, the exact time not averred, but thought to have been from seven to ten years, a vessel from England filled with passengers, bound west and south, came to anchor, for some cause, in or near the outer harbor of what is now Edgartown; that a boat's company—mostly passengers—attempted a landing at what is known as "Starbuck's Neck" near the present site of that town; that a large company of Indians with their Chief appeared upon the bank, apparently peaceful, but supicious, to whom the men of the boat made signs of friendship to secure their confidence; that one of the company, John Pease, having been in the military service in England, and having with him his red coat, made signs to the chief an offer of the coat as a present, which after various manifestations of fear and of hesitation, was accepted, and that after some unsuccessful attempts at putting it on aright, it was properly adjusted by the white man, and the Indians set up a great shout. The further account is that such was the honor shown and the distinction accorded to the head man, and such the kindly feeling inspired, the Chief or Sachem, in whom the titles of the Indian lands vested, so far as the natives had any titles, gave to John Pease and others a large section of land, including the site on which Edgartown is built; that thereupon four of the passengers—Pease, Vinson, Trapp and Browning—decided

to discontinue their voyage, and risk the fortunes of life here; that these four men prepared caves in which to winter, about half a mile south of the present town, at a place called "Green Hollow," traces of which remain yet visible. It was further said that some other men came soon after who were allowed to share in the division of the section given by the Chief; that John Pease was a man of some education, kept a record of the settlement and of the division of lands in a book called the "Black Book," from the color of the cover; that subsequently to the purchase by the Mayhews, the division above named and this book which perpetuated the evidence of it, became an annoyance and an embarrassment, and that when John Pease died in 1674 and was lying dead in his house, two men came to the house of the deceased, and desired of the man in charge to be allowed to see this book; that he complied —placing the book upon the table—and withdrew to attend to other duties, and that upon his return to the room the two men were gone and the book was also gone, the latter never having been seen by the public since; that the record evidence of whatever title to the land they had in the way related being burned—as was supposed—or as some believed abstracted for a purpose, and their chief man being dead, those early settlers found themselves deprived of their rights—such as they were—the rights under the Crown being held to control any others, however acquired, and that hence the settlement of claims could go no further back than the dates of the purchase by Thomas Mayhew and his son Thomas.[1]

One other relation of the narrative by a contemporary of these persons will suffice to disclose the legend in all its forms and complete its lineage. This story also comes from Pease sources, but is told by Susannah (Butler) Pease (born 1777), the wife of Timothy Pease (1769–1846), and it is fair to say that she obtained her version from her husband's family. It has the merit of brevity, and varies some as to the reasons for the settlement as told by her: —

John Pease and company came into martha's Vineyard sound in the winter, got frozen in and was obliged to remain there until spring. Made friends with the Indians by presenting the Indian Chief with his red coat. The Chief in return gave him a deed of what afterwards became Edgartown. In the spring Pease left the Island and was gone some time (Mrs. Pease thought to England), but finally returned with family and made the place his home. After Mayhew came there the "black book" was lost, and Pease lost the title to his land.

It now remains for us to consider the subject in all its bearings in the light of contemporary history, as to the internal evidence, together with the inherent probability of the story with its variations and embellishments. This will best be done by taking up the discussion in accordance with this method.

[1]Rev. Hebron Vincent was born Aug. 21, 1805, and died Feb. 13, 1890. The account was probably prepared not long before his death, as seventy years would carry him back to 1820, when he was fifteen years old. He was son of Samuel and Betsey (Pease) Vincent, and thus of Pease ancestry.

IN THE LIGHT OF HISTORY.

I. Contemporary historians are silent upon the subject of the alleged settlement. Governor Winthrop, in his history of New England written in journal form from time to time as events occurred before his death in 1649, makes no mention of such an incident, and he omitted no detail of any importance concerning such matters. He records the departure of the Mayhews "to begin a plantation at Martin's Vineyard," but nothing else as to any prior occupation. The distinguished voyager, Capt. William Pierce, sailed along the sound in 1634 and reported his observations to Winthrop without any reference to settlers living on the Vineyard. He stated that "Nantucket is an island full of Indians."

II. John Underhill in his "Newes from America," published in 1638, says of Martin's Vineyard that it was "as yet uninhabited."

III. Thomas Lechford, in his book on New England, written in Boston probably before the summer of 1641, when he left for England, and which was published in 1642, states that Martin's Vineyard was then "uninhabited by any English, but Indians."

IV. Daniel Gookin, the early historian of the Indians of New England, writing in 1671 about the Vineyard and the younger Mayhew says: "he was as I take it the first Englishman that settled that Island."

As far as can be ascertained from persons living at that time who wrote anything at all on the subject, no one lends any support to the story of a band of persons living on the Vineyard prior to 1642, when the younger Mayhew came hither with "divers families" from Watertown. This is in the nature of negative evidence, but it is none the less applicable in the requirements of proving a negative.

THE INTERNAL EVIDENCE.

If any statements in the story are manifestly improbable, the entire legend becomes open to suspicion. To ascertain if this be the case, it will be necessary to take up the various parts of it where corroboration can be had or refutation accomplished.

I. It is stated in one account that the ship bearing this company was bound for Port Penn on the Delaware. There

was no such place as Port Penn in existence at that date nor for many years after. William Penn, for whom Port Penn was named, did not arrive in this country till 1682, and while this objection is not fatal, it seriously discredits it at the start. It may be that the place where Port Penn later arose is intended in the narrative.

II. The persons said to have landed were John Pease, (William) Vincent, (Nicholas) Norton and (Thomas) Trapp; in another version Malachi Browning appears in the place of Norton. If either of these persons can be located elsewhere in 1630 or 1632 and before 1641 or 1642, the story must be seriously compromised. This will now be considered:—

(*a*) John Pease. Under the title of Sketches of the Early Settlers (Edgartown) the identity of John Pease of Martha's Vineyard and Salem, Mass., is considered, and in order to prevent unnecessary repetition a recital of this will not be made here. Briefly stated, a John Pease was a passenger on the ship "Francis" sailing from Ipswich, England, in November, 1634, with a cabin list of eighty-three persons, and a John Pease with a brother Robert and a widow Margaret Pease, all names in the Great Baddow, Essex, family, appear in Salem some time before 1636–7, on which date grants of land were made to the two brothers. The name of John Pease appears in the Salem records, 1638, 1639 (when he was stated to be absent), 1641 and 1643. His brother Robert continues to be mentioned until 1644 when he died, and the death of their mother Margaret, also in 1644, marked the breaking up of that family. Possibly this determined John Pease to remove, and he sold his estate in Salem that year, and in a year or two more a John Pease appears on the Edgartown records as a resident at the Vineyard. These facts do not disprove the alleged landing at the Vineyard some time prior to the above dates. Neither do they help it out much, for the story presupposes continuous residence at Great Harbor from the first landing until the Mayhews arrived. This would have been an inherent improbability in the case of John Pease of Great Baddow, Salem, and Great Harbor, whose life in Salem is well accounted for.

(*b*) (William) Vincent. It is supposed that our William Vincent is meant, but such could not have been the case. He was not born until 1627 and he could not have participated in any settlement here prior to 1640 except as a boy. Some

other Vincent, not identified, must be considered, and as no Christian name is mentioned the particular one who is supposed to have been one of the alleged landing party must remain an unknown quantity. One account states that it was Thomas Vincent, but this does not help the discussion in any particular.

(*c*) (Nicholas) Norton. If the member of the alleged early settlement was our Nicholas Norton who, if the story be true, again returned to the Vineyard in 1659, it becomes necessary to ascertain his whereabouts. The first mention of him in New England is at Weymouth, Mass., about 1637, where he was a settler and where he resided for twenty years as the records show. There is some reason to believe he came over in 1635 with a company, under the leadership of Rev. John Hull. As some doubt exists whether it was Norton, as in one account, or Malachi Browning, as in another, the former may be dismissed with the statement that what is known of his movements in this country does not help the story we are considering.

(*d*) Malachi Browning. This early settler at the Vineyard is found at Watertown in 1640 and until 1642, when his homestead lot is mentioned, but nothing appears of record before that date to show whether he was an earlier resident in New England. Therefore, he could have been one of the supposed party, at some anterior time, by negative reasoning. In 1647 he calls himself "late of Watertown," as he had then become a resident of the Vineyard.

(*e*) (Thomas) Trapp. As our Thomas Trapp was born about 1635 it is clear that he could not have been the companion of John Pease. In the absence then of any more definite identification his name must be dismissed as an inherent improbability. We are unable to learn of any other person bearing this name in New England at an early date.

It will thus be seen that of the persons alleged to have settled and remained on the island as squatters until Mayhew came, there is such an element of doubt in each case as to amount to a denial of the probability that either one of those named could have done the thing claimed. It requires us to place these four or five men here before 1641 and that we have seen them to be elsewhere on those dates seems to establish a fair alibi for those who were not too young to have their names considered. The idea that "a number of fam-

ilies" as stated by Parson Thaxter, settled on the island, and all evidence of them remained unknown for nearly two centuries is almost too much for serious consideration.

THE "BLACK BOOK" INCIDENT.

The "Black Book" plays a part in all the versions, and is told with insinuations of fraudulent dealing on the part of some persons, presumably acting in the interest and at the instigation of the Mayhews. The main point is that with the mysterious disappearance of this "black" volume the descendants of John Pease lost all records and titles to this prior settlement and his lands. This belief is apparently well fixed among those responsible for this legend. It is certain that John Pease, in his lifetime enjoyed his property unmolested. There is no allegation to the contrary by the relators, and for forty years his title was unimpeached. This alleged "site of Edgartown" which he and three others acquired must have gone into the possession of some others after his death, but the records do not contain any line showing that his heirs ever attempted to recover this alleged loss; and if his descendants were deprived of "rights," so equally were the descendants of Vincent and Trapp, neither of whom appear in any suit to establish titles to this supposed property, of which they had been defrauded after forty years of peaceable possession. As far as can be seen by the records, Pease, Trapp, Vincent and Browning participated in all the divisions of land as proprietors in equal shares with the rest.

Thomas Mayhew, Senior, was very careful to purchase everybody's claim to "rights," alleged or otherwise, to land on the Vineyard, Stirling's, Gorges' and the Indians. In several recitals of all this expense and effort he had undergone to quiet all claims, he does not once mention this legendary settlement of whites before he came, whose title might jeopard his own. At that time he was not calculating the historical aspects of the case, but telling his many endeavors to satisfy everyone's claim to property rights on the island. This settlement, if it existed, was more of a menace to his proprietary interests than the Indian's "right," which he scrupulously bought, and it is not to be supposed that by any conspiracy he could enact a wholesale confiscation of the property of several families.

Rev. Mr. Thaxter states that "the old record was for reasons unknown, destroyed," and Mr. Richard L. Pease has left a more circumstantial account which is as follows: —

> Tradition says that the early records were kept in a book with a black cover, thence called the Black Book, and that at the time of his decease John Pease was the Clerk. During his illness a woman attended upon him as nurse. On the day of the funeral this book was seen, but never publicly since. That it was in existence for many years afterwards I have no doubt, and such was the general belief of the community.

This story was told to him by Capt. Valentine Pease before mentioned. The dramatic story of the abstraction of the "Black Book" told by the late Hebron Vincent strains hard upon our credulity when we consider that the alleged circumstances occurred in a little village of not more than twenty families at that date, and that such an event could not be concealed, or the identity of the thieves lost in a multitude. This feature of the legend reduces it to an indictment, of which the title might be "Pease versus Mayhew." It is too fantastic for serious consideration. The writer states that he heard these stories from his grandfather, Zachariah Pease (1750–1845), as well as from Obed Pease, before referred to, as one of the sponsors of the legend. The attention of the reader will be attracted to the variation in the details of this portion of the legend from those previously given.

The question then will naturally arise — is there any reason for the existence of the tradition in the subsequent annals of the settlement at Great Harbor, as respects the treatment of the persons named? The theory evolved by Rev. Mr. Thaxter that in the divisions of land the Mayhews and their associates had twenty-five whole shares, and "the others were called half-share men" is not borne out by the records in any sense. The land divisions of Edgartown are described elsewhere and it will not be necessary to enter into details here. In the first recorded division in 1653, there were but twenty shares, of which Pease and Browning, the only ones of the alleged squatters, received one each with Mayhew and the rest. The "half lots" were simply half shares which had been sold by original proprietors to *new* comers. The same sub-division of lots occurred in Tisbury and Chilmark by identical means, and so far from the possession of a half-lot indicating early arrival, it shows in reality a later settlement. The best evidence on this point, however, is that no discrimi-

nation in these divisions is shown in the case of the four men who figure in the story. As previously stated there is no known evidence existing that John Pease or any of his four or more companions were ever deprived of their lands, whether obtained rightfully or illegally. Many settlers undertook to acquire land of the Indians after the settlement, being often tempted by the ignorance of the natives about such matters. In order to prevent fraud the town passed a law that no one should do this without consent under a penalty of £10 for each acre so purchased. John Daggett disobeyed this, as will appear later, and had to stand suit for it, and it is possible that Pease did the same thing in the early days and had to return the land to the natives. It may be the basis of the "red coat" story, a payment given by Pease to the Chief for the land. In similar way Mayhew paid the Indians in clothing, as part of the bargain he made with them.

THE PROBABILITIES AND CHARACTER OF THE TRADITION.

The story of the supposed landing and settlement of John Pease and his companions first obtained currency and publicity about a century ago or about 175 years after the alleged events transpired. It has no support outside of the descendants of one of the four (or more) supposed settlers. There are no Vincents, Nortons or Trapps who have garnered this tradition in their families, though the last named has not been represented in the male line for over a century on the island. Stories of this sort, however, can be handed down through female lines, and there are numerous descendants of the Trapps, as well as of Browning, who defaulted of male descendants, as far as known. An author previously quoted (1807), endeavored a century ago to get some corroboration of this story in other directions, but failed, and thus states his conclusions: —

> An effort has been made by enquiry of the oldest inhabitants of Martha's Vineyard, who are descendants of the families that landed as aforesaid, to ascertain the port from whence they sailed, and the name of the ship, which has been entirely fruitless; none of them having the least recollection in relation to it, notwithstanding some of them are nearly a hundred years old, and have the use of their faculties unimpaired.

DISCREPANCIES IN THE LEGEND.

The story is consistent and insistent in one particular only, that these persons "came before the Mayhews." In

other details the disagreement is marked. The personnel of the unwritten settlement consisted variously of "four" men, unmarried; of "a number of families"; of "eight or ten English families"; and finally of "twenty-four families." The motive or cause of this landing and unexpected settlement is given as variegated a color as there are versions quoted. The ship was bound for Port Penn on the Delaware, as well as for Virginia. She was "short of provisions" in one case, and afflicted with a "distemper, which like a plague raged among the passengers and crew"; in another version they chanced here and were tempted to leave the ship by a gift of land; and again that the party "got frozen in and was obliged there to remain until spring." Whether a barren and uninhabited island was the natural place for a ship to deposit its passengers, either sick or starving, is a practical question in this connection.[1]

The story of the "red coat" is repeated in all versions with more or less amplification, according to the imagination of the relator. The earliest versions are the simpler, and the latest undertakes to account for the coat as a uniform belonging to Pease, who is stated to have been in the military service in England. No evidence has ever been offered to prove this statement. One account states that they went to the Cape for wives, and another that Pease probably went back to England and returned with a family. It has no real bearing upon the main point, except to show disagreement in the detail of the alleged settlement.

The character of the legend requires us to conclude that everybody has conspired to blot out all recollection of this alleged settlement, because of the fanciful interpretation given to a supposed loss of a certain "black book." This feature and the "red coat" incident can be explained upon ordinary grounds, and the digging of caves for houses at first is not an evidence of priority of settlement. It is pretty certain that this happened in every new settlement at that period. It will not be seriously argued that the first comers found building materials all ready for constructing houses. That the first comers had to "rough it" with crude shelters for a long time, is evident to our sense of the situation confronting them.

[1]One version states that "in the Spring they went to the great Marshes. . . . returning to the Vineyard to winter." This seems a reversal of the probabilities. Under the circumstances, they would be more likely to go to the mainland "to winter" and return to the island in the Spring, on account of food supplies.

Saw mills were unknown and lumber had to be slowly hewn out of virgin timber into boards fit for the carpenter's use. Finally, the only document to which John Pease appended his name in connection with the settlement of the Vineyard does not help out the legend. In 1673–4 he signed with others a statement about the early township grants of 1642 and 1646, by the Mayhews, and of all the signers he was the eldest in point of years and residence here. The document states that "wee are the successors of those men (Daggett, Pierce, Beers, John and Francis Smith, the first patentees of the town in 1642), and the first of us was admitted by their Approbation, and some purchased their lands." The significance of this is that John Pease states that he was among the first "admitted" to be an inhabitant by the original proprietors of Edgartown, as one of the "successors," after the island had been purchased and a government organized.

PROBABLE SOURCES OF THE TRADITION.

It is true that the early book or books of record of Great Harbor are not in existence. Doubtless they were officially destroyed some time after they were transcribed into a new book in 1730–1 by John Norton, then town clerk. The present records contain fairly full entries from the year 1642, but it is probable that, as in the case of Tisbury, which authorized a similar new copy for its records, many things were not considered necessary for perpetuation in the new book. As John Pease died about 1674, and there is nothing in existing records to show that he was town clerk at that date, the relations of the "Black Book" to the story do not seem to be very important. It is reasonable to conclude that the disappearance of the old book or books, after transcription authorized by the town, has given rise to the tradition of the mysterious loss of a volume supposed to contain evidences of occupation earlier than that of the then proprietary family. We are still without any clue as to the origin of this tradition of this early settlement, and it only remains to consider one possible and even probable source. And this is furnished by another branch of the Pease family of Salem. Robert Pease, the elder brother of John, was contemporary with John in Salem, and a descendant of this Robert, of the third generation, Joseph[3], removed to Enfield, Conn. There these pioneers,

during their first winter at that place, were forced to prepare temporary shelter and made excavations in the side of a hill, as did the alleged early settlers at our Green Hollow. All this appears in a journal kept by Joseph Pease of Enfield (born 1693), third son of John of Salem and great nephew of John of Martha's Vineyard, as recently published in the History of Enfield.[1]

Doubtless this story of the "cave dwellers" of Enfield was well known to their children and grandchildren, and became a part of the traditions of the descendants of the Connecticut pioneers. In the course of time descendants of our John Pease emigrated to Connecticut with the beginning of the westward movement of the middle of the 18th century. It is more than probable that these distant cousins were familiar with their common origin, and family tradition is to that effect. Jonathan of Edgartown went to Windham, Conn., before 1743, and Lemuel, an uncle of Obed, to whom the tradition is partly traced on the Vineyard, resided in Glastonbury, same state. With the interchange of visits, the voyages back and forth from the Vineyard to Connecticut, it seems reasonable to conclude that the Connecticut cousins told their Vineyard cousins the story of their fathers who had "dug caves in the side of a hill," when they first settled in that region. This story was carried back and rehearsed to the cousins at the Vineyard. The rest may be inferred. The tale of the first Peases who lived in caves during their first winter in Connecticut was easily transferred in the telling, or in the hearing of it by children, to the Vineyard branch, and thus a story may have innocently grown into a belief that has survived many years, until it is now told by others with the assurance born of age and plausibility. The story of the "three black crows" is well to bear in mind whenever tradition is invoked to establish a desirable theory. The manner in which the story under consideration may have become amplified and circumstantial in detail is not a difficult matter to understand. Fragments of various stories about the early settlers here could become engrafted into one continuous whole in the course of a number of generations, and that such stories are

[1]This was first published in 1829 by the late John Chauncey Pease, M.D., in his Historical Sketch of Enfield. He says that two brothers, John Pease, Jr., and Robert, came from Salem "to that tract of country now called Enfield in the year 1679, built them a Hut or Cellar in the side of the Hill, about 40 rods East from where the old meeting house formerly stood, there they lived through the winter alone, no other white person in the place."

thus compounded is within the knowledge and experience of every historian. It is not the only legend about the early annals of the Vineyard which has come to the knowledge of the author that has vanished under a close inspection of records bearing on the points. Until some satisfactory corroboration of this tradition is forthcoming, it must be relegated to the "realms of tradition" and there await its promotion, if it deserves it, to the more substantial territory of established facts.

ARMS OF WILLIAM, LORD STIRLING.

CHAPTER VII.

The English Family of Mayhew.

The name of Mayhew and the Vineyard are almost synonymous, and it will be interesting as well as instructive to learn something of the family which exercised such a sway over the early destinies of our island. The origin of the name is explained satisfactorily by a learned historical scholar of England, himself a descendant, and the following extracts are made from his account: —

As an English family name it is most frequently met with in the South and West of this island, and few parish registers in the Counties of Hereford, Gloucester, Wilts and Dorset can be opened without presenting us with examples. It is spelt in many ways, varying from the extended form of Mayhowe to that of Mao, and often, as it will frequently appear, clipped down and reduced to May to the loss of its concluding syllable.[1] One lesson is taught by the diversity and variety, viz:—the identity of Mayhew and Mayo, and from this consideration a ray of light is thrown upon the derivation of the name. An early occurrence of the name, and in its extended form, is found in Glover's Roll of Arms, supposed by Sir Harris Nicholas to date from between 1245 and 1250. Herbert le Fitz Mayhewe is there mentioned as bearing "party d'azur & de goulz one trois leonseaux rampant d'or," and Woodward in his History of Wales, page 415, narrates that account to the old copy of S. Davids Annals. The Welsh slew Sir Herbert Fitz-Mahu apparently in 1246, near the castle of Morgan Cam. The same Roll of Arms gives the clue to the origin of the name as a Christian name; in the case of Mahewe de Lovayne, Mayhew de Columbers and Maheu de Redmain. There can be little doubt that it is here a softened form of Matthew. Bardsley in his "English Surnames" mentioned two other instances, Adam fil. Maheu, and Mayhew de Basingbourne, from the Parliamentary Writs. Lower, (Patronymica Brittannica, 219, 221,) takes the same view.

Shakespeare in King "Lear" Act III, scene 4, says:

"The Prince of Darkness is a Gentleman
Modo he's called and Mahu."

The family has its principal habitats in Cornwall, at Lostwithiel, Looe, Bray and Morval, to which belonged John Mayow, Fellow of All Souls, Oxford, and that Mayow of Clevyan, in St. Columb Major, who was hanged on a tavern

[1]As an example of the loss of the final syllable, the following may be noted: Walter Mayo vel Meye admissus in Artibus 26 June 1511, (Gough Mss. 7, Bod. Lib.); the will of Robert Mayo of Broughton Gifford 16 Nov. 1572, in the Prerogative Court, though his family name was usually written May, as in the Wiltshire visitations; the will of Henry Mayo alias May, of Kellways, Wilts, 1661.

sign-post as a rebel against the injunctions of Edward VI, concerning religion. Dorsetshire has one family in the Visitation; Gloucestershire, at Kempley, Tetbury, Charfield; Herefordshire, at Tottenham; Northamptonshire, at Holmden, in the Visitation of 1619; Norfolk, at Billockby and Clippesby; Suffolk at Clopton, Helmington and Bedingfield, and in Wiltshire more than one family of the name are found including Mayhew of Dinton in the Visitations of 1565 and 1623, whose pedigree is here inserted. (See page 106.)

Of noted persons of the name is Richard Mayo, otherwise Mayeo, Maiewe, Mayhue, etc., who was born near Hungerford, educated at Winchester, became a fellow of New College in 1459; after passing through the lower orders he became Chancellor of Oxford, 1503, and Bishop of Hereford in 1504. He died in April, 1516.[1]

In the Records of the Commissioners for the United Colonies, there appeared a letter, now in the Connecticut Archives,[2] written by Governor Mayhew, sealed with arms which, upon examination, proved to be the arms, with a mullet for difference, of the Mayhew family of Dinton, Wiltshire, a county family of considerable distinction. These facts, taken in connection with the bestowal by Mayhew of the names of Tisbury and Chilmark on two adjoining towns on Martha's Vineyard, (the latter settlement having been originally chartered as Tisbury Manor), and the fact that Tisbury and Chilmark are adjoining parishes in Wiltshire, and separated by a few miles only from Dinton, made it quite evident that this locality was the one which should reveal his family connection.

In April, 1898, the author, during a visit to England, was a guest by previous appointment of the Vicar of Tisbury, the Rev. F. E. Hutchinson, who is of the same stock as one family of the New England Hutchinsons. He spent two days at the vicarage and had ample time to make a thorough examination of the old parish registers of Tisbury, which are extant from the year 1563, including the original and a parchment copy of almost contemporary date. Below extracts from the parish register are given, which include all of the name of Mayhew in its several variations, as well as some relating

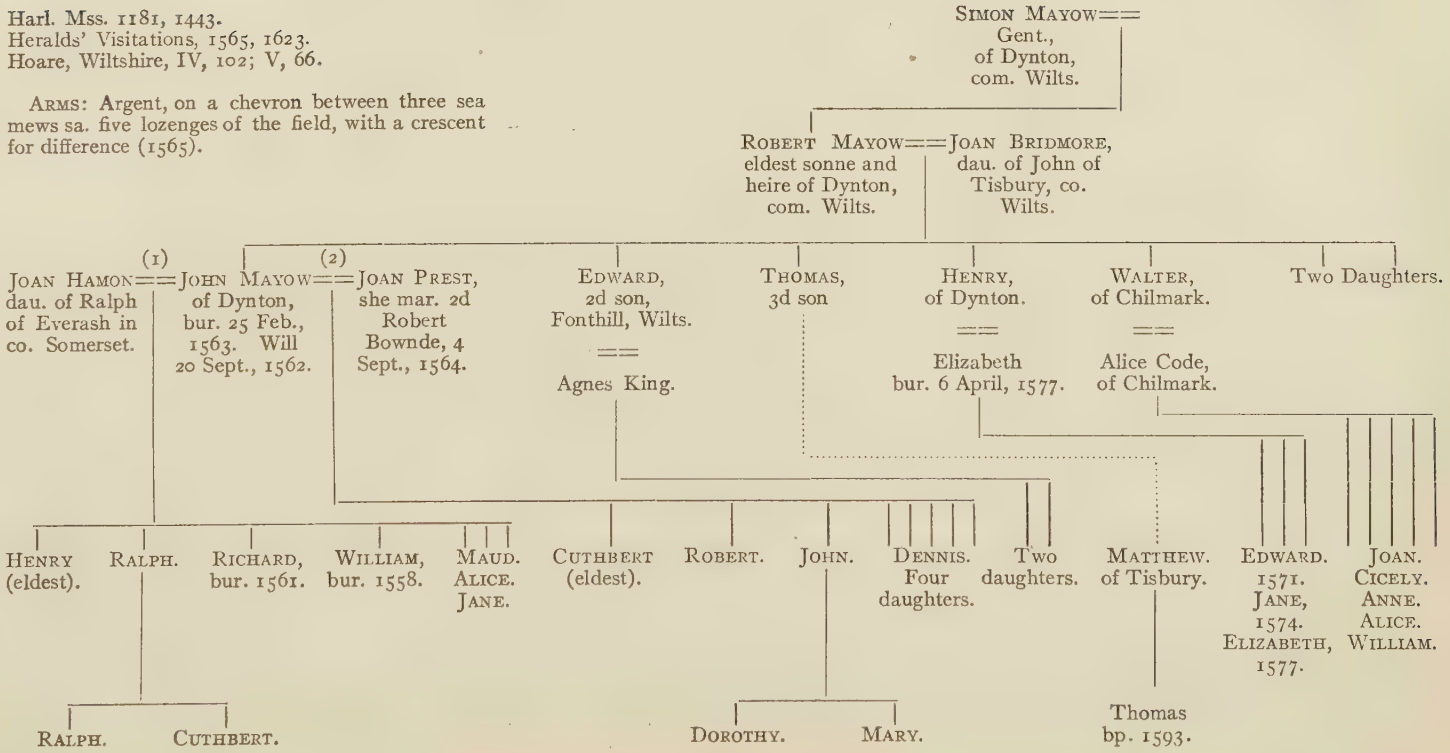
[1]Genealogical Account of the Mayo and Elton Families by Rev. Canon Mayo, vicar of Long Burton, Dorset. London, 1882.

[2]Conn. Col. Records, 1678–1689. pp. 504–506.

PEDIGREE OF MAYHEW OF DINTON.

Harl. Mss. 1181, 1443.
Heralds' Visitations, 1565, 1623.
Hoare, Wiltshire, IV, 102; V, 66.

ARMS: Argent, on a chevron between three sea mews sa. five lozenges of the field, with a crescent for difference (1565).



CHURCH OF S. JOHN THE BAPTIST
WHERE THOMAS MAYHEW WAS BAPTIZED, APRIL 1, 1593.

to persons connected with the family by marriage mentioned in wills, to be hereafter given, during the period necessary for our purpose.

EXTRACTS FROM THE PARISH REGISTER OF TISBURY, CO. WILTS.

BAPTISMS.

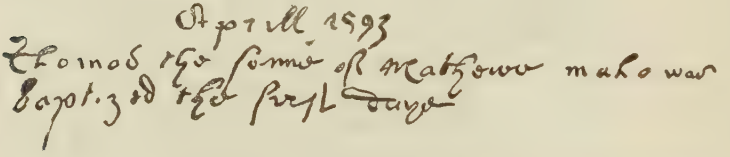
1583	Sept. 13, Henry, son of ..... Maoh.
1589	May 1, Elizabeth, daughter of Matthew Maho.
1591	Jan'y 17, John, son of Matthew Mayoo.
1593	April 1, THOMAS, SON of MATHEW MAHO.
1595-6	Feb. 8, Jone, daughter of Mathew Mayhoe.
1598	Dec. 18, Alice, daughter of Mathew Maiho.
1599/1600	Mar. 15, Katherine, daughter of Mathew Maio.
1602	April 14, Edward, son of Mathew Mayhow.

MARRIAGES.

1573	Nov. 24, Myhell May and Jone Vanner.
1575	April 21, Thomas (Maow?) and Alyce (Waterman?)
1578	Nov. 23, An Maio and Thomas Turner.
1579	Aug. 3, An Maio and John Waterman.
1587	Octo. 2, MATHEW MAOW and ALES BARTER.

BURIALS.

1586	July 14, Ales wyffe of Thomas Maow.
1590	June 1, Thomas Maow.



REPRODUCTION OF ENTRY IN PARISH REGISTER SHOWING RECORD OF BAPTISM OF THOMAS MAYHEW.

The marriage above indicated by capitals is that of the parents of Gov. Thomas Mayhew, and his baptism is likewise printed in the same type. Attention need scarcely be drawn to the various ways the name is entered in the register. In the baptisms given, eight in all, there are seven different spellings. This entry of the baptism of Thomas, son of Mathew Maho, April 1st, 1593, probably within a few days of his birth, is not absolutely conclusive evidence of identity with our Thomas, but taken in connection with the facts relating to the reappearance on Martha's Vineyard of the names of Tisbury Manor (which is situated in the parish of Tisbury, England,) and Chilmark the adjoining hamlet, and the name of Matthew, which for succeeding generations appeared in the Martha's Vineyard family, it becomes one of those cases where an affirmative conclusion is clearly inferential.

Corroborative evidence is also available in respect to Governor Mayhew's age, which corresponds approximately with the record of this baptism. The double dating of that period from January 1 to March 25, enters the problem to give it some slight complications, but as he was born near the dividing line between the new and the old years 1592 and 1593, his several statements regarding the great number of years he attained (evidently a source of pride to him) lead us readily to conclude that with the proneness which he exhibited to reiterate his longevity, he unintentionally adopted 1592 as his birth year, when it was in reality 1593, and that a further source of error lies in the confusion which may result from such general statements as that he was eighty-seven years of age, or in his "87th yeare hallf out." The following are all the references regarding his age which have been thus far observed, and it will be noticed that the first one, before he had grown to riper years and indulged the pardonable satisfaction at attaining great age, is the only correct one as compared to the date of baptism. It bears out the theory that he unconsciously overstated his age as he grew older.

1. On Sept. 15, 1664, he wrote, "I am 71 and 5 monthes at present."[1] This would carry his birth back to about 2–15–1593. [Within one month prior to April 15, 1593, which agrees with the baptism.]

2. On 24 (6), 1678, he wrote, "It hath pleased God to keepe me alyve and verry well, to write thus much in my 87th yeare hallf out."[2] This would carry his birth back to about 12–24–1591. [Feb. 24, 1591–2.]

3. In his will dated June 16, 1681, he began: "I, Thomas Mayhew of Edgartown upon the Vineyard in this ninetieth year of my age." This would carry his birth back to some time between June 17, 1591, and June 16, 1592.

4. On April 13, 1682, Matthew Mayhew, his grandson, announced to Gov. Thomas Hinckley of Plymouth the death of his grandfather as follows: "It pleased God of his great goodness as to continue my honoured grandfather's life to a great age (wanting but six days of ninety years), so to give the comfort of his life, and to ours as well as his comfort, in his sickness (which was six days)."[3]

[1]Mass. Hist. Coll., 4th series, vol. 7, p. 40.
[2]Plymouth Colony Records, vol. 10, p. 406.
[3]Mass. Hist. Coll., 4th series, vol. 5, p. 61.

Previously to the author's visit to Tisbury a personal search of the Wiltshire wills deposited at Somerset House relating to the Archdeaconry of Sarum, in which the parishes of Tisbury, Chilmark and Dinton are situated, was made. There was found, among others of the family, the wills of Matthew Mayhew, the father of Thomas, and of Agnes Mayhew, an aunt of Thomas, in both of which documents his name occurs as a beneficiary. The full copy of the will of Matthew is here presented: —

PRINCIPAL REGISTRY OF PROBATE (WILTSHIRE), ARCHDEACONRY OF SARUM, VIII, 224.

In the name of God Amen. I Mathew Maihew of Tisbury in the county of Wilts yeoman being in good health and of perfect memory (thankes bee to god for it) doe make constitute and ordeine this my last will and testament in manner and form following First I bequeath my soule into the handes of Almighty God my maker and redeemer and my body to bee buried in the Church or Churchyard of Tisbury aforesaid. Itm I give and bequeath to the prish Church of Tisbury iiis vid. Itm I give and bequeath to the poore people of the aforesaid Tisbury iis iiiid. Itm I give and bequeath to my sonne Thomas Maihew Forty pounds of good and lawfull monie of England whereof twenty pounds to bee paid him by my Executor wthin one whole yeare after my decease and the other twenty pounds to bee paid by my Executor wthin five years after the payment of the first twenty pounds in manner and forme following viz: fower pounds evy year until the sume of twenty pounds bee paid and the five yeares expired Itm I give and bequeath unto my sonne Edward Maihew six and forty pounds of good and lawfull monie of England whereof six and twenty to bee paid him by my executor wthin one whole yeare after my decease and the other twenty pounds to bee paid unto him by my executor after the same manner and at the same times wch are prscribed for the payment of the last twenty pounds of my sonne Thomas his portion Itm I give and bequeath unto my daughter Joane Maihewe six and forty pounds of good and lawfull monie of England whereof six and twenty pounds to bee paid wthin one whole yeare after my decease and the other twenty pounds to bee paid after the same manner and at the same times wch are prescribed for the last payment of my sonne Thomas his portion Itm I give and bequeath unto my daughter Alice Maihew six and forty pounds of good and lawfull monie of England to be paid unto her by my executor after such manner and at such times as my daughter Joane Maihewes portion is to be paid Itm I give and bequeath unto my daughter Katherine Maihew six and forty pounds to bee paid unto her by my executor after the same manner and at the same times wch are prscribed for the payment of my other two daughters portions All the rest of my goods and chattels moveable and unmovable I give and bequeath unto my sonne John Maihew whom I make my whole and sole executor of this my last will and testamt Itm I doe constitute and appointe John Bracher of Tisbury Edward Bracher of Tisbury Richard Langly of Boreham and John Gilbert of Deny Sutton ovrseers of this my

last will and testament In witnes whereof I have hereunto subscribed my hande the last day of August in the year of our Lord 1612

THE MARKE OF MATHEWE MAIHEWE

In the prnce of
Luke Simpson
John Gilbert
John Turner
John Bracher

Memorand That if my sonne Thomas Maihewe Edward Maihewe Joane Maihewe Alice Maihewe Katherine Maihewe or any one of them doe chaunce to dye before they have receaved theire portions then my will is that the portions of the parties deceased shall equally bee divided amongst the rest then liveing

Witnesses hereunto
Luke Simpson
John Gilbert
John Turner
John Bracher

Proved 27th June 1614

The will of Agnes Mayhew of Tisbury, dated Jan. 12, 1606, gives to "Thomas the son of my brother Matthew, five pounds," and it was proved June 24, 1612 (Arch. Sarum, VIII, 168).

With respect to the connection of this Tisbury twig with the armorial family of Dinton, it is to be observed that Matthew describes himself as "yeoman," which may not disqualify him as a cadet scion of the armigerous family, particularly in view of the fact that Governor Mayhew, his son, used a seal, which he must have obtained in England, cut with the arms of the Dinton family, and having as a mark of difference the mullet, indicating that he was descended from the third son of the armorial grantee.[1] The tabular pedigree which appears herewith, showing the Dinton family as given in the Harleian manuscripts and in Hoare's Wiltshire, to which have been added some facts obtained from wills and other original sources, fails to afford us any information concerning the descendants of Thomas, the third son of Robert Mayhew, and the author strongly suspects that it is to him, whose Christian name Governor Mayhew bore, we must look for an extension of the pedigree. The laws of primogeniture,

[1]Many years ago there was issued by the late Jonathan Mayhew of Buffalo, N. Y., a pictorial "family tree" which has, erroneously, depicted on it the coat armor of the Mayhews of Hemingston, Suffolk.

which existed at that period, and which were so carefully observed by the heralds, afforded little consideration for cadet branches of county families, and we are at present reduced to conjecture as to the relationship of Matthew to the Dinton stock, a conclusion which seems reasonable to be made in the affirmative from all the collateral facts. It is to be observed that the name of Simon Mayhew, which appears at the head of the tabular pedigree, was used by the Martha's Vineyard family as early as 1687, which may be classed as additional corroborative testimony. Unfortunately the parish registers of Chilmark are missing prior to 1653, and although Bishops' transcripts exist in the Diocesan Registry at the Salisbury Cathedral, "Our Lady Church of Sarum," they contain no Mayhew entries.[1] A branch of the Dinton family, represented by Walter, the fourth son of Robert of Dinton, lived in Chilmark, which is the next parish to Tisbury and nearer Dinton. Walter Mayhew "de Chilmark, gentleman" made his will Aug. 30, 1604, which was proven Dec. 24, 1606, and in it he makes a bequest to the poor of Fountell (Fonthill) where his elder brother Edward resided.[2] No references to Tisbury or relatives outside of his family appear (Arch. Sarum, Rotula XV). John Mayhew of Dinton, however, the eldest son of that generation, in his will dated Sept. 20, 1562, bequeaths a small sum "to the Church of Tisbury," besides to his own church and the Cathedral at Salisbury (Arch. Sarum. IV, 165), which may be taken as showing some interest or connection with that parish.

All the evidence adduced, by inference and exclusion, seems to favor the Tisbury family as the one to which Governor Mayhew belongs, and that the Tisbury branch belongs to the Dinton stock seems equally presumptive. The line of Matthew's parentage probably sprung off before the Dinton stock had their pedigree registered in 1565, and it is also fair to presume that Simon, who heads it, had more than one son. With the exception of Matthew many of the names of

[1]The Dinton Parish Registers are extant from 1558, but contain no entries which throw light on Thomas, the third son of Robert.

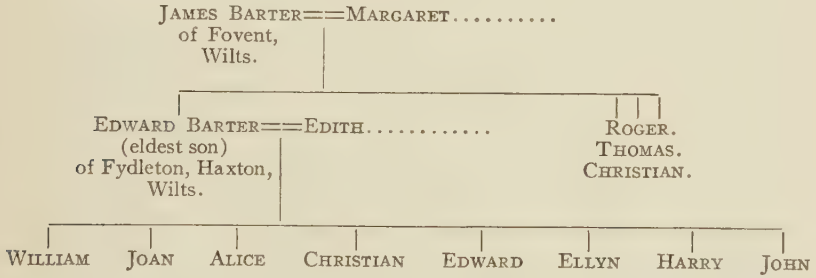
[2]The adjoining parish of Chilmark, disclosed some early Macy stones in the churchyard. It will be remembered that Thomas Macy of Nantucket, who is said to have been of Chilmark, referred to Thomas Mayhew of Martha's Vineyard as "my honored cousin" (N. Y. Col. MSS., Vol. XXV), and while searching for Mayhew wills, I accidentally found the will of Thomas Maycie of Chilmark, dated 1575, which may serve as the basis of some future investigations concerning that well-known family, whose emigrant ancestor first settled in Salisbury, Massachusetts.

sons in the Tisbury and Dinton families are nearly identical, John, Thomas, Henry, Edward.[1]

In the Mayow arms sea mews are engraved for the birds, which in the authorities quoted are given as "birds." It will be noticed that the arms described on the tabular pedigree have a crescent for difference, indicating their use at the time of the visitation (1565) by a second son, probably Edward, son of Robert. Thomas, the younger brother, would have used the mullet for difference. The use of the mullet by Gov. Thomas Mayhew, indicating his descent from a third son of the Mayow family of Dinton, taken with the other evidence presented, leads to the belief that the Thomas who was buried at Tisbury in 1590, was father of Matthew, grandfather of Gov. Thomas, and son of Robert.[2]

It now remains to turn to the maternal ancestry of Governor Mayhew, the Barters of Wiltshire, of whom Alice, as we have seen, married Matthew Maow in 1587. While the author cannot with equal satisfaction designate beyond doubt the particular branch to which she belonged, yet the following wills indicate her probable parentage and the tabular pedigree illustrates it: —

BARTER



The will of James Barter of Fovent, Wilts, is dated Sept. 1, 1565, and in it he mentions among others his eldest

[1]The Mayhews of Dinton were Roman Catholics, and according to a recent authority, had in those days suffered for their attachment to that faith. An Edward, born at Dinton, 1570, became a Benedictine monk, and with his brother Henry was admitted to the English College at Douay in 1583, and later they matriculated at the English College, Rome, 1590 (Stephen, Dict. Nat. Biog. Art. Maihew). He died in 1625. It is probable that he was the son of Henry, and was baptized at Dinton, Nov. 12, 1571. In those days of religious ostracism and persecution, when the Puritan movement was growing in strength, it is possible that the branch to which Governor Mayhew belonged became Protestant, and thus lost association with and recognition by the parent stock.

[2]This account of the Tisbury family is condensed from an article in the Genealogical Advertiser, prepared by the author for that publication. (Vol. IV, pp. 1–8.)

son Edward and his daughter (in law) Edith, wife of Edward. (Arch. Sarum, P. C. C., IV, 210.)

The will of Edward Barter, his son, of Haxton, Wilts, of the parish of Fydleton, is dated Oct. 6, 1574, and mentions among others, his wife Edith and his daughter Alice. (Arch. Sarum, P. C. C., V, 231.)

The will of Edith Barter, widow, of the same parish, is dated Aug. 9, 1576, and mentions among others her daughter Alice to whom she gave "halfe an aker of wheat and half an aker of barley my best cowlett, my white pety coat, my kercher, my canvas apron a platter and porringer" (Arch. Sarum, P. C. C., V, 273.)

As this Alice was the only one found by the author in his searches among Wiltshire wills, and as the name of Edward was bestowed on the third son of Matthew and Alice, presumably in honor of her father, as Thomas had been given in memory of his father, this origin of Alice Barter, the mother of Thomas Mayhew, is offered as the probable solution of the question of her ancestry.

Of the childhood, education, and early business training of Thomas Mayhew of Tisbury, nothing definite has come to the knowledge of the author. It is presumed that he lived in Tisbury during his youth, and was educated in the parish school under the care of his parents. When his father died, he was twenty-one years of age, and it is certain that this event placed upon him the necessity of individual responsibility for the future. We know that he became a merchant, but where he served his apprenticeship is unknown. Daniel Gookin, who knew him personally, says he was "a merchant bred in England, as I take it at Southampton." This seaport town was, in that period, one of the most important commercial centres in England, ranking with Bristol as secondary to the great port of London. Like all merchants of the maritime ports, he naturally became cognizant of and interested in foreign trade, and as the colonization ventures of the established mercantile companies began to develop, he must have learned of the possibilities of profitable traffic beyond seas. Among the great merchants of London, Mr. Matthew Cradock was an early adventurer in this line of business, and was among the first to support the companies engaged in the colonization of New England. In the course of business it is to be supposed that every suburban merchant in

England went to London often to have dealings with the large wholesale houses in the capital, and in that way we may suppose Mayhew became known to Cradock and thus laid the foundation of their business relations in later years. In 1625, at the accession of Charles the First, Thomas Mayhew was thirty-two years of age and had been engaged in business for himself in all probability for about a dozen years, since the death of his father. During that period he had married, about 1619, and family traditions and a record of some antiquity brings down to us the name of the bride of his youth as Abigail Parkus.[1] Further particularization has been given to this tradition by making her a daughter of that Parkhurst family, of which George Parkhurst of Watertown, Mass., 1643, was the first New England representative. George was the son of John Parkhurst of Ipswich, England, a clothier, and his sisters, Deborah and Elizabeth, came to this country with him, and were later residents of the Vineyard, the former as wife of John Smith and the latter of Joseph Merry. So far no documentary or recorded confirmation of his marriage has come to light, and some considerable search has been made to find the probable place where the marriage took place, but without avail. The tradition is given for what it is worth.

The fruit of this first marriage of Thomas Mayhew was a son who was christened by the name of his father, about 1618, and living to man's estate became the famous missionary to our Indians on the Vineyard.[2] No other children are known, nor when and where the mother died. We are at present left to conjecture as to the whereabouts of the father, as well as his family, and not until 1628 do we find a further possible reference to him. The Company of the Massachusetts Bay were then actively promoting their new settlements at Salem and vicinity, and sending supplies thither. Their

[1]This is from a memorandum, genealogical in its character, prepared by Deacon William Mayhew, of Edgartown, who was born in 1748, and was thus within the sphere of close personal knowledge of his immediate ancestors. He was ten years old when Experience Mayhew, the great family exponent, died (1758), and Experience was about the same age when the old governor died, thus but one life spanned the gap between Thomas Senior and Deacon William. The memorandum was preserved by the Deacon's son, Thomas, and was in existence in 1854.

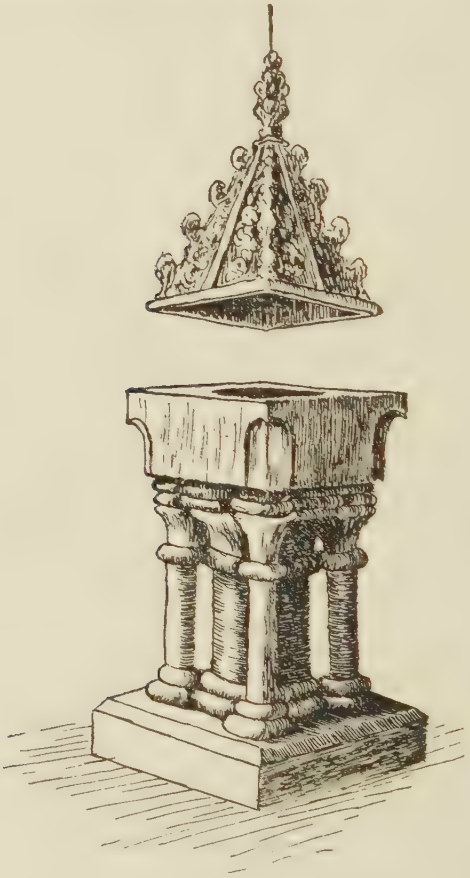
[2]The author has made extensive searches in all published parish registers of English churches and similar books, for any clue to his baptism or any reference to Thomas Mayhew. The following items are here printed, and may be of some value. Thomas Mayhowe, bapt. Aug. 20, 1617, at St. Martins in the Fields, London. The will of Mildred Reade of Linkenhurst, Co. Hants, widow, dated Aug. 15, 1630, mentions her nephew "Thomas Mayhew the younger."

records at this time contain the following entry, showing that Thomas Mayhew was then engaged in mercantile pursuits: —

16 March 1628.

Bespoke of Mr. Maio at 10½ p yrd for beds & boulsters 20 bed tikes, Scotch Tikeing ¾ broad & 2 1-16 long & 1½ yrds wide: 11 yrds each bed and boulster. Mass. Col. Records, I, 35.

In two years more Mayhew had determined to follow to the New England the "beds & boulsters" and "bed tikes" he had sold for the emigrants to the latest English colony.



STONE FONT, CHURCH OF S. JOHN THE BAPTIST, 1593.

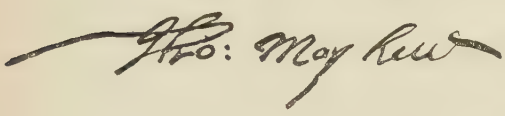
Used at the Baptism of Thomas Mahew, the elder.[1]

[1]A replica of this font, in English Oak, was presented by the family of the author to Grace Church, Vineyard Haven, in memory of a deceased relative, several years ago, and may be seen in that church.

CHAPTER VIII.

Thomas Mayhew in Massachusetts.

The richest Jems and gainfull things most Merchants wisely venter:
Deride not then New England men, this Corporation enter:
Christ call for Trade shall never fade, come Cradock factors send:
Let Mayhew go another move, spare not thy Coyne to spend.
Such Trades advance and never chance in all their Trading yet:
Though some deride they lose, abide, here's gaine beyond mans wit.
Johnson, Wonder-Working Providence (1654).



Signature of Thomas Mayhew

The great interests of Matthew Cradock in New England required more personal oversight, and he completed arrangements with Thomas Mayhew to go to New England and act as his representative in all business matters, making his headquarters at Medford, where he had built a "greate stone house" (still standing). Thither Mayhew went, presumably taking with him his wife and young son, in 1631, though there is no fact to substantiate the supposed existence of the mother at that date. She may have died before his emigration, which is placed in the year 1631 from contemporaneous records. March 6, 1631–2, is the earliest record so far found of him in this country. At that date he appears on the records of the General Court of Massachusetts as chairman of a committee appointed by the Court to settle the boundary between Charlestown and Newton. As this record is the report of the committee, it must have been appointed at an earlier date in the previous year.

His time for the next three years was devoted to the services of his employer, attending to his investments, and managing his maritime and mercantile interests in the colony. By this time he had probably decided to cast his fortunes with the new country, and on May 14, 1634, he was admitted as a freeman by the General Court. Thenceforth he became actively identified with the political and business life of the colony.

At this period he began the erection of a mill for his principal and the following letter concerning it is here printed:[1]

[1]Massachusetts Historical Collection, 4, VII, 30.

Meadeford the 22th of the fouerth Moneth June 1634

Sir:— I doe hereby request your worshipp to deliver this bearer that hempe you spake of, for caulkinge the pynnase: and I doe farther intreate you to lend Mr. Cradock the hellpe of your teeme, a day or two, to hellpe carry the timber for building the mill at Watertowne. I have sent unto Mr. (Richard) Doomer. I hope he will afford me his hellpe: that with the hellpe of our owne wee may doe it in two daies. The reason I desire to have it donne with such expedition is for that the cattell must be watched whillst they are about it, in reguard they will be from home & soe doubtless otherwise would stray, or at least runn home: I will at any time, if your worshipp have occasion in the like kind, fulfill your desire: the time wee intend to goe about it is the second or third day of the next weeke. Thus ceaseing farther to trouble you at present, salutinge you with all due respect, committing you to the Lords protection, I rest

Your worshipps to commaund

THOMAS MAYHEW

To the worshipfull John Wynthropp.

May 14, 1634, he was fined for breach of order of the court "for imploying Indians to shoot with peeces." On the same date the Court appointed a committee to bargain with Mr. Mayhew and an associate "for the building of a seafort." On June 3 following, he was appointed to examine into "what hurt the swyne of Charlton (Charlestown) has done to the Indean barnes of corn, on the north side of the Mystick &c." At a previous date (July 2, 1633), he had been appointed administrator on the Glover estate, and at this session of the Court, he exhibited an inventory of the estate. He still continued to reside at Medford, and sometime, in this year probably, he found an opportunity to contract a second matrimonial alliance, but whether he found his new wife here or returned to England for her is not known. Savage, who is usually quite accurate, states that the marriage occurred in London, but on what authority is not known.[1] The second wife was Jane, widow of Thomas Paine, a merchant of London, and she brought into the household of Thomas Mayhew two children by her former husband. The maiden name of Mrs. Paine is said by family tradition to be Jane Gallion.[2] It is quite probable that Mayhew had returned to England, and while there on business found a new wife, perhaps through the agency of Cradock. Thomas Paine, the deceased mer-

[1]Genealogical Dictionary, III, 337. None of the published London parish registers have a record of this marriage.

[2]The authority for this is the same memorandum before referred to, made by Deacon William Mayhew.

chant, had left considerable estates in England for his children, Thomas, Jr., and Jane, both minors, and the care of them now devolved on Mayhew as stepfather.[1] The daughter Jane was the elder of the two Paine children brought to the New England home and here she found as a big step-brother young Thomas Mayhew, then about fifteen years of age. It is not known how old Jane Paine was at this time, and we may only conclude from subsequent events that she may have been born about 1628 or 1629 and was therefore five or six years old. When she grew to be a young woman, about 1647, Thomas made this step-sister his wife.

In 1635 Mayhew still resided at Medford, and on June 14 of that year the first child of the second marriage came along and she was christened Hannah.[2]

March 4, 1635, he was appointed to serve on a committee to lay out the bounds of Salem, Marblehead and Saugus. On the same date he was made member of a committee to purchase for the use of the inhabitants such commodities as were deemed advisable from vessels and other craft which came into the port of Boston. On July 8 of this year, he was directed to present to the Court his account "for the publique business" on which he had been employed. He was of the committee appointed to consider the act of Deputy-Governor Endicott "in defacing the colors," and to report to the Court "how farr they judge it sensureable."

In this year on Aug. 19, 1635, he bought of Edward How one-half interest in the mill built by Cradock and himself, before mentioned. The purchase price was £200, for which Mayhew gave a bond and a mortgage for £400 with conditions that if the price was paid the bond should be void. His business energies were thus turned to the occupation of milling, and it is recorded by a contemporary that it was an "excellent" mill "which in those times brought him great profit."[3]

In 1636, Mayhew continued his residence at Medford,[4] and on December 6 of that year a second daughter came

[1]Prolonged search in the London probate courts of the period, made for me by a professional genealogist, to find the will of Thomas Paine, and the same search in the parish registers, resulted in failure to locate this family in the great city. The estates left to Thomas, Jr., were at Whittlebury, Northamptonshire.

[2]Plymouth Col. Rec., XII, 172, Watertown Records.

[3]Daniel Gookin. Description of the New England Indians, written in 1674. (Mass. Hist. Soc. Coll., I, 141.)

[4]Middlesex Co. Court Files.

into the household, receiving the name of Bethiah.[1] He was made Representative to the General Court this year, and was returned each term until he removed to Martha's Vineyard in 1644–5, and during these years in which he served as representative, his name appears on many important committees. The merchant, miller, and factor was still occupied in various pursuits as appears from contemporary records of the period. He was bringing supplies to the colony, engaged in shipping ventures, and running his mill.[2] However, all of these were not profitable or remunerative, and it may be concluded that he was not an entire success as a business man. The following letter written by him this year discloses some of his operations: —[3]

Meadefoard this 22th of the 2nd moneth 1636

Sir:—

Touching my journey to Ile of Sholes to buy 80 hogsheads of provission when I came I found noe such things as unto me for trueth was reported: to procure 8 hogsheads of bread I was fayne to lay out one hundred pounds in ruggs & coates unnecessarily: and for pease I got but 1 hogshead & ½ whereof I sowed certain bushells. Had things beene free at the coming in of the vessel, I would have had a greater share of what she brought, yett I confesse, as matters hath beene carried I have not ought against that which hath beene donne. I doubt not but that Mr. Peeters hath remembered you. Your father tould me that he had shippt in the Blessinge one hoggshead of beiffe, in lieu of that delivered unto Mr. Lovell. I shall confer with Mr. Wynthropp when more victualls come in, how wee may steed you: assure your sellfe my hellp you shall not want. I have made out the accompt betweene us. Concerning the Bermuda Voyage and accompting the potatoes at 2d. the corne at 9s. per bushell, the pork at 10 li. per hogshead, orrenges and lemons at 20s. per c. wee two shall gaine twenty od pounds. Now that accompt cleared & the cattell wintring paid for, there will not be much coming unto you of the 80 od pounds I borrowed of you. I shall be ready at any time to advance soe much money to steede you, with thankes, if your occasions shall require it. I salute you respectively with my love. I command you to the guydance & protection of the Lord Jesus and doe rest, in some hast

Your assured Loveing & readyly to be commanded

THOMAS MAYHEW

(To John Winthrop Jr.)

Meanwhile his principal, Matthew Cradock, was becoming dissatisfied with the results of Mayhew's stewardship, and in his anger at the state of affairs he wrote a letter to John Winthrop pouring forth his grievances. From all the

[1]Watertown Records.

[2]Winthrop, Journal, I, 466.

[3]Massachusetts Historical Collection, VII, 31.

circumstances it does not appear that Mayhew had been guilty of any breach of trust, and as no action was taken on Cradock's hysterical letter we may conclude that the gravamen of offence was poor business judgment at the most. The letter is as follows: —

Worthei Sir,— The greyffe I have beene putt to by the most vyle bad dealings of Thomas Mayhew hath & doeth so much disquiet my mynd, as I thank God never aney thing did in the like manner.

The Lord in mercy ffreey me from this, I absolutely fforbad chardging moneys from thence or buying aney goods there. I thanke God my occasions requyred it not but I have had great returnes made mee from thence by means of goods I sent thither by the direction of Thomas Mayhew ffor above 5000 L in the last 2 yeeres & geeving to much credditt to his insynnuating practices & the good opynion I by the reports & advize of maney & more especially of your selfe, did apprehend of him, but ffarr beyond all expectacion & contrary to my express order he hath charged me with dyvers somes & geeven bills in my name which he never had order from me to doe, & that not for small somes, whereof some partyculers are specefyed in the inclosed which I pray you deliver my servant Jno. Jolliff: & good sir lett me intreate your self & those in authority there to make some course that Thomas Mayhew may be answerable ffor that estate of myne which my sayd servant can showe you hath come to his hands. This conveyance is uncerten & therefore I shalbee breiffer then I would or my necessety requyres but by Mr. Peirse, God willing, I shall Inlardge, but I know you may by this seey & apprehend my case. Bills come dayley almost pressented to me of one kynd or other without aney advize, but from Jno. Jolliffs aryvall he ought not to have done any thing in my buiseynes without his approbacion & consent, but when it shall appeare howe he hath dealt by me, you & all men that shall seey it I ame perswaded will hardley thinke it could be possible that a man pretending sincerity in his actions could deale so viley as he hath & doeth deale by me. This buiseynes is not to be delayed, if he can justify his actions it were to bee wished but not possible.

Lett me crave your favour & the courts so ffarr as you shall seey my cause honest & just, & boothe the court & your self & the whole plantacion shall ever oblige me to be

yours ever to my power

MATHEWE CRADOCK.

London 13 January 1636.

The arrival in New England of a new factor for Cradock in the person of John Jolliffe, either in the latter part of 1636 or more probably in 1637, had the effect of terminating Mayhew's business relations with the London merchant, and it was about this time (1637) and for that reason, that Mayhew removed from Medford to Watertown.[1] There he had material interests of his own, and for the next seven or eight

[1]Letter, Roger Williams. Narr. Club Pub., VI, 69.

years he was actively identified with that town and its affairs. He was chosen selectman this year (1637) and also was elected as Deputy to the General Court to represent his new home town in the Colonial Assembly.

In 1638 he was again chosen selectman and re-elected as Deputy to the General Court. At this same session he was appointed a commissioner, which office was a local magistrate or justice of the peace for trying small causes, the first official of that kind accredited to Watertown. Another daughter was born to him, probably early in this year, who was christened Martha, the third addition to his family.[1]

In 1639, Mayhew was again chosen selectman of Watertown and re-elected as Deputy to the General Court, and his appointment as commissioner was renewed. In this year a fourth and last daughter was born to him and received the baptismal name of Mary. The date of her birth was Jan. 14, 1639–40, being within the old calendar year of that period. Meanwhile he was prosecuting his milling interests in the town and being desirous of owning the mill entirely he purchased, May 29, 1639, the other half of Nicholas Davison, agent for Cradock and successor of Jolliffe, and mortgaged it back to Cradock with six shares of the "Wear," for £240. The investment must have been a losing one, for in less than a year, on April 18, 1640, he sold the entire property to Deputy Governor Thomas Dudley for £400, subject to the mortgage to Cradock. Dudley redeemed this on or before March 7 1643–4, but no evidence appears to show that How's mortgage of £400 was paid by Mayhew. Indeed, at the death of How in the summer of 1644, this bond of Mayhew was reckoned as part of the inventory of the estate.[2] Mayhew also was obliged to sell to Dudley his interest in the "Wear" above referred to, for £90, subject to a mortgage to Cradock. We now begin to learn of his financial troubles as told by Gookin and how "it pleased God to frown upon him in his outward estate." [3]

[1]She became the wife of Thomas Tupper of Sandwich, and the ancestress of Sir Charles Tupper, Prime Minister of Canada, 1890, and of Sir Charles H. Tupper, his son.

[2]Edward How's will was dated June 13, 1644, and probated on July 25 following. (Suff. Prob. Rec., I, 31.)

[3]When the governor made his will in 1681, he still considered he had "rights" in this Watertown mill, and he bequeathed them to Matthew. Perhaps he thought he had not been dealt with justly. It is not known whether Matthew attempted to realize on the bequest.

In 1640, Mayhew was again chosen selectman and re-elected Deputy to the General Court. From an entry in the records of the colony, under date of June 2 of this year, we note a reference to some financial troubles: "Mr. Tynge & Mr Davison are desired to examine the acounts between Mr Joanes & Mr Mayhewe."[1] What this refers to is not known, but in a letter printed below Mayhew himself recounts the difficulties under which he labored, due to the scarcity of money in the country.[2]

11th of the 3d 1640.

Right Worshipfull.

I am to pay my owne rate, & some 5 li. for other men, that I owe it unto & allthough that I have had bills due from the Countrey, one yeare and 7 moneths since, for 70 & od pounds, I must now have my goods sold, except I pay out this money: which seeing I have money to receive from the coutrey methinks it is verry hard measure. I cannott see equitie in it. I may safely say that if I had had my money as was then fully intended, being then 100 li. it had donne me more good, in name & state, then now wilbe made whole with double the money; but if there be noe remedy but my goods must be strayned and solld, I desire your worshipps advice per this bearer which is the Constable, what course is to be taken in putting it of. I thinke he comes unto you for counsell in that behallfe: thus with my due respecte, in some hast, I rest

Your worshipps to command

THO: MAYHEW

To the Right Worshipfull John Winthropp Governour.

Money is verry hard to gett upon any termes. I know not the man that can furnish me with it. I could not gett the 100 li. of Mr. Gibbins. I gott 30 li. putt off inconveniently: & when I was sick & in necessitie I could not gett any of the Tresurer. I delight not to compleyne.

In 1641, Mayhew was again chosen selectman and re-elected as Deputy to the General Court, and at its session he was reappointed the commissioner for Watertown. He built the first bridge over Charles river in 1641. On June 2 of that year, "the tole of Mr. Mayhew's bridge was referred to the governor and two magistrates to settle for seven years," in answer to his petition.[3] Under what arrangement this was done does not appear, but that it proved a financial loss to Mr. Mayhew is evident from contemporaneous documents.

[1]Mass. Col. Records, I, 296.

[2]Massachusetts Historical Collection, 4 VII, 32.

[3]No papers are preserved in the Mass. Archives on this subject. See Mass. Col. Rec., I, 337.

Under date of Dec. 10, 1641, the following record throws some light on the situation: —

> Mr. Mayhewe his accounts were referred to the Treasurer & Mr. Duncum & for the bridge by the mill over the Charles River the Cort doth conceive itt to belong to the towne or townes in which itt lyeth.[1]

In payment, perhaps, or as partial recompense for his investment the General Court granted him 150 acres of land on the south side of the Charles river, "by Watertown weare." The exact status of this transaction is not apparent, but it seems to be a case where money and labor were invested in a public utility and receiving in return therefor a grant of land, probably unproductive and as a consequence denied authority to take tolls.[2]

In the midst of these difficulties came the great event which changed the whole tenor of his future life — an opportunity to acquire the title and sovereignty of Martha's Vineyard.

How soon he visited his new possessions is not accurately known to us, but that he remained in Watertown as a resident for several years before removing can be readily established. In 1642, he was chosen selectman and re-elected Deputy to the General Court, both of which would be inconsistent with a residence elsewhere, as Nantucket and the Vineyard were not in the jurisdiction of the Massachusetts Bay Colony. On Nov. 21, 1642, he was ordered to make the (tax) rates in Watertown. In this year Mrs. Jane Mayhew (his wife), went to England to settle matters connected with the estate of her son, Thomas Paine, and presumably Mayhew waited her return before removal to the Vineyard.[3]

In 1643, he was chosen selectman and re-elected as Deputy to the General Court. The following entries in the colony records and other documents show that he was still residing in Watertown: —

1643, May 10, Present at the General Court (II, 33)
September 7, Fined 2s. for absence (II, 41)
September 10, Appraiser in Lynn, and was called "of Watertowne." (Aspinwall, Notarial Record, 136)
October 17, Grant of £3 for loss on corn (I, 337)
October 17, Granted 300 acres on account of bridge (II, 51)

[2]Mass. Col. Rec. (supplement), p. 346.

[3]The authority for this was not granted until Oct. 17, 1643. (Mass. Col. Rec., II, 51.)

[3]Records of Commissioners of the United Colonies, II, 165.

The reference to the land grant is in full as follows: —

> Mr. Mayhewe is granted 300 ac of Land in regard of his charge about the bridge by Watertowne Mill & the bridge to belong to the Country.

This marks the close of the unfortunate bridge transaction.[1] The "country" got the bridge, and Mayhew got a lot of land in the woods thirty miles west of Boston.

In 1644, he was not chosen selectman, but was re-elected as Deputy to the General Court. His movements in this year at and about Boston are here scheduled from the colony records:—

1643-4,	March 7,	Present at the General Court, (II, 55)
1644,	May 29,	Present at the General Court, (II, 66)
	November 12,	Examined Treasurer's accounts, (II, 79)
	December 7,	Signed a report at Watertown to General Court, (II, 114)

From this it will be evident that he was still living in Massachusetts and exercising official functions in that colony, which always jealously guarded any outside intrusion.

In 1645, the report of the committee, of which he was chairman, signed in December, 1644, was presented to the General Court in May following, and on Oct. 1, 1645, a substitute was appointed "in the steede of Mr Mayhewe."[2] On Dec. 16 and 17, 1645, he was in Boston with his wife, executing a legal document before a notary and acting as a witness to another.[3] This last item does not necessarily indicate that he still resided in Massachusetts, but the fact that he does not further appear upon the colony records and that his place was filled in an official capacity in the fall leads the author to conclude that he must have gone to the Vineyard as a permanent removal in the spring or summer of 1645. It had been nearly four years since the purchase of the islands and his failure to utilize, in person, his newly acquired property is not understood. Not until Nov. 23, 1647, are we actually able to state that he lived thereon, as in a document of that date there first appears a statement that he was "of Martin's

[1]Mass. Col. Rec., II, 51. The next year at his own request he had 300 acres of land "laid out" to him in what is now Southboro and Framingham, an irregular tract of land on the north bank of the Hopkinton river; doubtless this was the grant made the year previous. Considerable litigation occurred in consequence of its sale after 1666.

[2]Mass. Col. Rec., II, 139.

[3]Aspinwall, Notarial Records, 8, 9. There is no statement of residence in these documents.

Vineyard."[1] Henceforth his life and work are so interwoven with the political and social conditions of the island that to continue this biographical account would be to relate its history, and this phase of his career will be told in the regular course of events.

[1]Aspinwall, Notarial Records, p. 92. Rev. Thomas Prince speaks of Mayhew's "first access to the island, being then about fifty five Years of age." This would take us to 1647. (Indian Converts, p. 297.)

THE "GREATE STONE HOUSE," MEDFORD.
Built for Matthew Cradock,
1631,
And occupied by Thomas Mayhew.

CHAPTER IX.

Thomas Mayhew, Junior.

When brought to New England by his father in 1631, the younger Mayhew was about ten years old, and for the dozen ensuing years intervening between that and his majority he can be pictured as attending the village schools of Medford from 1631 to 1635, and at Watertown from the time his father removed there till he had finished with the common branches taught in the primary and grammar schools. Nothing in contemporary accounts of him indicates that he was "designed" for the profession of theology, or that he was to become a religious teacher. That this was his natural leaning appears evident from later developments, and he was given special instruction in languages, at least, after he had finished with the public schools. He was "tutored up," states Edward Johnson, an author of that period, from which we infer not a college education, but private instructors.[1] The Rev. Thomas Prince says on this topic: —

> He was a young Gentleman of liberal Education, and of such Repute for piety as well as natural and acquired Gifts, having no small Degree of Knowledge in the Latin and Greek Languages, and being not wholly a Stranger to the Hebrew." [2]

Doubtless he found time or made the opportunity, while assisting his father, to study evenings with tutors. His usual occupation we may assume was assistant to his father in the management of the mill and farm at Watertown, and other enterprises in which the elder was engaged. The turning point in his career, however, was the purchase of this island in 1641, just after the young man had entered his majority, and his assumption, in 1642, of the charge of this venture as one of the patentees. Being thus related to the proprietorship of the soil and the management of its temporal affairs, he was the leader of the small band of his Watertown neighbors who came hither that year, and for the following four years, until the father finally came, he was the local governor of the new settlement. At this time he was still a bachelor

[1] Wonder Working Providence.
[2] Indian Converts, 280.

and we have no means of knowing what were his domestic associations during that period, but when in 1646 the elder Thomas came with his family he made his home with them. With them, as we know, came the step-daughter, Jane Paine, and in the following year he made her his bride.

The life of the younger Mayhew, during his residence of fifteen years on the Vineyard, is so interwoven with the story of the Indian missions which is elsewhere treated, that it is not designed here to do more than briefly outline his personal and family history in this sketch. The details of his life outside of his missionary work are very meagre, and his absorption in it so complete that he apparently gave no time to other pursuits, and rarely left the island on secular business. His name is scarcely ever to be found on documents of the period, even as a witness to deeds or wills, and no letter of his is known to be in existence though a number that he wrote were printed in the Indian missionary tracts during his lifetime.[1] In but one instance do contemporary writings, diaries, and other documents of the period mention him. The Rev. John Wilson of Boston, in a letter dated Oct. 27, 1651, says: "There was here some few weeks since the prime Indian at Martha's Vineyard with Mr Mahewe (Humanequin)."

Of the personality of this young "Apostle" there are a few pen pictures drawn by contemporaries which give us an insight into his zealous character. The Rev. Henry Whitfield visited him in 1651, as we shall read in another portion of the history, and as an observer for the society which supported him in the missionary work, the comments are interesting and significant. After writing of the state of the mission, he goes on to say: "I made some enquiry about Mr. Mahu himself, and about his subsistence, because I saw but small and slender appearance of life in any comfortable way; the man himself was modest and I could get but little from him; but after I understood from others how short things went with him; and how many times he was forced to labour with his own hands, having a wife and three small children which depended upon him to provide necessaries for them; having

[1]The Massachusetts Historical Society has no letter of his in its vast collection of manuscripts, including the famous Winthrop Papers, which contain a number from the elder Mayhew. About 1850, in a Boston newspaper, there was advertised for sale, "the property of a widow lady who is in needy circumstances," consisting of a lot of autograph letters, including one of "Rev. Thomas Mayhew (rare) — $3." which was an absurdly low valuation for what is now known to be the value of such letters.

not halfe so much yeerly coming in in a settled way, as an ordinary labourer gets there amongst them. Yet he is cheerful amidst these straits, and none hear him complain. The truth is he will not leave his work in which his heart is engaged."

No words of comment can add to the strength of this delineation of the personality of the young missionary, and it will only be fitting to quote the statement of his aged father made shortly after the disaster which caused his death: "the work was followed by him when 't was bare with him for foode and rayment, and then indeede there was nothing in sight any waies but Gods promises."

Of the temporal concerns of the younger Mayhew there is a singular absence of any definite record in the town, land, and probate volumes. There is no record of any grant of land to him, or of any sale made by him, nor are his lands referred to as the bounds of any other man's land, except on Chappaquiddick, where the lots were used for the grazing of cattle. No settlement of his estate is to be found on the town or probate books; and while it is known that he did not leave much, yet he must have had some property which would ordinarily require the action of an administrator to distribute, or use for the benefit of creditors, but he is to all intents and purposes totally eliminated from all such considerations in the existing records. This is nothing short of extraordinary, in the light of his position and connections, and the known fact that he did own some land, must have lived on it, and his children were entitled to legal record of their inheritances. In only one brief mention is it evident that he sold land, where Thomas Bayes refers his own property, part of it being "that upland adjoining up to the old highway Some I bought of Mr. Mayhew the Younger." While he was one of the patentees and so owned a moiety of the Vineyard, yet the home lot of his father is described in the usual way by metes and bounds, and only incidentally do we learn that he owned one. In a formal document drawn by Matthew Mayhew in 1685, disposing of the Lordship and Manor of Martha's Vineyard to Governor Dongan, certain exceptions of property are made, including land belonging originally to Rev. Thomas Mayhew, which is the first and only time that any definite realty holdings are referred to in any extant or known records. The document, after enumerating a number of tracts exempt from transfer, continues thus: "and also those two lots of land

with their appurtenances in the town called Edgartown the one late the land of the aforesaid Thomas (Mayhew), the grandfather; and the other land of the aforesaid Thomas Mayhew (Junior) father of the said Matthew Mayhew: both lots containing about eighty acres."

His wife bore him six children in all, of whom five reached adult life, married, and three perpetuated the name in the male line. In 1651, he had "three small children," probably Matthew, Thomas, and another, perhaps a daughter (to whom the name Abiah has been given, but it is unconfirmed), who probably died young. After his death, the Governor, in 1658, speaks of "my daughter and her 6 chilldren." Their names are as follows: —

I.	Matthew	b. 1648
II.	———	b. 1649; d. young.
III.	Thomas	b. 1650
IV.	John	b. 1651 or 2
V.	Jerusha	b. about 1654. m. (1) Joseph Wing of Sandwich 12 April 1682. (2) Thomas Eaton of Shrewsbury, N. J. before 1688.
VI.	Jedidah	b. 1656; m. Benjamin Smith, before April 1685.

ARMS OF MAYOW OF DINTON, WILTSHIRE.

Argent, on a chevron sable between three birds [sea mews?] of the last five lozenges of the first. (*Berry's Dictionary, Papworth and Morant's Dictionary, and Burke's Armory.*)

CHAPTER X.

Independence of the Vineyard, 1642–1665.

By virtue of his purchase of the proprietorship of Martha's Vineyard from Sir Ferdinando Gorges and Lord Stirling, the elder Mayhew succeeded by reasonable implication at least to the powers of the late Lords Proprietors and, in accordance with the terms of the sale, he was to establish a government similar to that of the Massachusetts Bay. For reasons best known to himself and perhaps from the impracticability of launching a complete civil establishment on an island peopled with a scant hundred souls, no attempt appears to have been made by him to create "freemen" or provide for a suffrage. The elder Mayhew kept the reins in his own hands and that of his family. Naturally, he acted as the chief executive of the Vineyard at first, and soon came to be regarded as "Governor" *de facto*, as he was indeed proprietor of the soil *de jure*. How soon he came to be known as "Governor" is not of record, but certainly before 1657, when the Quakers visited the island and referred to him as the "Governor."[1] Doubtless this designation had been assumed by him and became of common acceptation for years before that date, due primarily to his proprietary rights, but largely to his strength of character and commanding personality.

At first it made but little difference, practically, who constituted the official family, because the entire population was hardly more than a corporal's guard. Prior to 1650 it is probable that there may have been twenty men able to bear arms, and under circumstances of this character no large list of officials was required to transact the business affairs of the community. It is impossible to separate the general concerns of the Vineyard in respect to government at this period from the local affairs of Great Harbor, as there was but one settlement of whites on the island, and all were within this township to the east of a line drawn from Watcha to Weahquittaquay. The laws and regulations made for one covered the other.

[1]Bishop, "New England Judged," 123.

Prior to 1650, the management of the local affairs, the ending of "controversies" and adjustment of legal questions, must have been by a sort of common consent, with Thomas Mayhew, Senior, acting as arbitrator and in a general advisory capacity. It is a matter of doubt whether there was such an official as a notary or justice on the island whose jurat would be recognized. It is to be remembered that Martha's Vineyard belonged to no chartered province, as then understood, except its relation as an integral part of the territorial grants of Sir Ferdinando Gorges. Practically, at this time it was No Man's Land, and Mayhew could say with much truth,

"I am monarch of all I survey.
My right there is none to dispute."

The Commissioners of the United Colonies, at their session begun Sept. 5, 1644, authorized Massachusetts to "receive Martin's Vineyard into their jurisdiction, if they saw cause." [1] But this absorption was not undertaken, and the island remained what it was, an independent, self-governing entity.

THE FIRST GOVERNMENT.

The first semblance of a form of government of record is found in the year 1653, when Thomas Mayhew, Sr., Nicholas Butler, John Bland, Richard Smith, John Smith, Peter Folger and Edward Searle were appointed to or chosen to "stand for a year," but in what capacity is not clear.[2] It would seem a fairly sizable body to govern the little community, but it was a beginning. Doubtless, it was a sort of court of assistants to Mayhew as chief magistrate. The next year there was "chosen by the town to end all controversies by the same manner & way as did the last year, only if any one of the said number be wanting the rest are to choose another to fill up the number."[3] Thomas Mayhew, Sr., Thomas Burchard, John Daggett, and Philip Taber were selected.

The manner of electing officers was probably by the use of corn and beans as ballots. In the Massachusetts Colony

[1]Hazard, Collections, II, 18.

[2]Edgartown Records, I, 122.

[3]Ibid., I, 121. It will be noticed that this reference particularizes the members as justices, and not as executives like selectmen.

in 1643, whence came all of our early settlers, the following method was prescribed: "the freeman shall use Indian corn and Beanes, the Indian Corn to manifest Election, the Beanes contrary; and if any freeman shall put in more than one Indian Corn or Beane he shall forfeit for every such offence Ten Pounds," [1] An allusion to this custom is found in a Nantucket election which is thus described in 1676 by Peter Folger: "In the like uncivil manner they chose two young men more, the sayd Stephen [Hussey] bringing his corn which betoken Choice in his hand and called upon others to Corn this man and that man." [2]

At this time Mayhew was following out in good faith the limitations or provisions of his patent from Stirling in respect to conducting the government like that of Massachusetts. Whether it was modelled after it in all particulars cannot be said with surety, but from a perusal of the records it appears that freemen were made, town meetings held, courts established and the franchise exercised by those entitled. The following oath was administered to the Assistants of the Court:—

> You do hear swere By the Great Name of the Living God that you shall as Assistants unto the Magistrate execute justice on all cases that shall come Before you according to your Best understanding agreeably to the Law of God for the time you are chosen so help you God.[3]

On June 6, 1654, it was ordered that the seven men elected had power "to end all controversy except member, Life and Banishment," and were to sit as a quarterly court. Next year the number of assistants was reduced to five and the records are more explicit upon the powers delegated to them. On June 5, 1655, Mr. Thomas Mayhew was chosen "Magistrate" and Thomas Burchard, John Daggett, Peter Folger and Mr. Nicholas Butler were chosen assistants, and the following law was made regarding their functions: —

> These men are to attend all Controversies that shall arise in the town for this year and they all to agree upon the Determination of every thing and if they cannot all agree then such cases are to be referred to the town to end, that is such as are admitted to be townsmen and the Magistrate hath power to end all Controversies not exceeding the value of five shillings.[4]

[1] Mass. Col. Rec.
[2] Letter Peter Folger to Sir Edmond Andros, in N. Y. Col. Mss.
[3] Edgartown Records, I, 125. Dated Dec. 17, 1652.
[4] Ibid., I, 119.

Of course there was no higher authority for appeals, and this arrangement practically constituted the body of freemen as an appellate court, a most unusual example of democracy.

MAYHEW IN SOLE AUTHORITY.

In 1658, a change was made in the form of the governing body which was significant. Mr. Thomas Mayhew was chosen magistrate, but no assistants were elected and it was provided that "all cases are to be Ended this present year by the magistrate with an original jury which shall be chosen by the term consisting of such a number as the Town shall Judge needful," and town meetings were to be held quarterly for the purpose of electing jurymen.[1] This had the effect of leaving Mayhew untrammeled in the management of affairs save as jurors came in quarterly to sit on cases, not as advisors, but arbitrators.

The next year (1659) another change was made and again it was one that took the control of matters out of the hands of the freemen. Mayhew was chosen magistrate and it was provided that "the form of government is the same that it was last year saving the claws touching appeals is laid by for this year."[2] The next year (1660), Mayhew was re-elected as usual without any assistants and it was again voted that "the Government shall be carried on the same manner as it was last year and with the same exception concerning appeals."[3]

THE PEOPLE DISSATISFIED.

By this time a number of new settlers had added to the numerical strength of the body of freemen, and it became necessary for Mayhew to fortify himself in his position with these people. Accordingly the next year, he drew up a curious form of "submission" for their signatures, which is here printed in full: —

[DECEMBER 23, 1661]

"These whose names are hereunder written do submit to the Government of the Pattent and do own it, that is, that it doth consist in the major

[1]Edgartown Records, I, 157.

[2]Ibid., I, 158.

[3]Ibid, I, 147. It was provided that "all meetings (of the court) are to continue till they are dissolved by the major part of the freemen."

part of the freeholders and a single person, most thinking Thomas Mayhew to be the single person according to the pattent: some there nott thinking Thomas Mayhew to Be the Single Person according to Pattent yet willing to own him to govern according to pattent: and Thomas Mayhew before the town did promise that when the major part of the freeholders shall question whether he be the Pattentee within the town bounds or themselves that he will defer that to equal judges for to determine that case between himself and them.

Wee all own the Liberty the King Grants [....illegible....] confirms in his letter.....[1]

This was signed by the following persons: —

John Daggett	Thomas Bayes	John Gee
Nicholas Norton	Thomas Jones	James Pease
Thomas Trapp	John Edy	William Weeks
Edward Sale	John Blan(d)	Robert Codman
Joseph Codman	Richard Arey	Thomas Daggett
Richard Sarson	James Covel	Willm X Vinson

It is apparent from internal evidence that the settlers must have begun to chafe under this personal government of the patentee, and the eighteen men who "submitted" included those who in later years openly rebelled against him and his government. Those who did not sign this submission were known to be adherents of his through family connection or for other reasons, and included Thomas Burchard, Nicholas Butler, Thomas Daggett, John Eddy, Peter Folger, Thomas Harlock, Richard Sarson, and John Smith. This submission placed the responsibility of government on a two-legged authority, the "major part of the freeman" and a "single person" and Mayhew as patentee claimed that he was the individual intended. But "most" of them did not agree to this interpretation, and on what it was based is not clear from any document yet come to light, but they were willing he should fill the position during their pleasure. This was doubtless the germ of Mayhew's plans to acquire absolute personal control of the government of the Vineyard, and keep it in his own hands under guise of vested patent rights. The provision for arbitration of his ownership of the patent was a harmless concession as that right could not be successfully assailed. It was the claim of jurisdiction over persons and property under it that was of concern to the freeholders. The succeeding entries in the records now take a new form: "it is agreed by the pattentees and freeholders" etc.,[2] when votes

[1]Edgartown Records, I, 144.

[2]Ibid., I, 144.

are entered, and from that time forward no further elections of a magistrate occurred or are recorded.

THE PROVINCE OF MAINE AS SUZERAIN AUTHORITY.

In 1663 occurs the significant entry of a certain action ordered "by the Single Person and the freeholders;"[1] and in the same year we find this form used: "itt is ordered by my self and the major part of the freeholders,"[2] which would indicate that Mayhew himself made these records personally, though Richard Sarson, his prospective step-son-in-law, was given the place of recorder of the Courts that year. The situation thus developed existed for two years, when an event occurred which brought out a latent condition never before manifested. It seems that in 1665 Mayhew brought suit in the local court at Great Harbor against Joseph Codman of that town, for trespass, "for taking fish at Mattakess," and the verdict was returned for the defendant. This must have been a surprise to the "magistrate" to be defeated in his own court. The nature of the case appears trivial enough, but either some important legal principle was involved or else he wished to impress upon the freeholders that he would not submit to a defeat in law at their hands.[3] So he took counsel of his patent and determined to appeal. To whom? The Province of Maine, the territory belonging to Gorges from whom he had purchased the Vineyard a quarter of a century previous. It looks like a "play for position," as it was the first, as well as the last time, he essayed it. The town record reads: —

> . . . . Mr. Mayhew Before the Court doth appeal from the sentence of Court held upon the Vineyard March 29: 65, unto the Cheif & high Court and Counsell of the Province of Mayne: it is on the Case of Trespass touching a Share of fish which this Court Possesseth Joseph Codman of, as I Judge not rightly." [4]

It is interesting to know that at one time the authorities of the island owned political allegiance to the Province of Maine, and acted in accordance with this acknowledgment

[1]Edgartown Records, I, 138.

[2]Ibid., I, 143.

[3]In the previous year Mayhew had been defeated in a case at Plymouth by John Daggett, concerning the "Farm" and it became necessary for him to maintain his prestige before the people by appealing.

[4]Edgartown Records, I, 114.

of dependency. As far as the author is aware, this incident of our history has never been formally disclosed, and as a result of an examination of the early records of the Vineyard, the subject as it unfolded itself is presented as one of the mutations of sovereignty through which the island has passed during its existence. The story of this situation is as follows:—

When the council for New England resolved, in 1635, to parcel among the patentees the territory comprised in their jurisdiction, there fell to the lot of Sir Ferdinando Gorges that portion of the present State of Maine between the Piscataqua and the Kennebec, and the "Isles of Capawock and Nautican," while Lord Stirling drew the eastern half of Maine, from the river of Pemaquid to the St. Croix and "Matoax or the Long Island." In consequence of the nebulous ideas then prevailing respecting localities and names, these two patentees, or their agents, both laid claim to the sovereignty of Martha's Vineyard, then called, though erroneously, "Capowak." It is clear that the pretensions of James Forrett, the agent of the Lord Stirling in respect to the patent rights of the latter to Martha's Vineyard, were unfounded, and that Mayhew was deceived in that claim. "Mr. Forrett went suddenly to England before he had showed me his Masters Pattent," writes Mayhew to Sir Edmund Andros, and he continues, "Some years after this came over Mr. Forrester furnished with Power, who was here with me and told me he would cleare up all Things." But this agent also failed to show Stirling's title, and he adds, "So we remained under Gorges."

THE KING CONFIRMS THE GORGES TITLE.

The death of Sir Ferdinando in 1647, the unsettled state of affairs during the Civil war and the Protectorate, left the question of jurisdiction pending, until the grandson of Gorges, Ferdinando, his namesake, sent over John Archdale in 1664, to look after his inherited proprietary rights in New England, and Archdale informed Mayhew that the king had "most strongly confirmed Ferdynando Gorges Esq. to be the Lord of the Province of Maine . . . . of which this (the Vineyard) be a Pt." This is Mayhew's own language, and it was in strict accordance with the facts in the case. For on June 21, 1664, Ferdinando Gorges, the grandson, had publicly asserted his rights to his ancestral domain in New England under the

territorial grants of April 3, 1638. This, he stated specifically, included besides the Province of Maine "the island of Capawick & Nautican near Cape Codd, wch Island of Capawick is since called Martins Vineyard." In token of this assumption of proprietorship he appointed commissioners to govern the province and lands described.[1]

The first intimation on our records of this acknowledgment by Mayhew of his dependency on Gorges occurs in the entry of the will of John Bland, dated Jan. 6, 1663, in which he calls himself "of Martins Vineyard, or Belonging to the Province of Main."[2] Then followed this appeal to the "Cheif & high Court and Counsell of the Province of Mayne" in 1665, and a third instance is the recording in the land records of that province of a deed in which Thomas Mayhew, on Sept. 27, 1666, conveyed to Thomas Oliver one of the Elizabeth Islands.[3]

But this situation was an unnatural one for two outlying and weak provinces, separated by such distance, and Mayhew found that the officials of Maine had but little if any interest in him or his island. They were too busy struggling for their own existence at that time, trying to preserve their independence against the usurpation of the Massachusetts authorities, to waste any of their strength on an unknown and somewhat uncertain offspring. In this predicament Mayhew, who had already purchased his titles from Stirling, Gorges, and the Indians, now wrote to the Massachusetts officials for some advice in the matter, and he thus reports the result: "I have the Testimony of the Generall Court of Boston for it which Court sent to the Gentlemen of the Province of Maine, whose answer was that it was in myself &c." Thus did the Gorges officials of that day disregard Sir Ferdinando's interests, and Mayhew continued to govern his patent by virtue of ownership of the soil. But what of the appeal against the verdict "for taking fish at Mattakess"? It was lost in the maze of territorial uncertainties, and it is doubtful if Mayhew ever took the trouble to certify it to the Maine courts. He had satisfied his dignity by the entry of the appeal on the records.

[1]Baxter. "Life of Sir Ferdinando Gorges" (Prince Society Publications), III, 303–306.

[2]Edgartown Records, I, 54.

[3]York County (Me.) Deeds, III, 114.

THE DUKE OF YORK

LORD PROPRIETOR OF MARTHA'S VINEYARD

CHAPTER XI.

Sale of the Islands to Duke of York in 1663.

Meanwhile another factor, momentous for Vineyard history, was entering the field of colonial enterprise and management, it being none other than a member of the royal family, James, Duke of York, who entered into negotiations in 1663 for the purchase of the Stirling patents. The Stirling earldom passed in 1640, on the death of the first earl, to his grandson and heir William, who, himself dying only a few months later, was succeeded by his uncle Henry, third earl in succession. This lord had given no thought, practically, to his American interests, and was doubtless glad enough to find a purchaser.

In 1663, the Earl of Clarendon, on behalf of the Duke of York, purchased of Henry, then Earl of Stirling, his interest in American grants, including, besides that of Maine, the title of Long Island, Nantucket, Martha's Vineyard, and other islands adjacent.

The consideration of this purchase was £3,500, but upon failure of payment, a life annuity of £300 was, in June, 1674, agreed upon, payable out of the "surplusage of the net profits" of revenue arising from the colony, which proving insufficient, an order was issued in 1689 for arrears to be paid out of the funds of the colony. A descendant of Lord Stirling asserted that his ancestor never received either purchase money or pension.[1] On March 12, 1664–65, Charles the Second granted to James, Duke of York, the Patent of New York, Pemaquid (Maine), Long Island, "and allsoe all those severall Islands called or known by the names of Martin's Vineyard and Nantukes otherwise Nantukett."[1] It seemed to make no difference that these last-named places belonged to another by royal patent, and loyal subjects were expected to give way and vacate the "king row."

[1]Duer. "Life of Lord Stirling," 37–39.

[2]Regent's Report (Albany, 1874), I. 10–21.

THE GORGES TITLE IGNORED.

Curiously enough, the Gorges interest was not bought by the duke, and no attempt seems to have been made to revive it, though it was the best-established title to the island. If it be held that when Massachusetts purchased the Province of Maine in 1678, she acquired the sovereignty of Martha's Vineyard and Nantucket, though not expressed in the deed of sale as being a part of that province, it would seem that the sovereignty reverted to the crown. In those days, however, geography was little known and a "claim" was almost as good as a patent. Doubtless Mayhew was as mixed up as the rest of them in these conflicting claims. Col. Richard Nicolls, one of the royal commissioners sent over in 1665, took the subject under his consideration during his term of service here, and "a little before he went Home for England," says Mayhew again, "did acknowledge that the Power of these Islands was proper in the hands of Sir Ferdinando Gorges."[1] This chain of authority seems to establish the proprietorship safely in the hands of Gorges, and it is evident from the first that Mayhew really regarded him as the lawful suzerain of Martha's Vineyard and Nantucket.

ORGANIZATION OF THE DUKE'S PROVINCE.

The purchase of the title having been completed, the king was induced by Lord Clarendon to affix his signature to a patent investing the Duke of York with sovereign rights over the territory. Clarendon lost no time in attaching the seals to this document, which was dated March 12, 1664, and James was forthwith in full possession and lordship of a small empire of his own, although it was then in the actual possession of the Dutch. The territory covered by the patent, since known as New York, New Jersey, and Delaware, was to be held of the king in free and common soccage and by the payment of a yearly quit-rent of forty beaver skins, if demanded. The duke was invested with "full and absolute power and authority to correct, punish, pardon, govern, and

[1]In a letter to Nicolls dated Aug. 17, 1667, Mayhew wrote: "this is all that I desire to Injoy my graunte, from the one or the other uppon the concideration mentioned therein wch I hope I have noe just cause to feare on either syde, if the matter had beene Issued, on yor honors pte. I had soon repayred or sent to New York, but the gentlemen to the eastward they looke at it as to gourment to be under them." (Colonial Papers, P. R. O., XXI. 93.)

rule" all British subjects according to the laws he might establish, or the "good discretions" of his deputies in cases of necessity, provided they should not be in contravention of the statutes of the realm. He had authority to appoint and discharge all officers, regulate trade, emigration and land tenure, execute martial law and proceedings in banishment. Altogether it was a distinct advance in despotism over the charters previously sealed to American proprietaries and has been characterized as "the most impudent ever recorded in the colonial archives of England." [1]

Such was the character of the new governing power which was to absorb Martha's Vineyard. The Duke was a Roman Catholic and in the course of his proprietorship he sent over governors of the province of his own religious belief, mostly roystering cavaliers or court favorites, and the composition of the fabric created by the king was as strange to the simplicity and bucolic solitude of the island as would have been a government at the hands of the Mahommedans.

COL. RICHARD NICOLLS, ACTING GOVERNOR.

The duke did not take immediate steps to enter upon his domain, for the reason as stated that it was in the hands of the enemies of England, the Dutch, when he bought it. Colonel Nicolls at first acted in behalf of the new proprietor and he entered into a desultory correspondence with Mayhew about the situation of affairs as it affected the Vineyard. Nicolls was a Royalist partisan whose particular business during the three years he was on this side was to curb the growing independence of the Massachusetts government, and it has been seen that he regarded the Province of Maine, which he had lately wrested from the control of Massachusetts, as the legal authority over this island. Nicolls' power, however, was plenary, and he was looked to by Mayhew to settle matters satisfactorily; besides he was in the royal service and he probably desired to please his masters and give them the benefit of any doubtful interpretations. As the Province of Maine was unable to prevent the usurpation of her powerful neighbor, Nicolls probably felt that if he turned over the Vineyard to its jurisdiction that it would be swallowed up by Massachusetts later on.

[1]Brodhead, "History of New York," II, 17.

In August, 1667, Mayhew wrote him a letter in which he detailed the steps he had taken to purchase the Vineyard of Lord Stirling and Sir Ferdinando Gorges, and asking his advice in the matter. In November following a shipwreck occurred at Tarpaulin Cove and the cargo was looted by the Indians. Mayhew reported this at once to Nicolls, who in his reply, dated Jan. 3, 1667–68, at Fort James (New York City), said among other things: "I see it is high time for mee to putt forth my authority to strengthen your hands by a speciall commission in this case, and allso to give you some generall heads of direction."[1] To this he adds the following significant statement: "I have not been forward in triviall cases to contest for my masters bounds, knowing, however, that all the Islands, except Block Island, from Cape Cod to Cape May are included in my masters patent. The first scruples will be soone removed: however in cases of this consequence I must declare myselfe both in point of power and readiness to protect and defend my masters honour and interest."[2] This was the first intimation of the coming change in political events relating to the Vineyard, but the transition was not to take place under Nicolls, as the latter was recalled by the king to make a personal report of affairs here in the summer of 1668, and he was succeeded at once by a representative of the duke's entourage, Colonel Francis Lovelace.

FRANCIS LOVELACE, GOVERNOR.

This gentleman, then about sixty years of age, was the second son of Sir Richard, afterward Baron Lovelace of Hurley, Berkshire, by his wife Margaret, daughter of William Dodsworth, citizen of London. Lovelace was a type of the cavalier to be seen about the festive court of the "Merrie Monarch," the direct antithesis of the colonists whom he was sent over to govern, but as it turned out he administered the affairs of the province with moderation and to the satisfaction of all classes.[3] He proceeded with deliberation as far as the Vineyard was concerned, for it was not till after a year

[1]A commission of three was appointed, and the names of his associates left to be inserted by Mayhew.

[2]N. Y. Col. Doc. III, 169.

[3]His wife was Mary, daughter of William King, "a person much below his quality and condition, whom he was inveighled to marry without the privity of his relations." (Hist. Mss. Com. 7th Report, App. p. 144.) Lovelace's grandson John, became 4th Baron Lovelace, and Governor of the Province of New York early in the next century.

had elapsed that another shipwreck on the island brought matters to a head.[1] On Sept. 7, 1669, Governor Lovelace wrote as follows to Mayhew: —

THE GOVERNO^rs L^re CONCERNING THE BARKE CAST AWAY AT MARTYNS VINEYARD.

Sr.

Haueing lately had Intelligence of the Shipwrack of a certaine Barke, belonging to Mr. Cutts of Piscataway loading wth Barbadoes Goods driuen on Shoare at Martyns Vyneyard wthout any man left aliue in her or othr liuing Creature out of wch said Barke as I am Informed there haue beene about 40 hogshds of Rume & othr goods saued, And that the Barke being repayred & fitted is ready to sett out to Sea, Indeed I did Expect an Account of this Accident from yorselfe or some one of that Plantation sooner than by this unexpected way from a Boston vessell, But however I doe thinke it requisite an Enquiry should be made into the matter, I shall therefor desire you and do herewth likewise Empower yo wth two more of yor neighbours whom you shall thinke fitt to take an Exact Account of what Goods were saued out of her, to see that they as well as the Barke be putt into the hands of responsible p'sons, as also the manner of the Barkes comeing on Shoare, so that neithr the Duke be defrauded of his Dues if the Barke shall proue a Wreck, or the Owners of what property doth belong unto them; As my Predecessor Coll Nicolls did often expect you here, but had his Expectation frustrated by yor age or Indisposition I haue the same desire, or at least that amongst yor Plantation, you would depute some pson to me to give me Account of Affaires there, That being undr the same Governmt belonging to his Royall Highnesse I may be in a bettr Capacity of giving you such Advice & assistance as need shall require & send his Royall Highnesse a more Exact Account of you then as yett I can, you being the greatest Strangrs to me in the whole Governmt. So expecting as speedy a Retorne from you in Answr hereunto as can be I comitt you to the heavenly protection & remayne.

Septbr 7th 1669.

MAYHEW IGNORES THE NEW AUTHORITY.

But Mayhew by this time had become used to the various transfers of lordships and claims and what at first worried now palled on him. He allowed the matter to stand, thinking, possibly, that another owner would develop if he waited long enough. John Gardner wrote that the "mesage was so far slighted as to take no notice of it." [2] Six months later he answered it, and the reply was received by Governor Love-

[1] This was a bark from Barbadoes, owned by Mr. Richard Cutts, of Portsmouth, N. H., and all on board were lost. Part of the cargo was saved, and she was refitted. (N. Y. Col. Mss. Orders, Warrants, Letters, 1665–1691, p. 523.)

[2] N. Y. Col. Mss. XXVI. Gardner to Lovelace.

lace at a meeting of the Governor and Council held on May 14, 1670, at Fort James. It was brought by Matthew Mayhew whom the chief magistrate of the Vineyard had sent as a special messenger.

The minutes of the council meeting at this session are as follows: —

Mr. Mayhews Business of Martins Vineyard to be taken into consideration first.

A Letter from Mr. Mayhew produced and read wherein hee desires to bee resolved in what Nature Martins Vineyard and those Parts are as to Government.[1]

The Patent of the Duke includes Martins Vineyard and those other Isles.

It is ordered that a Letter be sent to Mr. Mayhew to desire him, according to his proffer, to take a Journey hither, to consult about those Parts and their settlem[en]t and that hee give Notice to those of Plymouth Colony, Rhode Island or any other that have any prtences, or lay Clayme to any of those Islands, to lett them know that within the space of two months the Governor intends to settle those Parts, soe that they may doe well to come or send some Agent to act for them, otherwise after that time all the Pr[e]tences or Claymes will be judged of noe validity.

Mr. Mayhew is to bee desired to bring all his Patents, Writings and other Papers relating hereunto with him.

The Dukes Patent, wherein Martins Vineyard is included is shown to young Mr. Mayhew." [2]

The "Letter to be sent to Mr Mayhew" was written by the governor on May 16th, and doubtless it was carried to the Vineyard by Matthew on his return trip. It is as follows: —

Mr. Mayhew:

I received yor lre by yr Grandchild, wherein I am informed upon what Termes you have hitherto held yor land at Martin's Vineyard and Parts adjacent, but the pretences of Sr Ferdinando Gorges and the Lord Sterling being now at an end and his Royall Highnesse absolutely invested in the Right to those Islands, the Inhabitants are henceforth to have directions of the Government from this Place. I doe admire it hath beene so longe before you have made yor Application to me, since yor addressing yorselfe for Reliefe against the Indians in a Businesse of a wreck to my Predecessor and his Commission to you thereupon, did intimate an Acknowledgement of being under his Royall Highness his Protection. Upon notice this last Yeare of the like Misfortune of a wreck upon your Island I sent Directions to you how to proceed thereupon, of wch I expect an account, but have as yett heard nothing of it; but when you come hither, as you propose and wch I very much desire, I make no Question of receiving Satisfaction therein from you, as well as in diverse Particulars. You may please to take yor

[1]This letter is not now in the State Archives of New York.

[2]N. Y. Col. Mss. Council Minutes, III, 26.

best Tyme of coming this Summer, as you shall find yourselfe disposed. I pray bring all your Patents, Deeds or other Writings wth you, relating to those partes, by the wch and by or Consultations together I may receive such Intelligence of the Affairs there as I may the better take order for the future good settlement of those Islands.

As to any Pretenders who lay clayme to any of them wch are deemed to bee within the Dukes Patent, I have thought fitt to appoint (two) months Time for all Persons within this Government or without, either by themselves or by their Agents, to appeare here before me to make good their Claymes or Pretences, the wch if any of them shall neglect to doe, (having timely notice thereof), such Claymes or Pretences shall be judged of no Validity. I have in Part discoursed of these Affaires wth yor Grandchild, but refer the remainder untill yor arrivall here where you shall receive a very hearty welcome, and all due Encouragement as to your particular Concerns from

Your affectionate humble servant
FRANS: LOVELACE

Fort James in N. Yorke
May 16th, 1670.

I pray you send copies of the enclosed Orders of Notice to all those about you who are concerned.[1]

This very cordial letter was received by Mayhew with apparent indifference, if we may judge by his inaction. John Gardner of Nantucket comments on this lack of deference to the mandates of authority in a letter as follows: "the Right Honorabell Col Loflas comeing Governor did again send out his warrant for Persons here conserned to apear before him within fouer Months to make out ther Claymes, or elce all ther Claymes should be ever after voyd to all Intents.[2] The Copy of this was sent to those of the Purchasers yet in the Masetusets and the Inhabitance heaer wayted on them about one Year after the Time given them before they mad ther Apearance Acording to Warrant."[3] Probably the old gentleman made sufficient excuses to the royal governor for the

[1]N. Y. Col. Mss. Court of Assize, II, 538.

[2]The following is a copy of the notice sent by Lovelace to all "pretenders:"

"These are to give Notice to all Persons concerned who lay clayme or have any pretence of Interest in Martyn's Vineyard, Nantuckett or any of the Elizabeth Isles neare adjacent, and within his Royall Highness his Pattent, that they appeare before mee in Person or by their agents to make Proofe of such Claymes and pretences within the space of 4 months after the date hereof.

In default whereof all such Claymes or Pretences after the Expiration of the said Time shall be deemed and adjudged invalid to all Intents and Purposes.

Given under my Hand and Sealed with the Seale of the Province at Fort James in New Yorke this 16th day of May in the 22th yeare of his Ma'ties reign Annoq. Domini, 1670.

FRANCIS LOVELACE.

[3]N. Y. Col. Mss. vol. XVI.

delay which followed, as there is no further correspondence on file showing any resentment at the year's interval which elapsed after these notices. Probably Mayhew was waiting for "something to turn up," as in the past, but now further delay meant a rebuff, and it became necessary to obey the summons.

For thirty years, since 1641, he had been responsible to none, and now he was facing a crisis in his affairs at the summons of an unknown master, set in authority over him by his "dread Sovereign Lord," Charles the King. Fortified with his muniments of title derived from Lord Stirling and Sir Ferdinando Gorges, Mayhew set sail from Great Harbor in the latter part of June, 1671 [probably the 22d], accompanied by his grandson Matthew, who represented the interests inherited from Thomas Mayhew, Jr., co-patentee and proprietor, deceased. The inhabitants of the Vineyard awaited the outcome with intense interest.

FORT JAMES, NEW YORK, 1671

FROM AUGUSTINE HERRMAN'S ENGRAVING IN MONTANUS

CHAPTER XII.

The Conference at Fort James, 1671.

Mayhew must have arrived in New York some days in advance of the meeting of the governor and council, and utilized the intervening time in personal consultations with the officials about his affairs. This regular meeting of the council was not held till about a fortnight later, and the only "Business under consideracon was Mr. Mayhew's Affayre about Martins Vineyard."

THE PROVINCIAL HOUSE, NEW YORK,
WHERE THE CONFERENCES WERE HELD.[1]

At this important conference held at Fort James, beginning July 6, 1671, and continuing through the six following days, there were present the governor, Francis Lovelace, Mr. Steenwyck of the council, and the secretary of the colony, Matthias Nicolls, as representatives of the Duke. Across the table sat Thomas Mayhew and his eldest grandson, then a young man of twenty-three years. Colonel Lovelace, the royal and ducal governor, was of course the dominating figure. As one of the favorite courtiers and a type of the roystering cavaliers of the Restoration, he was a fitting representative of the "Merrie Monarch," and his brother James. The Duke of York, it will be remembered, was a Roman Catholic, and

[1] This was the ancient Stadt Huys of the Dutch Government of New Amsterdam.

so was the king at heart, but as the head of a Protestant nation his sentiments were not publicly avowed. In this conference Governor Lovelace sat as the embodiment of all that was diametric in habit and religion to the Puritan Mayhew, and doubtless the latter was uncertain about the attitude which this "Popish" official, his new master, would assume towards him.

In compliance with "Mayhew's Peticon and Proposalls" it was decided "that the Townes seated there shall have Patents of Confirmation," that Mayhew's grants be recorded, and to define how much he owned and what was left unpurchased. Mayhew later wrote of this conference: "I shewed him my graunt which he approved of and the printed paper from his Ma'tie: at which he stumbled much: allso I showed him what General Nycoll had written me of his not being informed what his Ma'tie had done: thereat he stumbled very much likewise: then I asked him yf he had the Lord Sterlings pattent by him, he said noe: I answered then I was at a losse: I sent to Captaine Nycoll and acquainted him with our discourse and prayed him to search in matters of Long Iland & see yf he could not find the date of Lord Sterlings pattent, yf not I could doe nothing at York, which he did finde & it was more antient than Gorges." [1]

MAYHEW APPOINTED GOVERNOR FOR LIFE.

On the next day, the 7th, most important business was concluded, and is best told in the records of that session of the council, of which the following is an extract: —

> Whereas Mr. Thomas Mayhew of Martin or Martha's Vineyard hath been an ancient Inhabitant there where by God's blessing hee hath been an Instrumt of doeing a great Deale of Good both in settling severall Plantacons there as also in reclayming and civilizing the Indians: for an Encouragemt to him in the Prosecution of that Designe, and Acknowledgment of his Good services: It is ordered and agreed upon that the said Mr. Thomas Mayhew shall dureing his naturall life bee Governor of the Island called Martin's or Martha's Vineyard, both over the English Inhabitants and Indians, for the wch hee shall have a Commission.

This most extraordinary and undemocratic proceeding is calculated to provoke an inquiry as to its intent. The beneficiary was then in his eightieth year, and it can be inferred that Lovelace and his advisors considered the risk about at its termination, and that the life tenure of a man four score years old would not be a very long one. It violated

[1] N. Y. Col. Mss. XXIV, 92.

all the principles of his original grant, and defied the prevailing sentiments of the people with whom he had been associated for many years, yet he allowed himself to become the recipient of it, as we have no record of any objection on his part to the measure. It gave rise to the greatest disorders as a consequence, and for years proved to be the foundation of bitter divisions between the people of the island. The following is a copy of the commission issued to him on this date: —

FRANCIS LOVELACE Esq. &c—Whereas I have conceived a good Opinion of the Capacity and Integrity of Mr. Thomas Mayhew to be Governour and Cheife Magistrate of the Island Martin's or Martha's Vineyard to manage public Affayres with the Aid and Good Advice of the Assistants to bee chosen there, and have thought fitt to Nominate Constitute and Appoint Mr. Thomas Mayhew to be Governour and Cheife Magistrate of the said Island Martin's or Martha's Vineyard during his Naturall Life in the Management of wch Employment hee is to use his best Skill and Endeavour to preserve his Majesties Peace and to keep the Inhabitants in good order.

And all Persons are hereby required to give to the said Mr. Thomas Mayhew such Respect and Obedience as belongs to a Person invested by Commission and authority from his Royall Highness in the office and Employment of a Governour and Cheife Magistrate in the Island aforesaid. And hee the said Mr. Thomas Mayhew is duely to Observe and obey such Orders and Instructions wch are already given for the well governing of the Place or such other Directions as from Time to Time he shall receive from mee: And for whatsoever the said Mr. Thomas Mayhew shall lawfully act or doe in Prosecucon of the Premises This my Commission shall bee his sufficient Warrant and Discharge.

Given &c this 8th Day of July in the 23rd year of his Majesties Reigne Annoq. Dni., 1671.[1]

It was decided by the council that the governor should have three assistants to be chosen annually by the two towns of Edgartown and Tisbury, who should constitute with him a court, to be held for cases involving five pounds and under. In case of disagreement Governor Mayhew was to have a double vote, without appeal. All actions above five and under fifty pounds were referable to a general court composed of himself and two assistants, to be elected by the two islands, "where it is recommended that Mr. Thomas Mayhew doe preside and sit as President dureing his Life (although the Court bee held at Nantuckett), with privilege of a double or casting voice, in regard of his great Experience and Reputacon amongst them: but after his Decease that the Rules and In-

[1]N. Y. Col. Mss. Deeds, III, 70.

structions wch concerne both the Islands be punctually followed and observed." [1]

In addition to these definite and special laws and rules passed by the governor and council, Lovelace thought it prudent to issue a sort of political testament to Mayhew instructing him how to regard his trust, and what actions he should take in the premises before assuming the official functions of the place. These instructions are recorded in the following document: —

Although by your Gen'l Commission you have Strength and Authority sufficient to putt such Lawes and Rules in Execucon as you shall conceive may best tend to the Distribucon of Justice and securing the Comon Rights and Interests of such as shall live under yor Governmt the keeping his Majesties Peace, together wth the Preservation of his Royall Highness' Interest and Propriety in these parts, yet since that Commishon may appeare to be too generall, I have thought fitt to prescribe to you some particular Instructions wch you are to make use of as occasion shall serve.

In the first place you are soe soon as you shall arrive in some convenient Time cause a Generall Meeting to be summoned of the Inhabitants (amongst wch I would not have chiefs of the Indyans omitted), to whom you are to Declare the End of yor being wth mee and the Power I have invested you in, by causing your Commission to be read publiquely together with your Instructions.

You are then to Consider and appoint a sett Time for the Election of yor Associates, as likewise to Consider of the Time when the Generall Court shall be summoned, of wch you are to Advertize and Consult yor Neighbours of Nantuckett.

You are likewise to acquaint the Inhabitants the Priviledges I have graunted them by enfranchizing them in Towne Corporacon: To whom you may deliver their Charter. Upon the Receipt of wch they may proceed to the Election of their Magistrates as belongs to other Corporacons.

And in regard at this Distance and the Unacquaintedness of the Inclinacons and Dispositions of the Indyans I cannot prescribe you any Rules that may be most proper for them, I shall therefore recommend that Affayre wholly to your prudent Management, only you may acquaint them that having now taken them unto his Royall Highness' particular Protection I shall be very carefull to Assist them in all Extremities: expecting from them noe other Returne but that they live quietly and peaceably wth true submission to that Authority wch now is sett over them.

You are to cause some of the Principall Sachems to repaire (as speedily as they can) to mee, that soe they may pay their Homage to his Ma'tie and acknowledge his Royall Highness to bee their only Lord Proprietor.

You are to encourage and sett to worke the Sewan making, to whom you may give full assurance they shall receive sufficient Recompence for their Labour. And that that Trade may only be drove between them and this place you are not to permit any Shells to bee exported to Forrainers, unless they pay a Considerable Custome for them. [2]

[1] N. Y. Col. Mss. Deeds, III, 75.

[2] It is believed that "Sewan making" relates to the stringing of wampum fathoms of the special shells of which it was composed. It is from the Dutch — Zee Wand.

You are not to faile to give mee a speedy Advertizement of all yor Transactions as may bee, and by all meanes lett mee have from you how Affayres constantly stand.

You are to see the collection of his Majesties Customes and all fines bee duely observed and you are to Assist upon all Occasions the Collector of the Customes in the Execucon of his office and transmit them to mee heere.[1]

You are to cause all such as shall bee Elected to any Publick office of Trust to take the Oath of Allegiance to his Ma'tie at the Entrance into their office.

You are not to suffer any of yor Indyans to enter into any Confederacy of Warre wth any other forraine Indyans wthout advertizing me first with it and procuring my Permission for it.

Some special provisions were formulated for the management of the Indians, which will be referred to in the section devoted to their concerns, but it will suffice to state here that the elder Mayhew was made "Governor over the Indians," and as his instructions show, was required to do certain specified things for their benefit. In addition to this he obtained from Lovelace a "Lycence unto Mr Thomas Mayhew & Matthew Mayhew his Grand Child in his Royall Highness his Name to Treat, Agree upon, & Conclude wth the Indyan Proprietors of the said Land undisposed of, & upon the Returne thereof unto mee, I shall bee ready to Graunt such Confirmacon as shall bee requisite."[2]

PROVISIONS FOR LOCAL GOVERNMENT.

The session of the governor and council, in the consideration of the affairs of Martha's Vineyard, lasted one week, and in addition to the results above related several minor matters were dealt with. Noman's Land came in for some attention, and "Mr. Mayhew and Mr. Brenton's Pretences upon the Elizabeth Islands discorst of," which will have fuller consideration in the proper chapters relating to those localities. The most beneficial result of the week's work was the incorporation of the two settlements of Great Harbor and Middletown (Takemmy), by which the townspeople of those villages acquired important privileges which, in a degree, minimized the ominous tendencies of the other

[1]Matthew Mayhew was commissioned as the first collector of Customs for "all such Customable Goods as now are or shall bee brought into the Harbour at Martins Vineyard, or any other Creek or Place upon the Island." His commission was dated July 8, 1671, concurrent with all the charters issued at this conference. (N. Y. Col. Mss., Deeds, III, 73.)

[2]N. Y. Col. Mss., Council Minutes, III, 68–71. Dated July 12, 1671.

proceedings by which life tenure was conferred upon the chief magistracy and exclusive privileges were centered in the Mayhew family. These will be treated under each respective town history, together with the particular grant of medieval manorial rights to the elder Mayhew and his grandson Matthew. The last day of the session was taken up with the subject of the quit-rents, and it was finally "agreed to be 6 Barrells of Fish, vizt: two Barrells each Patent," meaning two each for Edgartown, Tisbury and the Manor of Tisbury, to be paid annually. As a last act, upon request of Mayhew, the governor wrote a letter of recommendation to Governor Hinckley of Plymouth Colony in favor of Mayhew's work among the Indians, and suggesting that "some enlargmt of Recompence" be awarded to him for his "Paines and Trouble."[1]

Altogether it was a most satisfactory seven days work for Mayhew and his interests. He was now a Governor "for life," Chief Justice of the Courts of Martha's Vineyard and Nantucket, Lord of the Manor of Tisbury, and Matthew had been made collector and receiver of the customs for the Vineyard. How long he remained in this congenial company is not known, but in a letter written some weeks later he says: "I was but 29 daies from the Island in my Journey to York the Thursday month I went from home," and he adds, with some reasonable show of feeling, "laus deo,"[2] as well he might. The "Popish" governor had been indeed gracious to the Puritan.

In what manner of rejoicing the inhabitants of the Vineyard marked the return of the Worshipful Thomas Mayhew, "Governor of Martin's or Marthas Vineyard," and the new collector of customs is not known, but from the subsequent occurrences it may be inferred that the information which was laid before them produced no demonstrations of approval, at least any which were conspicuous for their spontaneity. We are to suppose that the governor obeyed his instructions, and shortly after his arrival caused a "Generall Meeting to be summoned of the Inhabitants" to whom he related the results of his conferences with the royal governor, and to whom his commission as governor with the accompanying instructions was "read publiquely." He also, if he carried out these instructions, delivered to the people their town charters, explaining to them the "priviledges" thereunder, and instructing

[1]N. Y. Col. Mss., Deeds, III, 67, 74.

[2]Records of the New England Company, p. 43.

them to proceed to elect magistrates according to the terms granted. It is presumed that all this was carried out with good faith, as we learn that the injunction to notify the Indians of the new order of things was thus fulfilled. "Since I came home," he wrote to Governor Prence of Plymouth, under date of August 19th (1671), "I sent for all the sachems and chief men, acquainting them with what was done."[1] Mayhew says that the sachems "did, with much thankfulness, submit unto his honor's act in setting me over them;" but they were accustomed to hereditary privileges and life tenures, under the great sagamores. What the freemen of the English race really thought of it Mayhew found out two years later.

With that deliberation which characterized all his actions in these matters Mayhew delayed the inauguration of the new governmental order of things, and eleven months elapsed before a "General Court" was held upon the Vineyard. The meeting of "The first General Court holden at Edgartowne upon Marthas Vineyard the 18th of June 1672" signalized the earliest fruit of the series of enfranchisements granted by Lovelace the year previous. At this court laws were passed providing for annual sessions of the court, the pay of the president and assistants, rules of procedure in suits at law, witnesses, evidences, fines, and other penalties in relation thereto, probate practice, sumptuary statutes, defined misdemeanors, provided for necessary officials, as constables, bailiffs, secretary, treasurer, with salaries for each, all of which constitute our first "Body of Liberties" in collected form. Matthew Mayhew was the first secretary, beginning his long career of office holding, under the auspices of the Duke's government.[2]

[1] 1 Mass. Hist. Soc. Coll. VI. 196.

[2] These laws are to be read in the first book of Deeds, at Edgartown, and have been printed by Hough, in "Nantucket Papers," and a copy is on deposit at the Secretary of State's Office, Albany, in Deeds, I, 78.

SIGNATURE OF GOVERNOR LOVELACE
FROM THE TISBURY CHARTER
1671

CHAPTER XIII.

The "Dutch" Rebellion, 1673.

In the early part of July, 1673, Matthew Mayhew was on his way to New York, "furnished to pay the Acknowledgment of six barrels of Merchantable Cod-Fish," which by the terms of the patents came due on the 12th of that month, and the quit rent was to be satisfied to Governor Lovelace as usual. On the voyage thither, he "met the news that Yorke was taken by the Dutch," and so it proved. The doughty Dutch admiral had surprised the city during the absence of Lovelace in Boston, secured possession with scarcely the semblance of a struggle, and New York was once more New Amsterdam. Mayhew retraced his journey.

This was an event of signal importance to the Vineyard, and when Matthew Mayhew returned to the island with his "yearly acknowledgment" of six barrels of fish undelivered, and reported that the Duke's government in New York was at an end, it was the opportunity for the enemies of Mayhew to act. The ducal sovereignty having fallen, so with it fell the life tenure of his governor, and Martha's Vineyard was now in a political interregnum. As the island was not under the jurisdiction of Peter Stuyvesant, the last Dutch governor, when the New Netherlands was wrested from him, so it was not comprehended at this time in the revived Dutch Province now organized under Anthony Colve.[1] The men who had been chafing for two years under the Mayhew family rule, with the head of the house as governor for life, his grandson, Matthew, an assistant and collector of customs; Thomas Daggett, his son-in-law, another assistant; Richard Sarson, a step-son-in-law, assistant; and Matthew Mayhew, secretary of the county, and other offices held by other members of the family, now resolved to deliver the island from this narrow nepotism maintained for the benefit of a few.

MUTINOUS VINEYARDERS.

They took the ground, and properly too, that the island was "virtually taken and bee under the govournment of the

[1]N. Y. Col. Doc. II, 528–9, 571, 609-10; III, 201; Smith, New York, I, 44-46; Wagenaur, XIII, 407; De Witt: Letters, IV, 677.

Dutch," but their real purpose was to disavow Mayhew's authority and either set up an independent colony or to obtain autonomy under a protectorate of Massachusetts.

Matthew Mayhew, who should be a good witness of these events, stated that "about half the People in a Mutinous Manner rose, with many contumelious Words and Threats against the said Govournour daring him in the Prosecution of his Royall Highness his Govournment." [1] If Mayhew was willing to admit that "about half the People" turned rebels to his grandfather's rule, it will be safe to accept it as an underestimate of the number.[2] The whole purpose of the governor, both before and after this event, was in pursuance of a plan of establishing the house of Mayhew as an hereditary aristocracy on the island, an attitude that almost dominated his last official and personal acts even in the shadow of death. He had at first conformed to the requirements of his patent and allowed men to be "chosen" to govern the freeholders, but by 1661 he had claimed extraordinary authority against the objections of the inhabitants. He failed to give heed to the mutterings that arose then, and now at the first opportunity, when the opposition was numerically stronger, he felt the storm gathering about him and his little official circle, and at last it had burst. The freeholders knew it was their chance to get rid of hereditary rulers and lords of the manor, of which they supposed their New England to be quit.

THE REBELS DEMAND MAYHEW'S ABDICATION.

Accordingly, twenty of the leading inhabitants, probably under the guidance of Thomas Burchard, decided to secure by peaceful means if possible, a change in the existing form of government and an adhesion to the Massachusetts system of elections of officers as provided in the original sale of the island by Forret, thirty-two years before. Desiring to spare the aged governor any unnecessary personal humiliation, they addressed the following letter to him which was carried by a committee representing them: —

[1] N. Y. Col. Mss. XXIV. 16. The rebellion on the Vineyard was duplicated at Nantucket at the same time, and for the same causes — family government, though the reasons for it were not so acute on that island, and hence not so personally irritating.

[2] In 1675 Simon Athearn stated there were 38 white men on the island able to bear arms. In two lists the author accounts for that exact number.

Worthy Sir.

After our Salutations &c our mind and purpose is to put our selvs & both towns under boston gouvernment for protection and Appeelle. And boston Laws to be our Laws and to make our terms for rates as easy as we can only firste our desire is of you that you would be pleased to laye aside your Comission Government And Act And doe with us soe we shall chuse your selfe to be in place this year with sum Assistiants And Afterward, as the yearly choyce shall fall And thuse we think to continue untill his majestie or the Duck if the resignat of the lord starling shall order atherwise.[1]

This was signed by Thomas Burchard, Isaac Robinson, Thomas Bayes, Nicholas Norton, James Skiffe, John Pease, John Butler, Thomas Butler, John Arey, Thomas Jones, Isaac Norton, Joseph Norton, Henry Luce, Samuel Russell, James Redfield, Philip Smith, Charles Crossthout, Stephen Codman, Thomas Trapp, and Simon Athearn.

Representing as he did the idea of absolutism which was the fundamental principle of the duke of York's political system, the aged governor, wedded to his power, gave them a curt reply: "No, he would not — he could not Answer it." Further than that, he "gave them to understand his Resolution to hould and defend the Place until it should be forceably taken out of his hands." The more radical ones desired that decisive action be instituted, and "some more Principalls putting the Matter forward, about half the People in a Mutinous Manner arose, with many contumelious Words and Threats against the said Govournour daring him in the Prosecution of his Royall Highness his Government." But as in all such times the hot-heads exceed their authority and often compromise the work of the conservative element. The leaders desired only a quiet and firm campaign in the interests of all concerned. They had gone to the governor with a proposition to restore the forms of government granted to him and them by Lord Stirling's patent, and they only wished him to abide by it. If not, he must accept the consequences.

THEY APPEAL TO MASSACHUSETTS.

This peaceful tender having been made and refused, the revolutionary party now took the next step and prepared a statement of their case to the governor and council of the Massachusetts Bay, formally tendering the island to them as a part of their government. The die was now cast and the lives and property of the signers put in peril. If they succeeded they would become patriots; if they failed, rebels and traitors.

[1]Mass. Arch. CVI. 202.

The statement and petition is as follows: —

The most humble pettision of his majesties subjects the freehoulders in the two towns setled on Marthas Vineyard:—

Unto the Right worshippfull John Leaverit Esq Governnour of the Jurisdiction of boston with the worshipful the magistrates his Assistants in the said Government:—

Right Worshipfull.

The many greevances which Leieth as a burden on our Spirits And the Consideration of the waight of Duty that leieth on us doth Constrain us to be your most humble pettitioners who besecheth you for the Lords Sacke to Lend ane Eare unto our most humble pettition And protest as both from Domistic And forrain enemise And also to redresse what things Are Amisse And strengthen those that are redy to die.

to relat things at Large may be too tedious but our Greevences are redy to be mad App't when Ocation may serve but to cut short now the day of our choyce being past And no Choyce is made so that now here is none to bare rull nether have we any law but every one Doth that which is right in his own eyes. Now Mr Mayhews first purchase of this Iland was from the Agent of the Lord Starling in which graunt Mr Mayhew was oblidged to set up the Government of the Massachusetts which was then established And sence that Government hath bene laied by things have grown from better to worse untell we are Com to nothing as at this daye now for the Lords sacke graunt us your powerfull hand to protect us whilst there is probation time, besidse wee humbly besech your honours to considre the safe preservation of the shiping and trade of the Countrie by the preservation of the Iland and harbour now are the two tribs And halfe did take care for the preservation of theire posteritie so we besech you so to Commiserate our condition that if possible we may be yet recovered And made Able to stand A littell members of Gods Covenanting people in this wildernesse wee are the majer part of the freehouldes on the iland who doe thuse pettision unto yowe And his majesties Court the most noble in these parts of Amarika the other which doe not petition are many of them much desirous this thing would be Accomplished but only Mr Mr Mayhews families That doe withstand our pettisioning But we humbly conceive your honourable Court may receive us without Dainger And protect us in marcy for how can it stand in Law that Loveliss being Governour but for a time can have power to give a Commission unto Mr Mayhew for his life to govern without an oath as hath bene publiquly owned by Mr May: himselfe being [asked]. And thuse he doth hold him selfe to command to bare rull ouver ous.

Now that your honours may know we have not don this rashly we have here also sent a copy of what tender we made to Mr Mayhew:[1]

but his answar was unto the men sent from us no he would not he could not Answar it

Now for this we are thretened to lose our lands and be made tratcherous: Let the wisdom of god guyd both you and us And we besech you to Commiserat our condition and graunt us an Answare soe we shall remain

[1] Printed on page 156.

your most humble and obediant subjects to be guyded And protected under our Dred soveren Lord the King of England: Scotlan, franc and Iyerland

Yours to Comand by the subscribing
of our hands

writen from Marthas Vineyard
this 15th October 1673.

Tho: Birchard	Isaack Norton
Isaack Robinson	Joseph Norton
Thomas Bayes	Henery Luce
Nicholas Norton	Samuell Russell
James Skiffe	James Redfield
John Pease	Phillip Smith
John Butler	Charles Crossthout
Thomas Butler	Stephen Codman
John Ary	Thomas Trappe
Thomas Joanse	Simon Athearn

The same persons signed it, twenty in all, and their claim that they were "the majer part of the freehoulders on this island who do thuse pettision" seems to be borne out by an enumeration of those males known to be living on the island at that time. "The other which doe not pettition," they assert, "are many of them much desirous this thing would be Accomplished but only Mr Mayhews families that doe withstand our pettisioning." It appears that the following named persons did not sign: James Allen, James Covell, Isaac Chase, *Thomas Daggett*, *Joseph Daggett*, *John Eddy*, *Thomas Harlock*, *Joseph Merry*, *Matthew Mayhew*, *Rev. John Mayhew*, *Thomas Mayhew 3d*, James Pease, Jacob Perkins, *Richard Sarson*, William Vincent, Philip Watson, Thomas West, William Weeks, Jeremiah Whitten. Of the nineteen persons enumerated, those whose names are in italics, nine in all, were either Mayhews by blood or connected with them by marriage. Vincent, though not a signer, was fined later for his opposition. There may have been a few other tenants or freeholders then resident in the Vineyard, not enumerated above, but it cannot affect the point prominently put forward that, barring Mr. Mayhew, his son, sons-in-law, and those within their sphere of family influence, the majority were in favor of a change, and were willing to risk life and estate to free themselves from this personal government. This document may be termed the Vineyard's Declaration of Independence against arbitrary authority and irresponsible rulers.

[1]Mass. Arch. CVI, 202.

MASSACHUSETTS DECLINES TO INTERFERE.

But the Massachusetts Bay officials were in no mood to accept the offer so flatteringly made. They had but just emerged from one long struggle of twenty years duration in absorbing territory that did not belong to them, and their experience with the Province of Maine, being finally forced to buy what they had attempted to usurp, made them wary of going oustide their patent to engage in a dispute with the King's brother over territorial jurisdiction. Consequently, there was no hesitation in promptly declining to engage in the quarrel, and the following answer was returned: —

25:8: 1673. To Mr Thomas Bercher, Mr Isaac Robenson and the rest of the subscribers of a petition sent from Martens Vinyard unto the honoured Governour and Assistants of the Massachusetts.[1]

Gent men yr of the 15 present we rec'd by witch we understand that there is a difference betwixt your selves and your ancient and long continued Governour the whitch is very grievous to us, but how to help we kno not for at such a time as this is to set in with a divided people we se not sufficient reson nor to take upon us the Governm't of any people upon the request of a part of them, and where as you say your day for choyse is past it holds forth you had a day apoynted for election but why you proceeded not in that work we understand not and if it were hinderd by your selves you may seriously considder whether the grete and many difficultyes you are under may not now be best eased by your quiet yealding unto your former Government and your own holdsum lawes you have lived so long under, Until you understand his Majestys pleasure whether to establish your one Governmt or to settell you under some other Collenyes in these parts, but to shew ourselves siding in a divission amongst our friends and Country men we are all together Indisposed unto, but earnestly desire your comfortable closing to geather, as in your best dayes. Not else but the respects to you all remain your very lo: freinds,

THE COURT OF ASSISTANTS

As Attest: EDWARD RAWSON, *Secretary.*

Passed by the Court of Assistants 31 October 1673

AN INDEPENDENT GOVERNMENT STARTED.

But this damper on their hopes did not deter them from their purpose, and the only effect it had was to precipitate "home rule" under the leaders of the rebellion. This was the course pursued. "They proceeded," so Mayhew stated, "to erect a Govourment in opposition to his Royal Highness' Govourment," but what form it took is not known, there being no records extant of its acts or for how long a period

[1] Mass. Arch. XLVIII, 138.

it endured. The Mayhew regime, of course, retained the possession of the records, land, probate and court, and this was a valuable asset, involving titles to property, settlement of estates, and other important books of reference. Doubtless this was used by the official party to its fullest extent, and it is probable that the recording of deeds and like matters was refused to the "rebels." [1]

But two governments existed on the island for at least a year, the "regulars," composed of the Mayhews and retainers, and the "rump," consisting of the rebels and their friends. Doubtless Simon Athearn was the leading spirit in Tisbury as Thomas Burchard was in Edgartown, for there were no rebels in Chilmark, the peculiar domain of the Mayhews. Seven of the signers were of the newly incorporated town of Tisbury. Probably it will never be known how this "rump" government was conducted or who were its officials. Confusion and bitterness prevailed as a matter of course, and it was truly a civil war, but without any casualties. "The longest sword must bear Rule," they said to the governor, and then they proceeded to tear down warrants posted by his authority, abuse the constables sent to serve his writs, and always "disdaining so much as any intimation of Right title of interest from his Royall Highness." As an instance of how high the feeling ran it is recorded that Mary, wife of John Pease, was indicted for "forcibly taking a warrant out of the marshalls hands" when they came to arrest her husband for "committing a riot." [2] The riot, of course, was his refusal to acknowledge the "regular" government, as he was one of the rebels who signed the petition to Boston, and the arrest was made five days after it was dated.[3] It was Mayhew's first move against the enemy, and Pease was "Both person and estate Bound to answer at the next sessions of Triall." It was indeed to be a case where "the longest sword" would win the victory. The opposition was irritated by this and Matthew Mayhew stated that they threatened the governor, "challenging the family of him," shook fists at his retainers and generally conducted themselves as if they felt

[1] In 1676, Simon Athearn, one of the signers, petitioned the Governor of New York to have the record of his lands and deeds placed in "the ofic of records at Newyorke." (N. Y. Col. Mss. XXIV. 104.)

[2] Dukes Deeds, I. 403.

[3] It is hardly to be supposed that John Pease, who was then an aged man, would create much of a riot in the accepted sense of the word. He had always lived a life noticeably free from contention, and rarely engaged in litigation.

there would be no day of reckoning, and there would not have been if the Dutch had held New York. Having been jilted by Massachusetts, the leaders were without resource, except Rhode Island, and it is not known that they sought political connections there. In their extremity in the spring of 1674, they turned to Matthias Nicolls, late secretary of the colony of New York and in exile in New England during the Dutch occupancy of that city, and sought his advice in the premises. As they did not know how he stood affected towards them the precaution was taken to send the letter and papers anonymously. This curious communication to him was as follows: —

Worthy Sir we Intreat you to Except and piruse our Rude and Uncomly Loins yet trew: for our Oppertunity will not Admite of a New draught as our Intent was: our desires is allso that you may be pleased to bestow a few loins upon us in way of Counsall and advise and if you desire it we will keep your Advise a(s) seacret: sir if you see it your way to Answer our Request you may be pleased to direct your Letters unto James Readfiel(d) now Resadent in Newhaven who we doubt not will be Carefull of them and faithful to us in sending them.

Inhabitants of Mar(tins) Vineyard

[May 5, 1674]
To the Worshipfull
Capt. Mathias Nicols now Resadent in New England.[1]

What reply, if any, Nicolls made to them is not known as it could not become a matter of record under the circumstances. In this way things progressed for months with no result except increased bitterness between the factions. Matthew Mayhew testified that the rebels "managed their possessions with such a high hand as to live according to their Profession, by the Sword."[2] and that there was nothing more serious than wordy battles is due, so the same authority tells us, to the restraint placed on the official party by the governor. They were barely dissuaded by him "from using of the Sword in their Defence." Meanwhile the governor was quietly putting the screws on individuals where he could, fining them so heavily that it amounted to a sequestration of their prop-

[1]This letter, endorsed "About Mr May(hew) & his Patent" is in N. Y. Col Mss. XXIV, 75, and was probably a letter of transmittal covering copies of documents relating to the subject. From internal and collateral evidence it is believed, that the document now filed in same collection of State Archives, Deeds, I, 72, consisting of copies of the town grants of Great Harbor, and signed by eleven of the signers of the petition of Oct. 15, 1673, is the one sent by the "Inhabitants" to Nicolls. (See Appendix.)

[2]N. Y. Col. Mss. XXIV, 16.

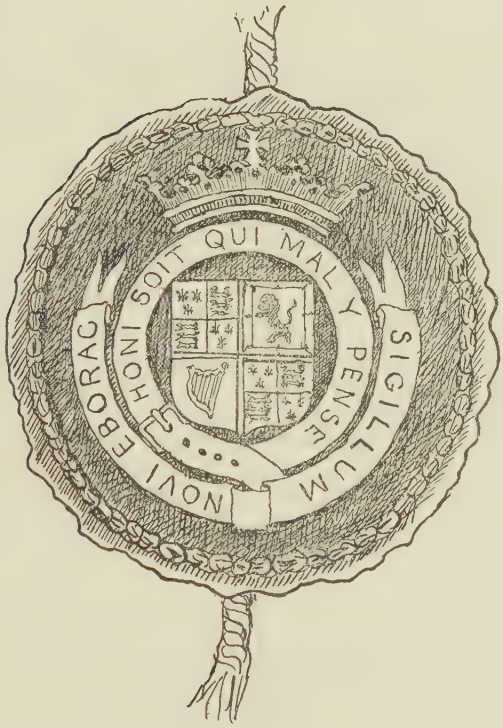
erty. No doubt Mayhew acted in this particular from an honest, but exaggerated point of view as to his dignity, and he probably considered them all as traitors to the duke whom he represented. He had threatened to disfranchise them and deprive them of their lands, and he was doing it by a sure and slow process.

SIMILAR CONDITION AT NANTUCKET.

It is interesting to note that while these things were going on at the Vineyard, similar scenes were being enacted at Nantucket. It was the same story almost repeated with different performers on the stage — the people and the new-comers against the office holders and the ruling classes. Altogether, Governor Mayhew had his hands full. He wrote that when they, the outsiders and new-comers heard the news that "Yorke was taken by the Dutch" they entered into a rebellion against the authorities and said: "Noe Man had a Right to a Foot of Land before the Date of the last Charter, and they by the Book endeavour to dethrone our Libertys — announcing my Right obtained from the Earle of Sterlinge nothing, also the Indian Right nothing, my quiett occupation there of 29 yeares nothing, the Grounding of the ten Partners upon my first Graunt nothing." This "war" lasted longer than the Vineyard rebellion and in some ways the ringleaders on Nantucket were more resourceful. Matthew Mayhew admitted this in a quaint manner in an address to Governor Andros, when he said of the rebels: "Every Card they play is an Ace and every Ace a Trump."

Greater events were taking place in international politics which lent favor to Mayhew's cause. Had the Dutch continued in possession of New York, it is probable that the rebels on the Vineyard would have won out by force of numbers, but rulers of larger destinies were making different calculations which upset the plans of the little band of freeholders struggling for liberty of the ballot on the Vineyard. The differences which had existed between the English and the Dutch came into the hands of the diplomats for settlement at Westminster in February, 1674, and by the terms of the treaty executed at that place in that month Nieuw Amsterdam was to be surrendered to the English, and on October 31 of that year it became New York once more. On that date Governor Sir Edmond Andros resumed authority of the

province in behalf of the Duke, and the Dutch foundation of our little rebel government was thus ruthlessly undermined by powers beyond its reach. He had undoubtedly been informed of the situation on the Vineyard, probably by the "loyal" element on Nantucket, and proceeded to deal vigorously with the subject.



GREAT SEAL OF THE DUKE OF YORK.
USED ON THE VINEYARD CHARTERS
1671

CHAPTER XIV.

Restoration of Mayhew's Authority, 1674–1682.

To remove any doubt of the validity of the duke's title, either for want of "seizin" to the crown, or on account of the conquest of the Dutch after the Treaty of Westminster, Charles the Second confirmed to his brother the duke, in language almost identical with the patent of 1665, the grant he made on that date.[1] Under this renewal the duke proceeded to re-establish his provincial government. This re-grant, dated June 29, 1674, was made the occasion for a similar confirmation of the pre-existing conditions at the Vineyard. Under date of November 7 following, the new governor by and with the advice and consent of his council, issued the following order, "for the Settling of Affaires there (Martha's Vineyard) and preventing of future Contests that may arise amongst them," as intimated by some of the inhabitants: —

1. Imprimis: That the Government and Magistracy in the Island Martins Vineyard shall bee sett and Confirmed in the same manner and in the same Psons that were Legally invested therein, at the Time of the Dutch coming into these Parts, in July 1673, or have since been legally Elected, by vertue of his Royall Highnesses Authority.

2. That by Reason of the first Right Mr. Thomas Mayhew Sr. hath had to the Island Martins Vineyard It is Ordered during his Time, that hee shall Preside at the Gen'll Courts which are to be held in like Manner as was established by Governor Lovelace, the Orders whereof as well as the Time of Election of their Magistrates and other Officers are to be observed as then prescribed.[2]

Further clauses decreed that all laws should be in force, as formerly approved, and all rights, privileges, and property grants heretofore in existence should stand until further order. In short, the meaning of this was to restore the *status quo ante*, to all intents and purposes. Under it the "rebels" could find little comfort.

Gov. Sir Edmund Andros deals with the rebels.

It had in all probability been represented to him that the rebels were not only favoring the Dutch rule, but were

[1] N. Y. Regents' Report, I, 21, 22.
[2] N. Y. Col. Mss., Orders, Passes, etc., III, 19.

enemies of the duke, and the new royal governor lost no time in issuing a special order to provide for the punishment of these traitors, in the following terms: —

> Whereas I have been given to understand that severall Disorders have hapned in the Islands Martins Vineyard and Nantuckett (or one of them) since the Time of the Dutch coming into these Parts in July 1673: I have with the Advice of my Councell thought fit to order and appoint that the Governour or Governours and Assistants of both the Islands aforesaid bee hereby Authorized and Empowered to call to Account and Punish according to Law, all such offenders and Transgressors against the established Government under his Royall Highnesse, the Crime not extending to Life Limbe or Banishment: But in Cases of such High Crime which may Deserve those Punishments to secure the offenders and send them hither by first convenience.[1]

Mayhew was a little slow in his movements as usual, and some time elapsed before he decided to take advantage of this turn of events, but he soon despatched Matthew Mayhew and Thomas Daggett to New York to lay his complaints before the restored ducal government and to pay his and their humble respects in a loyal address. They reached Fort James about a week after Andros had issued his orders of confirmation and special warrant, and presented a joint statement of the late troubles on this island. In the address to Andros they referred to "his Majesties good subjects" of Martha's Vineyard, who had been awaiting the restoration of authority under his rule and "for whose arrivall they have patiently weighted, as in Time of great Drouth for the latter Rain."[2] Andros was an absolutist and did not fail them. He was a supporter of the classes against the masses.

With the return of the grandson and son-in-law bringing this order the governor was fortified in his desire to punish the "tratcherous." It may be thought that in this the aged governor, then eighty-one, was under the influence of his grandson, about twenty-five years of age and then at a period in life likely to develop hot-headedness, or of his son-in-law Daggett, but no one who has studied the governor's character can fail to accord him the actual credit for all that he did, or had done in his name, down to the hour when he drew his last breath. He was a man who ruled his family as he ruled others, without brooking disobedience, and that he could and did get into violent passions is related by Captain John Gard-

[1]Warrants, Orders, Passes, Vol. III, 21. Dated Nov. 7, 1674.
[2]N. Y. Col. Mss. XXIV, 16.

ner of Nantucket, concerning an incident which occurred three years later when Mayhew was eighty-five. "Hee came to my Loging," said Gardner, "in as great Pashon as I Judge a Man could well be, accusing me highly wherein I was wholy inosent. . . . Mr Mayhew tacking this opertunity to vente him selvef as followeth: telling mee I had bin to Yourke but should lose my Labor: that if the Governor did unwind he would wind: and that he would make my Fine and Disfranchisement abid on mee dou the Governour what he would: that he had nothing against me, neither was angry, but I had spocken against his Interest and I should downe."[1]

GOV. MAYHEW INSTITUTES REPRISALS.

This is quoted at length to explain the events which followed the return of the messengers to New York and the mental attitude of the man who was thus empowered to use his family and relatives to punish those who had opposed him. They had "spoken against his Interest" and they "should downe." Doubtless the rebels were fully aware that he would break if he could not bend them and many had felt his wrath in the past. John Pease, foreseeing the coming of the storm, made his will on March 4, 1674, and was thus prepared for the next world and what might happen in this. The records unfortunately do not give us full insight into the entire proceeding, but Mayhew early selected William Vincent for his share and not only heavily fined but probably disfranchised him. Simon Athearn was taken next and it was ordered that he be sent to New York under the terms of the order of Governor Andros as it was held that he was guilty of "High Crime." This was enough to take the fight out of most anybody in those days and the opposition now was on the losing side. Many doubtless came out and publicly admitted their guilt and were held on bail or under bonds. Otherwise, we cannot account for the few who were punished as appears of record. In different ways the opponents were made to feel "the halter draw" and without "good opinion of the law" as administered by the family bench. Thomas Daggett got after one of the signers, James Skiff, on a charge of defamation and sued him therefor at a court held Dec. 29, 1674, and the jury brought in an alternative verdict for damages or an apology. Skiff to save his heavy fine acknowledged

[1]Warrants, Orders, Passes, Vol. III. Dated 16 March, 1677–8.

that he had "sinned both against god and Thomas Daggett"[1] by the use of "sundry slanderous and opprobrious words as calling him theif lier and cheating knave." But the verdict was not satisfactory to Daggett and his wife Hannah, the "deputy governor," berated one of the jurymen for depriving her husband of the money part of the verdict. "If an indifferant purson" said one juror, "and not a relation had writt the testimony or that if Skiffe had swept all his testimony away, and pleaded to your husbands own confeshon, Skiffe had proved his charg."[2] There can be no doubt that the partisan character of the duke's bench was notoriously to the great detriment of justice between the freeholders and members of the ruling family.

The punishments went merrily on. Nicholas Norton was tried, convicted and fined £51, but upon making two humble apologies for his part in the troubles and promising that "he shall be more careful for the future" his fine was commuted. James Redfield was next in order, and was similarly convicted and mulcted, but in consideration of his poverty, the fine was remitted. It is believed he agreed to depart from the Vineyard and so leniency was accorded him.

He left within a short time, took up his residence in New Haven, Conn., and never returned. There is no record of a sale of his house lot in Tisbury, and possibly it was sequestrated. Charles Crossthwaite was another who was probably forced off, as he also ceased to be a resident within a year, removing to Boston. Stephen Codman made his escape to Roxbury, and left his large estate of three-and-a-half house lots on Starbuck's Neck uncared for a number of years, until the storm blew over. Death removed John Arey from the scene early, but his estate was encumbered for years after with a mortgage, perhaps raised to pay the fine imposed for his "treason." Samuel Russell left his new home in Tisbury, bought by his father, and returned to Scituate where he afterwards lived, until his death in 1677 at the hands of Indians. These five men are the only ones known to

[1]Dukes Co. Court Records, Vol. I. The association of the name of Deity and the plaintiff in Skiff's apology doubtless arose from the fact that he considered now the Mayhews with their family connections were omnipotent.

[2]N. Y. Col. Mss. XXIV, 159. The juror in question, Jacob Perkins, later had a case of his own against an Indian for assault with a knife, and it was Daggett's turn as judge to get even. He threatened to fine Perkins for "calling the Indian a Lying Roag," and let the Indian go free. "Mr Mayhew said if you do not like what I doe, you may go to York." Perkins left the Vineyard.

have left the Vineyard immediately as a result of the civil war. The others remained and made their peace in some way not shown in the court records, but as these records are undoubtedly incomplete, these omissions are not to be considered as evidence that nothing was done to the other eleven not enumerated. This omission in the case of Thomas Burchard, who was the first signer and who was named by Athearn as a "principall instigator" of the rebellion, is all the more pointed as it is not to be inferred that he escaped without a scratch. The man who received the full force of the wrath of the Mayhews and their retainers was Simon Athearn, and for the remaining years of their lives it was a vendetta that knew no surcease between him and Matthew Mayhew. At first, Simon Athearn tried to make his peace with the rehabilitated government, and petitioned to have a mitigation of his sentence. The court on Jan. 8, 1675, fined him twenty pounds, one-half to be paid "forthwith," and for speaking against the decree of the court in William Vincent's case, ten pounds was levied, one-half of which was to be paid "forthwith" in the same manner, part cash, part stock. His disfranchisement was continued during the pleasure of the court, which considered him "one of the Ringleaders in the late Resisting of the Govourment."[1] The punishments, disfranchisements, and sequestrations of estates became known to the people elsewhere, through the friends of the victims, and caused widespread comment. The Rev. Increase Mather of Boston makes the following note on the subject in his diary: —

> At Martins Vineyard divers honest people are in great trouble: their estates sequestered by reason of Mr. M———— complaining to the Gov'r of N. Y.[2]

These men were simply being punished for seeking political freedom, and naturally had the sympathy of those in other colonies where the ballot was the poor man's weapon against oppression and arbitrary rulers. The "rebels" were therefore dissatisfied at the results of events which threw them back into the old government of grandfather, grandson, son-in-law, and brother-in-law, and they looked forward to reprisals from a bench composed of men so related. "I veryly believe had Genneral Lovelesse Given and Confined Mr

[1]Dukes County Court Records, I.

[2]Mass. Hist. Soc. Proceedings, XIII, (2d series).

Mayhew and us unto the Laws of this province," wrote Athearn to Andros, "it had prevented all disorder which hath fallen out senc: but when good government faills the duty and honor of a stat faills: for such and many other causes as are well known we are Kept very few in number, and pore in estats, and Left to a great annamossitie of spirit which must needs be the concomatants of such erregular proceedings."[1] This was the crux of the whole situation, an attempt to engraft a medieval manorial system on a people who had left such things behind, or supposed they had, when they crossed the ocean to build up a new political system of democratic government, where hereditary privileges should have no place.

QUIET FINALLY RESTORED.

Peace was thus restored to the Vineyard, but not satisfaction, except to Mayhew and his followers. "I did & doe still rest satisfied therein to the full," wrote Mayhew to Andros, in the month of April, 1675, "it being absolutely just in my under(standing) & (others?) have seene it that are very judicious," referring to the action which Andros took to restore him to power.[2] On the other side of the picture we have the sentiment of the defeated faction expressed in the language of Simon Athearn, later in the same year. "I shall not mention the many greevienses which are," he wrote to Andros, "But this I know that if things be not mended divers of the inhabitants will remove their dwellings to goe whare they Can: wherefor I besech your honnor to graunt us your Law to be our rule and square to walke by, that we may be delivered from all rible rable and notions of men."[3]

The old magistrates were again in the saddle, and matters ran along in the old ways for several years. In 1675, the bench consisted of the governor, Richard Sarson, Matthew Mayhew, and Thomas[3] Mayhew, the outside member, James Allen, having been dropped. Probably this quartette continued in office, with Matthew Mayhew Clerk of the General Court for the next five years, but the records do not show the

[1]N. Y. Col. Mss. XXIV, 159. In this letter Athearn complains that their laws were a mixture "of boston & plimmouth Law books," and if this did not cover a particular case the English practice should prevail, and he adds "the Law of England non of us know."

[2]Ibid., XXIV, 92.

[3]Ibid,, XXIV, 159.

fact, and Mayhew had failed to make the annual reports of the elections. "I verily believe," wrote Athearn to Andros, "did your honnor know the broke Confusednesse of the records on martins vineyard your honnor would see it nessesserery to take a better title."[1] This neglect on the part of Mayhew was noticed by the provincial authorities, and at a council held on June 24, 1680, it was ordered that a messenger go to the Vineyard to see "that fitt Magistrates be elected & confirmed there & that they be required to send one of their former number thither to answer their neglect in not making due returnes of their Elections the last Yeare."[2] Whether this omission was intentional or not, can hardly be said, but on Sept. 2 the governor sent an explanation to Andros, which evidently was not satisfactory, and it was ordered "that mr. Thomas Mayhew doe forthwith send mr. Matthew Mahew & mr. Sarsen sufficiently Authorized to give an accompt & receive orders & Direcons therein."[3] What the result of this summons was does not appear, though nothing was done to loosen the control of the dominant element on the island. Thus matters remained until the spring of 1682, when, at the great age of eighty-nine years, the old governor passed out of the world to the "great beyond" on March 25th, and thus brought to an end the governorship, dependent upon his "life," which had caused so much dissension and embittered his latter days. As we review it now, it seems to have been an unjustifiable position, utterly at variance with the spirit of the age and the customs of the neighboring jurisdictions. His tenacity in clinging to the office, and forcing a "family bench" on the people, which could not but have been a partisan agency in the administration of the law and justice, seems to have been based upon anything but worthy and high motives. It leaves an undeniable blot upon a career of distinctive and unselfish labor in other spheres of usefullness. The wonder is, that he could not see the impropriety of his sons-in-law and grandchildren adjudicating cases where his family had such extensive interests, and had there been any effective supervision of the Vineyard from

[1]N. Y. Col. Mss., XXIV, 159. This is literally true. The land records contain Court proceedings, probate transactions, and general minutes of the General Court, while the Court records contain both probate records, land records, and private memoranda, besides the regular judicial minutes.

[2]Ibid. Vol. XXIX.

[3]Ibid., XXIX, 212.

New York, it is safe to say that such a condition would not have lasted as long as it did. It was maintained by him with success by reason of this condition, and his studious failure to keep in touch with his superiors, through regular reports of his stewardship.

SEAL USED BY GOVERNOR MAYHEW.

FROM THE CONNECTICUT ARCHIVES.

CHAPTER XV.

The Administration of Maj. Matthew Mayhew, 1682–1692.

As an illustration of the policy of delay and avoidance, which had marked the designs of those who controlled the political interests of the Vineyard, by which the suzerain authority at New York was kept in ignorance of the situation of affairs on the island, may be cited the long neglect of the officials to notify the royal governor of the death of the old governor. He had died on March 25, 1682, as before stated, but it was not till August 16 that the information reached Fort James for action. The notification had been written on June 11, over two months after his death, and was not forwarded for two more months, when it would seem that so important a matter should be given the earliest despatch to provide for the filling of the vacancy. The delay may have been for the purpose of securing a certain continuance of the existing regime. That is what resulted, as will be seen by the following appointment: —

New Yorke August the 28th 1682

Gentlemen:

Yours of the 11th of June Received the 16th Instant and herewith Inclosed send you a Renewed commission for the Peace in your Parts and therein thought fitt to appoint Mr. Matthew Mayhew in the stead of that worthy Person Mr. Thomas Mayhew his father Late Deceased to be cheife supplying the Defect with another of the same Name, and as I have approved of your fitnesse and Ability soe will not doubt yor Integrityes in the faithfull Discharge of your offices & Trust in you Reposed accordingly the oath appointed for the office of a Justice of the peace the Rest in Commission are to administer to Mr. Thomas Mayhew According to Law . . . . . In the meantime I wish you all peace and happinesse and Remain, Gentlemen,

Your affectionate friend

ANTHONY BROCKHOLLS.[1]

It is to be noted that there was no appointment of a governor, with a limited tenure even, and the executive functions were vested in Matthew Mayhew as "Chief Magistrate" of the General Court. Perhaps this was a concession to the opposition, but we have no knowledge that any attempt was

[1] N. Y. Col. Mss., XIV, 769.

made by them to influence matters, at this important juncture. The appointment meant that the old influences were still paramount, and that with the "life" feature subtracted the bench was in the same hands. The government of the Vineyard was in reality vested in the judiciary, but progress was being made in the enfranchisement of the people, and the participation of the freemen in the affairs of the province was effected this year. Constitutional rights were granted by the king, the province was organized more extensively by the creation of counties, and local self-government was developed in many new channels. A legislature was provided for and the close corporation, known as the governor and council, was to have a check in a body chosen by the freemen of the chartered towns.

Preparations were made for the first sitting of the first assembly, to be holden under the new Charter of Liberties, and the council called an election for representatives to meet in general assembly at the capital city on Manhattan Island. The following notice was sent to the voters of the Vineyard: —

> Ordered, that Matthew Mayhew be Sheriff of Martins Vineyard, Nantucket, Elizabeth Island & all other Islands from the Eastward of Long Island to Nantucket Shoals, belonging to his Royal Highness James Duke of York & that he appoint the freeholders of said plantation to meet and chuse one out of each Island to meet in the most convenient place to chose one Representative for themselves in the General Assembly to be holden at the City of New York October 17th 1683.[1]

It is stated that both islands sent one delegate, but their names are lost in the missing journals of that session.[2] Thus for the first time the freemen of the Vineyard, after a period of forty years were permitted to take part in the deliberations of a legislature which had jurisdiction over their affairs, and the irresponsible personal government seemed about to have reached its end.

A new royal governor came over in 1683 in the person of Thomas Dongan, of whom some particulars will be of interest, for his connection with the Vineyard soon became of special importance and continued for many years. He was an Irishman, of the nobility resident in the Emerald Isle, and was born in 1634, at Castletown in the county of Kildare. He entered military life, serving with the English and French

[1] N. Y. Col. Doc., XIV, 771.

[2] Journals, Legislative Council, I, xi.

troops in turn, as opportunity offered, and attained the rank of colonel. Later he was appointed Lieutenant Governor of Tangiers by Charles the Second. After his return to England, he was created Earl of Limerick, and died in London, Dec. 14, 1715.

THE MANOR OF MARTIN'S VINEYARD CREATED.

Mayhew soon ingratiated himself in the favor of this new executive, who, under the recent statute passed by the first legislature relative to the county courts, was willing to commission Matthew Mayhew, Richard Sarson, Thomas Daggett, and Thomas Mayhew as the Chief Magistrate and Associate Justices for Dukes County upon his request in June, 1684.[1] In the fall of that year, new writs were issued for the choosing of representatives, and it is presumed that Martha's Vineyard was among those places which sent members. It is not known who was chosen, but if inferences are to be indulged, we may suppose that Matthew Mayhew added this to his multifarious functions. Certain it is that he became involved in a strange personal "deal" with Governor Dongan, which could not, in all probability have been carried out, except by persons of close friendship, such as might come through long association. Perhaps this was brought about during a session of the legislature of which he may have been a member. The plan comprehended the creation of Martha's Vineyard into a manor, with Mayhew as "dummy" and the immediate sale of the title of Lord of the Manor to Dongan, who could not invest himself with such privileges direct. The plan involved some formidable documents to give it a semblance of verity, and an abstract of them will show the steps by which it was accomplished.

The instrument creating Matthew Mayhew Lord of the Manor of Martha's Vineyard is dated April 25, 1685, and begins with a recital of the fact that Matthew Mayhew and "his ancestors have been antient setlers, planters, improvers and possessors of all that tract called Martins Vineyard," and that in response to a request of the said Mayhew for a confirmation of the same to him and his heirs, he makes such grant of the premises, including the Elizabeth Isles and Noman's Land, and then makes the following additional bestowal of manorial privileges: —

[1] N. Y. Col. Mss., XXXIII, 95.

And by virtue of the power and authority in me residing as aforesaid I do hereby erect, make, constitute the said Island called Martins Vineyard together with the aforementioned Islands called Nomans Land and Elizabeth Islands, and the above granted premises into one Lordship or Mannor of Martins Vinyeard.

And I do hereby give and grant unto the said Matthew Mayhew his heirs and assigns full power and authority att all times hereafter in the said Lordship or Manor, one Court-leet, and one Court-baron, to hold and keep at such times and soe often yearly as they shall see meet, and all fines, issues and amercements, as well att the said Court-leet and Court-baron, as att the assizes and Sessions of the Peace, holden or to be holden there or in the County called Dukes County, and payable, or happening from time to time to be payable, by any of the inhabitants of or within the said Lordship or Mannor of Martins Vineyard, and also all and every the powers and authorities hereinbefore mentioned for the holding and keeping the said Court-leet and Court-baron, from time to time, and to award and issue out the customary writs to be issued and awarded out of the said Court-leet and Court-baron, and the sam to bear test and be issued out in the name of the said Matthew Mayhew, his heirs and assigns, or their Steward deputed and appointed.

Further clauses enabled the lord of the manor "to distrayn for all rents," and lest nothing escape the beneficiary, "all waifs, estrayes, wrecks of the sea, Deodands, and goods of felons" were to belong to the lord of the manor, together with "the advowson and right of patronage of all the Churches in the said Manor erected or to be erected." Following the clauses of investiture and warranty come the provisions for the quit-rents: "Yealding and paying therefor yearly and every year from henceforth unto our Sovereign Lord the Kings Majesty, his heirs and assigns or his Resever, Commissionated to or impowered to reseave the same, on the five and twentieth day of March yearly the Quit Rent of six bblls of good merchantable fish, if demanded, in full of all Rents, services and demands whatsoever." This seems like reading some medieval parchment, rather than the product of the new democracy established in America by the dissenters from the established social fabric in England. Matthew Mayhew was not ignorant of "the world, the flesh and the Devil," and he must have smiled when he found himself charged with the "advowson and right of patronage of all the Churches in the said Manor." However this did not make much difference to the first lord, for it was not intended that he should set foot upon his manorial demesne, with the title belonging to him. With his wife, Mary, whom we can for a brief period address as Lady of the Manor, his residence

in New York was for a sufficient length of time to turn over the title to the one who gave it to him, for a consideration, and this took place on May 12 following, making a period of seventeen days when he played the part of "First Lord in Waiting."

The indenture "between Matthew Mayhew of the Island of Martin's Vineyard, Gent., and Mary his wife, of the one part and the Honourable Colonel Thomas Dongan, Lieutenant and Governor-General," in consideration of the sum of two hundred pounds, dated May 12, 1685, transfers to Dongan "all that the Lordship and Manor of Martins Vineyard . . . . and all that Island and tract of land called the Island of Martins Vineyard . . . . and all those several islands or tracts of land called the Elizabeth Islands . . . and all the Island called No Man's Land . . . . every of them being parcel of the said Lordship and Manor of Martin's Vineyard."

This indenture excepted the following named tracts from the whole: "The land called Nashowakemmuck (boundaries given) . . . . also all that neck called Quanaimes, alias Quanissowog (boundaries given) . . . and also one-half of the land called Kiphiggon, equally to be divided, viz: the western half also one neck of land called Nashawaqueedse (boundaries given) . . . and also those two lots of land with their appurtenances, in the town called Edgartown: the one late the land of the aforesaid Thomas (Mayhew), the grand father, and the other the land of the aforesaid Thomas (Mayhew), father of the said Matthew Mayhew." Exception was also made of the chief rents due to the chief lord, and "all estates heretofore made or granted or willed by Thomas the grandfather and Thomas the father of the said Matthew, and by him the said Matthew or any of them to the several townships of Edgartown and Tisbury, or to any other planter in the said Manor, or Lordship, or any part thereof, or by grants or patents under any the Governors of this Province."

The quit rents were agreed upon as follows: "The yearly acknowledgment of four lambs for the land above excepted, called Nashowakemmuck: and one lamb for the land called Quanaimes, or Quansoowog : and two lambs for the said land called one half of Kiphiggon: and two mink skins for the said land called Nashawaqueedse: to be paid on the first day of May yearly forever."

The above indenture was acknowledged by Matthew Mayhew on the date of the instrument, and Mary, his wife, signed her release on the 27th of July following; both acts taking place in New York, "in open court."

But Matthew Mayhew was not entirely without honors. He was still Lord of the Manor of Tisbury, and as a sort of compensation for the loss of the greater title, Governor Dongan commissioned him as "Clark & Register for Dukes County" on the following day, making with his title of chief justice and sheriff quite a respectable collection of prefixes to his name.[1]

THE FAMILY NEPOTISM CONTINUED.

It is difficult to comprehend this piece of official jugglery with the government of the Vineyard. By its terms, reduced to their bare residuum, with the legal verbiage eliminated, Colonel Dongan acquired the title of Lord of the Manor of Martin's Vineyard, which Matthew Mayhew had held for seventeen days by virtue of Dongan's patent. Together with this went the fee of the island, except the chief fee residing in the Duke of York and his successors, and excepting previously granted tracts "to any other planter in the said Manor, or Lordship, or any part thereof," so that the final territory which actually came into the possession of Colonel Dongan was Gay Head Neck, and possibly a part of Noman's Land, out of all the excepted tracts. It is now known that the new Lord of Martin's Vineyard constituted some person as his steward to hold in his stead the Courts Baron and Courts Leet, provided for in the patent, and who, it may be asked, except Matthew Mayhew, could have acted in that capacity?[2] This additional move to foist the manorial system upon the islanders was generally resented, although the titular lord's domain was reduced to somewhat ridiculous proportions. It seemed as if an elephant had been drafted to crack a peanut. Fortunately, the territory involved did not affect any of the English settlements, and before the new lord could do much mischief, if he were so inclined, the great revolution in England had overthrown King James, and all that he represented, and a Protestant King and Queen were installed in their seats upon the throne of Great Britain.

[1]N. Y. Col. Mss., XXXIII, 130.

[2]He was acting as steward from 1690 to 1699 (Dukes Deeds, V, 89).

The opponents of our local government under King James and his appointees, were much rejoiced, as they foresaw in it the probable end of the manorial system and all it meant.

It will not be necessary to detail the yearly story of the condition of official "nepotism" under the regime of Matthew Mayhew, as it is only a repetition of that of the elder Mayhew, and a little worse. For the next five years the bench remained the same as already given, but Matthew Mayhew was induced to resign one of his offices, which was immediately filled by the appointment of one of his cousins. In 1690, the official list of county officers was completed by drafting every available male of Matthew Mayhew's immediate relatives. With himself as chief justice were associated his stepfather, Richard Sarson, his brother-in-law, Thomas Daggett, and his brother, Thomas Mayhew, as justices; and the officers of the court were Thomas Harlock, his cousin, as sheriff Benjamin Smith, his brother-in-law, as king's attorney, and himself as clerk and register.[1] Further comment is unnecessary. But greater events were taking place in the outer political world. In England, James had fled from his throne and become an exile in France, while his representative in New York, Sir Edmund Andros, was made a prisoner in Boston and shipped to London for trial.[2] The reign of the dreaded "Popish King" and his satellites was at an end, and the Protestant William of Orange, and Mary his consort, received the crown he had abandoned.

THE NEW PROTESTANT REGIME IN NEW YORK.

The rejoicings which spread over New England at this bloodless revolution were none the less hearty than in England itself, and the treatment accorded the hated Andros in Boston almost bordered on personal indignity.[3] As the personal representative of the Catholic king, he received short

[1]N. Y. Col. Mss., XXXVII, 230.

[2]A letter from Capt. Mackenzie to Francis Nicholson, dated Aug. 15, 1689, states: "it is reported that Coll: Dongan is likewise kept prisoner, who went thither to sell Martins Vineyard." (N. Y. Col. Doc., III, 614.)

[3]In New York, the Lieutenant Governor, Francis Nicholson, was deposed by a party headed by Jacob Leisler, and the accession of William and Mary was then proclaimed in June, 1689. Leisler assumed the powers of a royal lieutenant governor, without warrant of authority, but resigned them to Governor Sloughter on his arrival. He was prosecuted for treason and convicted. Sloughter signed his death warrant, and he was executed May 16, 1691, and his death is regarded as an act of manifest injustice.

shrift, not entirely merited by his general excellence as governor of New York and New England, but all that he stood for became a part of his personality in the eyes of Puritan Massachusetts. To all but the official family on the Vineyard the change was most welcome, as it meant a reorganization of the provincial governments, not only in personnel, but in principles and ideals. It indicated the passing of absolutism and the inauguration of popular sovereignty. There is not on file any communication from Mayhew expressing his joy at the change of government, or a welcome for the successor of Andros. The new royal governor, sent out by William and Mary, was Henry Sloughter, who arrived at Fort James early in 1691.

But the absence of an address of welcome and fealty from Mayhew was compensated for by one from Simon Athearn, and aside from its interest as a contemporary view of the conditions upon the Vineyard, it shows how the opposition regarded the new order of things, and hoped for a correction of their wrongs. It is therefore printed in full, and is as follows: —

May it please your Excelency

To lend an ear, Considering the things nessessary for the good & wel being of the English Inhabutants of martains vinyard who are your servants waiting for your good & faverable settlement of your powerfull afars with us: more espetially me your most humble servant who desiers to praise God for your safe ariveall at new york with their majesties Commishon whom God have raised up to be the deliverers of our nations: when tidings first Came to us of the Revolution we may truly say (we ware like thay that dream) skersly beleveing so wonderfull a deliveranc: Now forasmuch God have be pleased to give us such gratious soverans a king to be our nursing father & a quene to be our nursing mother, thro many trobls we are in hops to Receive his promise of our Judges as at first and our Counselers as at the begining & our eyes shall see our teachers &c

And now may it not be said God is Rissen, and have taken hold of Judgment against the nations untell he have made his Jerusalem the praise of the wholl Earth. Now to strengthen our things that remaine & to reviewe those that are reddy to die, we pray your aid, to settell the maintenans of the work of the ministrie on martains vineyard, by the tithes. And the wholl Inhabutants to be Comprehended in two assemblys on the Lords day (as it now is) I humbly conceve there is an Eternal warant, Christ being a priest for ever after the order of melchisedec, it being in the order of melchisedec to receive tithes of Abraham: and for what of this settelment, Coms much disorder, both of Contention among the people, and the ministrie often Left vacant: also we pray your ayd that all other rats be raised on the subsittie for want of this: there is much rong dun for sumtims the old law book of york is made use ofe to raise mony on our Cattell, at three tims the valu,

and somtims great rong don by the partiall notions of men who rate persons, for that they have not, our Creaturs runing together, we know not what we have untell the summer and the shearing time Com: only tillage have they rated, all other lands and meddows have beene rate free, (which will not be purchesed with cattel here being about fifty-eight English Inhabutant familys on the Iland & most pore, four of the wich Justices of the peace their estats being rate free burthen the rest, when in our nation thay serve their King & Cuntry for their honnor, but if Justisces of the peace be Commishonated (all of one family, what and how thay please to raise monys on the people, without an assembly, the Justisces Estats being rate free) it shews the people are at a low Eeb, but wee hope to be delivered from such arbatrary power, who fish in devishons of the people, and seeke not their peace. We hope your Excelency will defend our towns, in their patant Rights formerly graunted By Governor Lovlesse of new york, to all intents and purposes, Commandement was given to devid the land of Cannan unto the tribs by lot, when possest by the heathen, so our former Governor gave us our townships bounded by pattant to all intents and purposes, whereby we humbly conceive the right by Eternal Equity to be ours; and we hope to be defended in all our town rights to all intents and purposes against Corronal dongans purchas, we are farre of and know not the time but I humbly desier the honorable assembly would Consider our settelment: And that the wholl trade of disposing any strong Liquers to the Indians of the vineyard be stopt, which is a thing of so evil Consequenc in druncken-nesse Eydlnesse & selling their corn for nought, which brings them into poverty and stealing for hunger: The Indians might and would be servis-able in the defenc of the Iland against the Enemy, And doutlisse it would be their great incuragement if your Exelency would be pleased to bestow an hundred armes with amonition for the use of the Indians on the vineyard in time of danger to be delivered unto them and when dainger is past to be returned in to the English keeping in store for the same use: thro marcy we have bene preserved from the foran Enemy, And we trust to be preserved hoping your Excelency will tak Care of us in these perrelous tims desiering your Excelency to pardon the boldnesse of your servant who have thought it my duty thus in writing to pay my most humble Respects unto your Ex-elency desiering the God of heaven to increase in you that wisdom which is from above, and to blesse you with a long and happy Life, which is the prayer of your most humble servant to be Commanded.

SIMON ATHEARN

from tisbury
on the vineyard
this 6th day
June 1691.[1]

THE VINEYARD ANNEXED TO MASSACHUSETTS.

The leading men of Massachusetts had set in motion, early in 1690, a plan for the renewal of their charter, and the Plymouth people joined them in the same design, sending over the Rev. Increase Mather of Boston and Rev. Ichabod

[1]N. Y. Col. Mss., XXXVII, 161.

Wiswall of Duxbury, who with Sir Henry Ashurst, constituted a committee to obtain from the English government new and broader charters. Each colony was striving to be independent of the other, while the royal authorities were intent upon consolidation. Indeed, the agents found a disposition fixed to annex Plymouth to New York, and only after long negotiations, extending over the period of a year, was the matter settled, though not to the satisfaction of all parties. The annexation of Plymouth to New York was averted, and the colonies of Massachusetts and Plymouth were united into what is now the present commonwealth, and, what is of local interest to the Vineyard, our island was detached from its old connection with New York and added to the new government of Massachusetts. In what manner this was brought about is not known, but that it was done without the knowledge of the officials of the Province of New York, and unknown as well to the Mayhews, is evident from all that followed. The charter of William and Mary, dated October 7, in the third year of their reign (1691), provided for the jurisdiction of Massachusetts over certain described territory, not necessary to be rehearsed, "together with the Isles of Capawick and Nantuckett near Cape Cod." In London at that time with these agents, was Sir William Phips, Kt., of Boston, who through the influence of Mather received the nomination as governor of the new Province of Massachusetts.[1] Sir William had been knighted by King James in 1687 for recovering the treasures from a Spanish ship which had been wrecked at St. Kitts, and in August, 1690, was the commander of the disastrous expedition sent against Quebec. He arrived in Boston on May 14, 1692, with the charter, and set about the prosecution of his duties thereunder, with considerable vigor, if not with entire discretion.

[1]William Phips was the son of James Phips, a gunsmith, from Bristol, England, and was born on the Kennebec river, at the present Phipsburg, in 1651. He died in London in 1695, and a monument in the church of S. Mary, Woolnoth, still stands to his memory. He was governor during the horrible witchcraft delusion.

CHAPTER XVI.

The Vineyard and the Massachusetts Charter of 1692.

Within the first week after his arrival, Sir William Phips, Knight, Captain General and Governor-in-Chief of the Province of Massachusetts Bay, issued his warrants to the towns in the province requiring them to send representatives to "the great and Generall Court to be convened at Boston on the eighth day of June, 1692," and it is known that one reached Edgartown in due season. Great indeed was the consternation among the ruling element. They were incredulous, as no previous intimation of the political changes had come to their knowledge. Chief Magistrate Mayhew forbade any action upon the warrant, and at once notified the New York authorities. The opposition were as unprepared as the Mayhews, but both began to fight for position. The warrant for the election prescribed the qualification for electors as "a freehold of 40s per ann(um) or other property to the value of £40 sterling," a limitation which reduced the voters in the two towns to small proportions. The wealth of the island was largely centered at Edgartown, where the officials resided, and on a test vote, based upon the property qualifications, the farmers of Tisbury could not secure a representative if there should be a general vote. So Athearn concluded to select an Edgartown man to receive the suffrage of the qualified electors, and Joseph Norton stood as the candidate of the opposition. It is not known that there was any effort on the part of the Mayhews to contest the election, as they held the proceedings to be illegal, and warned all concerned against participation in the affair. Doubtless this was their attitude, and when Norton was chosen, they applied their "influences" to persuade him not to attend the session, under penalty of their displeasure, and the consequences of disloyalty to the lawful government established by the duke and his successors. And they nearly succeeded in frightening him off. It required all of the persuasive powers of Athearn to make him stick, as it was of vital importance at this juncture that there should be no hesitating or doubtful partisans.

THE MAYHEW ELEMENT OPPOSES THE CHANGE.

The recollections of the "Dutch Rebellion" had not yet faded from the memories of those survivors who had "felt the halter draw" and the example of it was held up by the authorities to deter the opposition from active connection with the new government. All the relatives of the Mayhew family were busy in the campaign of education. The most energetic of them was one the most distantly connected, Benjamin Skiff, and it goes without saying that all sorts of arguments were used to keep the freemen of the Vineyard from rallying around the leader of the opposition. He was handicapped, however, by the financial status of his supporters. He constantly refers to "the pore of tisbury," and describes the residents of that town as having "but small cottages to sleep in and buy their heay from Chillmark." It was not yet the time of manhood suffrage, and influence was measured by pounds, shillings, and pence. But to return to the formal efforts of Matthew Mayhew in his letter to the New York authorities. The tenor of his letter is not known, but the record of it appears from the entry in the minutes of the council: —

At a Councell held at Fort William Henry the 12th of August 1692. . . . . Upon reading a Letter from Major Mayhew of Martin's Vineyard to Wm. Nicolls Esq. signifying that the Inhabitants of the Islands in Dukes County are disturbed by some Warrant or order directed to a Constable or some other Person from Boston in New England, as if those Islands were under that Government, to their great Disorder and Confusion.

Their Majesties Pleasure being noe ways signified to those in authority now concerning the Surrender of any Part of this Province or Dependencys unto any Persons whatsoever:

ORDERED that the Officers civil and military of the said County be required and they are hereby required to continue in their obedience to their Ma'ties Authority settled over this their Province pursuant to their severall respective Commissions untill further orders.[1]

The clerk of the council, under date of August 18, made reply to Mayhew's letter in behalf of Mr. Nicolls, which adds some further particulars: —[2]

Maj'r Mayhew

Mr Nicolls having Prduced yor Letter in Council the same being Read it is the Resolution of the Council that you are to Continue in your Obedience & subjeccon to their Ma'ties Government settled over their Province

[1]N. Y. Col. Mss., Council Minutes, VI, 114.

[2]Ibid., XXXVIII, 170. A copy is in Mass. Archives, II, 386.

of N. Yorke pursueant to the severall Commissions Civil & military which you have received Their Ma'ties nor their predecessors having made any Alteracon of the like nature without signifying their pleasure by their Letters mandatory to the Governor or Command'r in Cheife & Council which when we shall receive you shall quickly be advised of yor Duty in the mean time if any person or persons within yor County Doe make any disturbance they must be proceeded against for the same at their perill.

I am advised that yor taxes are levied and wonder they are not transmitted unto their Ma'ties Collr & Recr Generall I desire you to be vigilant & Carefull to maintaine their Ma'ties peace and to advise yor bretheren the like I desire to hear from you by the first opportunity of the Condicon of yor Islands & of any accident shall happen.

While this harmless correspondence was being carried on, Simon Athearn was laying the foundations of a new political structure for himself and the opposition. He accepted the fact that a change had taken place and at once put himself in communication with the authorities of Massachusetts, to whom almost twenty years ago he had sent that fateful appeal to be taken in under their protection. Now they had been taken in unexpectedly, but none the less gladly and acceptably. Failures in the past did not discourage him, and he essayed this attempt to enlist support as hopefully as though he had never met with defeats. Accordingly, he sent the following communication to Sir William and the council in June, for consideration at the first session of the General Court: —

Wee most humbly petition that marthas vineyard and Elzebeth Ilse and its dependances be considered and made on(e) town or place So one Representative might serve for the whole for we are but about fifty 7 or 8 famelys on the Iland: the east end of marthas vineyard was formerly granted by Mr Tho. Mayhew the elder and sence confirmed by the Governor of New York unto the Inhabitants freehoulders theire heires or assignes for ever to be a town ship knowne by the name of Edger town the western most bounds of Edgertown is on the north side of the Iland at holms his hole or the Springs at the head of that Cove called Weahtaqua and bounded on the south side of the Iland called tickanomans neck and so including all the east end of the Iland and the Iland called Chapaquiget with natuk: Tisbury and Chillmark and its dependances is bounded by said bounds of Edger town.

Your most humble petitiner prayeth that tisbury Chillmark & its dependances with all the west end of the Iland might be made one parrish for the better Carrying one of the maintenanc of the ministerie there and under one constable one assesment for their majesties service. There is nessessety of Courts of Justice on marthas vineyard I think needful as Capt'n John Gardner of Nantuckett have advised thar one County Court of Common pleas be held onc a year one year at marthas vineyard & one year at nantukett & in case of appeale to boston &c

The military officers of the Company at Chillmark and tisbury are Capt. Benjamin Skiffe, Left'nt Isaac Chase, Insign John Manter men approved: we propound as most fitt persons at Edger town Mr John Butler to be Captain, Mr Thos: Doggett to be Left'nt, Mr Jacob Norton to be Insign & Mr Joseph Norton to be Sheriff.

In most humble wise we present this to the honourable Council for Consideration: if nothing be don' but expenc of mony & time it will be a matter of discorragment to the good minded people And cause for the enemy to Insult.

Your most humble petitiner shall ever pray for your prosperous Government.[1]

SIMON ATHEARN

SIMON ATHEARN COURTS THE NEW AUTHORITIES.

Athearn's recommendations were generally fair, there being two of the Mayhew regime included in his list of "fitt persons," but the only one who profited by this appeal was Joseph Norton, who was commissioned as sheriff by Governor Phips in the following month.[2] At the first sitting of the General Court no comprehensive legislation was enacted, but a naval office was created, with a provision that an officer should be appointed "at Marthas Vineyard . . . . to enter and clear all vessells passing to and from hence, but not to be accounted a port for the delivery or lading or any of the enumerated commodities."[3] It was evident to the Massachusetts legislators that there were factional disturbances on the Vineyard which must be investigated before much could be done for the best interests of the place. Therefore, after the adjournment of the session, the governor and council decided to despatch Major-General John Walley to the scene of the conflict, and Sewall notes in his diary under date of Sept. 30, 1692, that "the Major Generall sets out for Elizabeth's Iland and Martha's Vineyard."[4] The Mayhews were still unreconciled to the situation and endeavoring to find some flaw in the charter which would restore to them their former grip upon affairs. Already one office had passed out of the family, and the outlook was ominous. Doubtless, many moves were made of which we have no record, and many letters exchanged between the ex-chief magistrate and his New York supporters to block the impending transfer

[1]Mass. Arch., CXII, 422.

[2]His commission is dated July 25, 1692, and is found in Mass. Archives, XL, 266. See also Ibid., Vol. 276, for a petition of Athearn for this appointment.

[3]Acts and Resolves, I, 35.

[4]Diary, I, 366.

of allegiance. To conclude otherwise would discredit the political partisanship of Mayor Mayhew, and minimize his dislike of the Puritan colony, which had been set in authority over him.

Governor Phips taking advantage, evidently, of the local property interests which Major Wait Winthrop had in the Elizabeth Islands, commisioned him to go to the Vineyard and add his influence to that of Walley in composing the disturbed spirits of the old regime, and if successful to administer the official oaths to them as officers of the new government. The conclusions of Winthrop after an interview with the Major were decidedly pessimistic as to the success of his mission, and he reported that it would be necessary to make some demonstration in force to bring the recalcitrants to terms. His letter addressed to Secretary Addington, makes an interesting contribution to the story of current events, and is as follows: — [1]

After I had been here and at my Island some time without opertunity of geting over to the Vineyard, Mr. Mayhew came over and went to Barnstable and as he returned I met him at this place, and after some discours told him I had his Excellencys order to administer the oath to himselfe and the other officers which the law required, in order to their excercising their Places they were comissionated to, but he utterly refused to accept of any place himselfe, but said he knew not but his brother and Mr. Newcomb might, which he should encourage, and so went home in his canoe and after some time returned me the enclosed papers,[2] but before that I was well assured that none of the officers (unless one or two who were not at home), would take the oathes, therefore resolved tho I had met with the opertunity not to have gone over to Expose the Govr'mt as well as myselfe to contempt amongst such a crew as I understand are there, having no other orders but to administer the oaths; and upon their refusal must have but made same return which I now doe. I hope his Excelency will see cause to take effectuall orders to setle that place before thay have farther orders from York, which I believe thay will expect as soon as a sloop now in Tarpolin Cove can get there, by which I believe thay have made returne to som of the enclosed papers, and desired farther directions; the least that can be don I believe will be to send the sloop[3] and some persons of the Council to be joyned in comission with such Justices of the place as may be apointed to to hold a Session or Court there which would effectually settle all matters in that place. I mean not the justices appointed in the former comission by the word crew before mentioned, who I believe would be satisfied if

[1]The letter has no date, but is marked "received October 21, 1692," and was probably written at Woods Hole. (Mass. Archives, II, 383–4.)

[2]The enclosures were the documents printed on page 183, together with a requisition for £43:15s as the share of Dukes County in the expense consequent on the defence of Albany, and the reply of the Mayhews to General Winthrop.

[3]Winthrop refers to the sloop of war belonging to the Province and used for patrolling the coast to look out for armed French ships.

thay thought their titles would not be questioned, and would then, some of them, be sutable to be continued in comission. . . . . ..

While the Major, in his chagrin at the turn of affairs "did thrice refuse the crown," and professed willingness for his brother to hold office, yet his actions belied his words. He not only counseled others on the Vineyard to hold aloof, but used the same tactics among the people of Nantucket. James Coffin and William Worth, in a letter dated October 13, state the situation on that island: —

"Mr Mayhew sent us over his shrife and Ben: Smith and one man more with the governors orders which we have sent his Excellency a true coppy: at there arivall they ware very high but we discourst with them till we made them calme: but in short we are all well sattisfied by what we understand by them that Mr Mayhew at thare returne with our Answar will goe directly for York: and we have reason to conclude wil doe us all the mischife that he is aboll to doe: and by al that we can gather he hath bin & is the only Instruement to stir up the governer of York against us.[1]

During the performance of this side-show, far removed from the knowledge of the Massachusetts authorities, the Major was trimming his sails to catch the contrary breezes should it finally become necessary for him to seek a harbor on the strange coast to which his craft was drifting. He was playing a fore-and-aft game now, and as an example of his company manners when dealing with Winthrop as emissary of Governor Phips, the following letter in his own handwriting and signed by the other two judges of the court, may show the reverse of the picture for which he posed in all humility and deference to the new conditions: —[2]

Sir Wee cannot think that our retaining and exercising our severall places of trust under their Majesties for their service in the province New Yorke should be any offence to the Governor of their Province of Massachusets Bay in New England: we having lately received orders from Benjamin Fletcher Esq their Majesties Gov'rn'r of that province commanding and requiring of us there unto on penalty of being sent for to answer such default before him in Councell and having taken oath to govern this County by the lawes of that province before his arivall and think wee may justly suppose himself as their Majesties Governor of that p'vince to have order concerning there Islands, having for so long time appertained thereunto: and shall hope if not request that his Excellency will admit of time to be therein resolved: ourselves being no waies inclined to one or the other government: otherwise then to manifest our obedience to

[1]Letter to Capt. John Gardiner. Coffin and Worth wrote a reply to Major Mayhew, which was non-committal in character, stating they could not take any definite steps, "for many reasons," basing it on the absence of Captain Gardiner.

[2]Mass. Archives, II, 387.

their Majesties commands, which wee thought most to signifie to yourself, understanding that his excellency has given yorselfe some orders concerning this County, which is all at present from,

Your friend & servant,

MATT: MAYHEW
RICHARD SARSON
THOMAS MAYHEW } their Majesties justices of the peace for Dukes County in the province of New York

All these conditions should have resulted to the advantage of Athearn, who began to see the reward of his years of contest for the improvement of the political condition of his home. The conferences held with the Mayhew officials by General Walley were productive of a better understanding, as it proved, but all contemporary evidence clearly gives us the idea that they were convinced against their will, and their acquiesence in the new conditions tentative and perfunctory. Meanwhile, Athearn was busy with voice and pen working for an entirely new deal in the offices. After the visit of the major-general, he addressed another paper to the governor and council relative to the settlement of affairs here, in October, 1692,[1] and a copy in full is herewith given: —

being sensable of much trobl on marthas vineyard for want of dew settelment of the affairs of that Iland And Considering the present state of persons & things there I humbly shew that if Mr Andrew Newcomb be made Cheefe Justice And Mr Joseph Norton & Mr James Allen Justices there who are reputed welthy and having such Influence in the people there will be most Reddy way to settel your government there and wheras Capt'n Ben Skiffe have bene very bissie against the government from this place And Mr Isaac Chase the Leueten't without oath he pleading for the quakers makes me think he will not take an oath: I humbly shew that if the foresaid Mr James Allen be made Capt'n & mr peter Robinson be made Leueten't of the Company of tisbury and Chillmark is the most likely way to bring the Compeny to obediance also unto this Authority thay having much influenc in the people by relations &c

My neighbour mr Norton is gon hom being tyered out with tarrying long and nothing don to effect. After he was chosen & summoned to attend the enemy had perswaided him not to Com but I going to his house laboured much with him untill I had his promise to meet me at the boat.

And now I am left alone waiting for your Conduct that the enemy may not have the opertunity to put out my Right Eye trusting now at length there will be spedey cure taken for our better settlement.

Your most humble petitioner shall still pray for your prosperous Government.[2]

SIMON ATHEARN

October 1692

[1]From the wording of the paper, it is evident that it was written in Boston. The second session of the General Court began on Oct. 12, 1692.

[2]Mass. Archives, CXII, 424.

THE MAYHEWS SURRENDER TO SAVE THEIR OFFICES.

It is evident from the tone of this that Athearn was not progressing as rapidly as he expected, and that success was by no means assured. The vested interest of the old officials and the proprietors was still an important factor in the problem. Athearn by this time had dropped Skiff from his list of "trustys," as he might have foreseen would have to be done, sooner or later, and Quaker Isaac Chase had no fighting blood in him. Matthew Mayhew and his supporters now came to Boston to take a personal hand in the conflict, while Athearn and Norton were "tyered out with tarrying long and nothing don to effect." Conferences with the councillors of the Phips government doubtless convinced Mayhew that the charter of William and Mary included Martha's Vineyard by implication, if not by name, but he contended that "Capawick" was not the proper designation for Martin's or Martha's Vineyard, and that the question of annexation to Massachusetts was a legal question, dependent upon the nomenclature of the island. He maintained that "Capawick" was a small island at the extreme end of Chappaquiddick, while the Indian name of the Vineyard was Nope. There could be no question about Nantucket, but he saw the "handwriting on the wall," and like a good politician concluded that he must "gracefully grant that which he could not with safety refuse." For the Massachusetts authorities were insistent that, name or no name, their agents had obtained the consent of the king to include the island known to them as Capawick and Martin's or Martha's Vineyard, and they proposed to exercise their authority. Without waiting for the Mayhews to come to terms they proceeded to legislate for the organization of the local government, and on November 25, passed an act regulating the courts on the Vineyard. This must have had the effect desired, and the "Old Guard" surrendered in the face of political extinction. Isaac Addington wrote to General Walley on December 8th: "The Island of Marthas Vineyard is well Setled, the Mayhews have complyed with the demands of the Government."[1] At the same time Councillor Nathaniel Thomas presented to the governor and council a report "of the Settlement of Marthas Vineyard." It was as follows: —

[1]Mass. Archives, III, 47.

. . . . . that Mr Matthew Mayhew, Mr Thomas Mayhew & Mr James Allin had accepted Justices of the Peace within said Island and taken their Oaths. He also moved upon their desire and at the desire of the generality of the Inhabitants that Mr Richard Sarson might be added to the Commission of the Peace.[1]

Thus the same old familiar names were restored to the places which they had occupied, and the only concession to those outside the breastworks was the inclusion of one of their nominees, James Allen. As Simon Athearn characterized it, it was "a Cifer to make the Summ." Once more he had lost to the "enemy." He was the last warrior left upon the field, and the enemy had "put out his Right Eye." In the fray his character and reputation had been assailed, without doubt, and the number and standing of his party had been questioned before the council, so he set about fortifying his position with a petition from his backers on the island, but it was too late to accomplish his purpose. This petition was dated "from marthas vineyard desember the 19 1692" and bears fourteen signatures, of the following named persons: Andrew Newcomb, Joseph Norton, James Pease, Jacob Norton, John Butler, Thomas Norton, William Vinson, Thomas Woolling, Thomas Butler, Isaac Norton, Benjamin Norton, Moses Cleaveland, John Pease, and Thomas Vinson. From the number of Norton signers the council might have considered it a case of Norton versus Mayhew, but the document was a certificate of respectability for Simon Athearn and an explanation of their position. "Wee were not willing to speeke when the Gentlemen were," they say, "Because that your Excellencys orders might be setteled in Peease & quietnes." But while this modesty was being maintained the "enemy" were not so afflicted, and were willing to trade their former allegiance for renewal of their hold upon the island, and "good politics" prevailed. "Now wee are willing," they continue, "to give your Exsellency an acount of Mr. Simon Athearn we Looke upon him to be a well acomplish man: he is no drunkerd nor no Card player nor a man that frequint tavorns,[2] but wee doe know but he may have his feialing as well as other men: for estate: few or none upon Iland

[1]Council Records, II, 207. Dated Dec. 7, 1692.

[2]This is believed to be a covert allusion to Matthew Mayhew, as a number of contemporary documents bear similar comments in relation to him. Athearn states that Benjamin Smith and Thomas Harlock had told him that "they of Edgartown" had consulted together "that Major Mayhew Might be discarded because of his vice & debochery." (Suffolk Court Files, 4605.)

goeth beyound him & for a Justes wee Looke upon him as fit as any man here."[1] This might have been all very true, but it was in the nature of death certificate. The plums had been picked and the feast was over, and Athearn had secured two places for his friends, Allen and Norton, while the Mayhews still sat on the bench and could deal out "family justice" to him as they had done in the past quarter of a century.

THE PAPER "WAR" BETWEEN PHIPS AND FLETCHER.

If the New York authorities did anything to protect their claims to jurisdiction, except wait for some overt acts, it is not of record.[2] It is supposed that Mayhew informed the Boston government that the New York authorities did not admit the alleged transfer of jurisdiction, and in order to enlighten them upon the subject Sir William Phips, on Jan. 2, 1692–3, apprised them of his appointment, and enclosed a copy of the charter of Massachusetts Bay, by which Martha's Vineyard had become a part of the new Province. At about the same time, Governor Fletcher of New York, who had succeeded Sloughter in 1692, desiring to find out the actual claims of the Massachusetts people, sent a personal messenger to Boston to interview Phips, informing him that it was his intention to make an official visit to Martha's Vineyard in the spring, "and that he should be glad to see Sir Wm there." The bearer was Thomas Clarke, and his report of the interview gives an insight into the choleric, bombastic character of Phips.

I acquainted him I had orders from his Excellency Governour Fletcher to signifye to him that he intended to be att Martin's Vineyard early in the Spring, before he went to Albany," said Clark in the account of his experiences. "I acquainted him the Governour of New York would be glad to see him there. Sir William Phips asked if I came to challenge him. I replyed I came to delever my message, which I had done. He asked me if I had any such orders. I did tell him I had private instructions for my selfe, which I would not shew him nor any other. He told me if they were my own words I was an impudent fellow. I told him I thought soe to, but the words were nott mine. Sir Wm Phips did tell me he did take the words as a challenge and would certainly meett with Governour Fletcher. I told him he might interprete the words as he pleased . . . . . I prayed an answer relating to the Vineyard. He bid me tell Governour Fletcher that if he came to Martin's Vineyard to medle with the government he would

[2]Mass. Archives, CXII, 435. Printed in full in the sketch of Athearn.

[2]"Governor Fletcher did in the yeare Ninety two Send a Letter and messengers to our Island (Nantucket) requesting our obedience to him, &c.," says John Gardiner in a petition in 1693. (Mass. Archives, CXIII, 112.)

take care to secure him that he should never returne back againe. I asked Sir Wm if I should returne this for answer to the buissinesse of the Vineyard. He tould me Yes. Sir, I shall be shure to doe it; so you had best, said Sir William.' [1]

This truculent attitude seems like comic opera, but it was merely the silly nature of the man who had gone to Quebec two years before and demanded its surrender in magnificent phrases, while the defenders were jeering at him over the parapets of the strongest fortress on the continent. Then the leader of that quixotic expedition hoisted sail and steered for home, filled with excuses for its failure. Such was the man whose personality it is necessary to know to appreciate the ridiculous features of this situation. "In Massachusetts, the history of his administration is a melancholy monument," says an historical authority, "for his public breach of the peace was a scandal that never befel any other chief magistrate."[2]

Clark's report angered Governor Fletcher to the fullest extent, and he undertook to bandy words with Phips, an art in which the latter could excel. Fletcher wrote him that he was an ill-mannered person — no gentleman in fact. This style of paper warfare suited Phips entirely, as it was without danger. So he drew up the following letter and despatched it to New York: —

Boston the 27th January 1692-3

Sir:

Your absurd letter plainly deminstrates that if (as you say) I have forgott manners to Gentlemen, I have forgott what you never had. You send a herauld to give mee a challenge to meet you in the Spring at Marthas Vineyard, wch by force you intend to take the Government of, notwithstanding their Majesties granted by their Royall Charter, whereby the government thereof is annexed to the Province of the Massachusetts Baye: and your jaylor hath been as insolent in delivering this challenge from you (wch he saith is by your positive order), as you have been inconsiderate in directing him soe to doe. For the difference (if any), is not to be decided by you alone. However if you are soe resolved, you may expect me att Marthas Vineyard in the Spring to assert that power wherewith their Majesties have invested me, wch if you think fitt to dispute, I shal take such measures to defend as you may not like.[3]

[1]N. Y. Col. Doc., IV, 8. Clark adds: "He tould the Councill that I had challenged him to meet Governour Fletcher at the Vineyard; upon which I tould the Councill I understood noe challenge in the words; I only tould Sir Wm that Governour Fletcher did intend to be at Martin's Vineyard in the Spring & that he should be glad to see Sir Wm there."

[2]James Savage, President of the Mass. Historical Society, in his Gen. Dictionary, article on Phips.

[3]N. Y. Col. Mss., IV, 6.

That the doughty Sir William thought that this was a serious case of provincial warfare is quite evident from his actions, but it could have deceived no one else. He prepared for the anticipated struggle. Upon his representations the council ordered "that a Suitable vessell be taken up and Equipped for their Majesties service to Cruise in and about Marthas Vineyard Sound for the securing of Coasting Vessells until such time as their Majesties Frigates can be fitted out: his Excellency proposing that she be manned and furnished by the Captains of the Men of Warr." If Phips was obliged to fight Fletcher, he wished to have a frigate near by to act as his convoy to the battle grounds.[1]

THE NEW YORK AUTHORITIES DENY LEGALITY OF CHANGE.

Meanwhile the letter which Sir William had sent to New York on Jan. 2, for some reason, did not reach there until Feb. 12, and Governor Fletcher "did recommend to the Councel to meet this After noon (13th) to Consult of a Letter from Sir William Phips dated the 2nd of January come to Hand yesterday, with a printed Copy of the New England Charter, and to him give their Opinion under their Hands concerning Martha's Vineyard."[2] This they did, and rendered the following opinion the same day: —

His Excellency Ben: Fletcher &c this day having recommended to our Consideration a Letter from Sir William Phips, dated 2d of January last came to Hand yesterday with a printed Copy of their Ma'ties L'tres Patent for erecting and Incorporating the Province of Massachusetts Bay in New England, not attested, concerning Martin's Vineyard and desiring our Advice: Upon Perusall of the said printed Copy having duly Considered the same and the Platt of New England before us, we doe finde that the North Halfe of the Isles of Shoals opposite to the mouth of Piscataqua River and the Isles of Capoag and Nantuckett to the Westward of Cape Cod are nominally included in the said Grant and in more general words all Islands and Inletts lyeing within ten Leagues directly opposite to the Maine Land; within the Bounds of the said L'tres Patent, which we are informed are many hundreds. And we are humbly of the Opinion that forasmuch as their Ma'ties have ascertained the North Halfe of the Isles of Shoals to the Massachusetts Bay leaving the South Half to the Province of New Hampshire and the Islands of Capoag and Nantuckett to the Massachusetts Bay, both which are to the Westward of Cape Cod, which is the southermost Bounds of their Patent, they can have noe pretence by the said

[1]Council Records, VI, 42 (Mass.). This ridiculous and harmless farce went no further. Governor Fletcher did not make his spring visit to the Vineyard, and Sir William undertook no sanguinary procedures to defend his frontier.

[2]Council Minutes, VI, 165 (N. Y.).

L'tres Patent to Martin's Vineyard or any other Island to the Westward of Nantuckett, which we humbly submitt and desire your Excellency will be pleased to recommend the same to their Ma'ties by their Secr'y of State for their Decision in that affair.[1]

The arguments advanced by the members of the governor's council were technical, and in the absence of direct knowledge from the home government, had some merit. It is difficult to understand why the Secretary of State had not informed the New York authorities of the change of jurisdiction in the case of the Vineyard. The interpretation of the charter rested entirely upon the intent of the persons forming the conference at London in 1691, the agents of Massachusetts, and the members of the government detailed to draw up the document. But the New York officials were justified in holding an adverse position to the claims of Massachusetts on the ground of nomenclature and geography, as well as lack of due notice from the home office. Governor Fletcher adopted the report of his council and sent all the correspondence which had passed between him and Phips, with the opinion of the council, to London the following day. His letter is as follows: —

New York February 14, 1692-3

Sir:

The papers I send with this will take more time to peruse than I doubt you can spare from Affaires of more weight and moment. They will shew you that I am placed by a very ill neighbour, who while I am laboring to compose and heal the wounds of this Province, occasioned by the highest outrages which could be committed by men in the time of Leisler took upon himself the Government. Sr Wm. Phips, as will appear by these attested copies of a letter from a pardoned Criminal quotes Sir Wm. Phips for author, will shew you the sentiments and Principalls of that knight; he has seized upon Martins Vineyard, which has ever been a part of this Government; it is neither named in their Chartar nor his Commission: those people hold all their lands by the seal of this Province, and have contributed to our publick charge for the defence of Albany, yett I must not levy warr against him, though provoked by his unmannerly letter to meet him there, which I would chearfully doe, but I hope to see him when without prejudice to their Majesties Interests (I can) assert our Resentment.[2]

[1]N. Y. Col. Mss. (Council Minutes, VI, 165).

[2]N. Y. Col. Doc., IV, 2.

CHAPTER XVII.

The Island under Puritan Control.

The position of the New York authorities was the one privately held by the chief magistrate of the Vineyard. He had accepted the new regime with a mental reservation, for the sake of holding his position, but from subsequent events it is clear that Matthew Mayhew did not intend to adopt his new masters while there was yet hope that some flaw, fatal to the Massachusetts charter, could be found. Accordingly, when the warrants for the annual election of a representative for the General Court to be held in June, 1693, came to the constable of Edgartown, Mayhew decided to send one of the family from his home town, in combination with the pocket borough of Tisbury Manor, or Chilmark, as it had come to be called, to Boston as a matter of form. Benjamin Smith, his brother-in-law, was selected as the person for this mission, as "messenger" to the General Court. The Edgartown records, under date of May 1, 1693, give the following information on this matter: —

> Then the freeholders made choice of Major Mayhew and Mr Joseph Norton for to give instruction to the messenger in behalf of the public affair or concerns of the place whom they shall put in trust with these instructions that they shall give them to His Excellency the Governor of Boston and the Assembly there met in behalf of themselves as aforesaid.

Two weeks later, the records contain an entry that "Whereas they find themselves in many respects not able to send an Assembly man to Represent them according to writ," the town of Edgartown voted to join with Chilmark in electing a person who shall receive instructions from both towns. This plan was evidently an evasion. It was strange that Edgartown could not comply with the warrant, and Chilmark could; and the use of the term "messenger" shows how every chance was utilized to save the technical standing against the Massachusetts government. The record goes on to say that "the freeholders of Chilmark made choice of Mr Sarson and Mr Allen for to give Instructions to the messenger above Ritten May the 15th 1693: then ware Votes or papers of the freeholders of Edgartown and the freeholders of Chilmark

ware opened and Mr. Benjamin Smith is made choyce of for the messenger In behalf of themselves as above written."[1]

MAYHEW'S ACQUIESCENCE INSINCERE.

The subterfuge of electing Benjamin Smith of Edgartown to represent Chilmark and receive his "instructions" from Major Mayhew and Richard Sarson may be understood when it is known that, at that time, there were not more than a half-dozen families resident in Chilmark. As a separate "town," however, it answered the purpose of Mayhew to impress the governor and general court with his numerical strength on the island. The instructions to the "messenger" were completed, and are of the greatest interest from a political and historical standpoint. They were formulated in the following paper, which Smith presented to the governor: —

> To his Excellency Sir William Phips, Knt, Capt Gen'll and Governor in Cheife of their Majesties Province of the Massachusetts Bay in New England, the Honourable Council & Representatives now convened in General Assembly:

first I am according to the instructions given me from the townes of Edgartown & Chilmarke on Marthas vine-yard humbly to represent to your honours that our expectation is that we shall be secured in the enjoyments of such rights as we were privileged with the Government we were last belonging to by the goodness and bounty of their Majesties Royal Predecessors which we conceive hath been endeavored to be innovated by some persons amongst ourselves, more particularly: we have been priviledged with an act of assembly from New Yorke wherein Marthas Vineyard, Nantucket, Elizabeth Isles & Nomans-land was united into one County and we suppose not-with-standing some otherwise are Inclined that if it may so abide it will be most for their majesties Interest and good of their subjects.

2dly I am to shew that it seemed grevious to us that we seem to be named in divers acts of the assembly here by a name in no waies acknowledged by us and we hope it will not seem strange if it be considered that we ought not to be ejected out of our freehold without triall which is the direct consequence as we conceive of acknowledging that name.

3 ly I am to shew to yo'r Hon'rs that if an act be made that whereas in the divers acts mentioning Marthas Vineyard Alias Capowack, If it be inserted Marthas Vineyard and Capowick it will be more satisfactory to our people.

4 ly I am to shew that we acknowledge ourselves no wise included in the Charter of the Massachusetts Province but as being an Island lying within ten leaugs of the Maine.

5 ly I am to move that the records of our lands and evidences may not be liable to be removed hence where they have allwayes been keept by

[1]Edgartown Records, I, 33, 34.

comission from their Majesties Royall predecessors as being the principal place in the County and most convenient for all who may be concerned.

6 ly I am to move that respecting the different surcomstances these Islands lye under considered with the rest of the province we could humbly request that the former act against selling strong drink to the Indians may be enacted for these Islands.

Your hon'rs humble servant in behalfe of the towne of Edgartown and Chillmarke on Marthas Vineyard,[1]

BENJAMIN SMITH

It made no particular difference to the Massachusetts officials whether the island came in as Capawick, Martin's or Martha's Vineyard, or as "an Island lying within ten leaugs of the Maine," it was in, and they went right ahead to provide laws for its proper government. It is not thought that Tisbury was represented at this court, and Simon Athearn apparently rested on his oars. The General Court passed, on June 13, 1693, a comprehensive act to confirm all titles to property on the Vineyard, at this session, in order to quiet any misapprehensions arising from the change of jurisdiction. The text of this law is as follows: —

That all lands, tenemants, hereditaments and other estate held and enjoyed by any person or persons, towns or villages within the said island of Capawock alias Marthas Vineyard . . . . by or under any grant or estate duely made or granted by any former government or by the successive governors of New York or any lawful right or title whatsoever, shall be by such person or persons, towns or villages, their respective heirs, successors and assigns, forever hereafter held and enjoyed accordingly to the true purport and intent of such respective grant, under and subject nevertheless to the rents and services thereby reserved or made payable; and are hereby ratified and confirmed as fully and amply, to all intents, constructions and purposes, as the lands in any other parts or places within this Province by virtue of their Majesties Royal Charter.[2]

THE MAYHEWS FINALLY ACCEPT THE NEW ORDER.

The New York authorities found that the claims of the Province of Massachusetts Bay to jurisdiction over Martha's Vineyard were well founded, and undertook no further obstruction towards the new order of things. The Mayhew faction had no support from their old masters, and with as good grace as possible they settled down to make the best of it, and save as much as they could out of the wreck. The

[1]Mass. Archives, CXII, 453.

[2]Acts and Resolves, I, 117–8.

next year Matthew Mayhew had himself elected as representative to the General Court for Edgartown, and was thus able to deal personally with anything that might come up inimical to his interests.

The first matter that presented itself was a petition of Tisbury to be made one town with Chilmark, and the entire west end of the island. The petition reads as follows: —

> To his Excelency Sir William Phips Knight Capt'n Gener'll and Governor of the province of the massachusetts Bay, the honorable Councel And Representatives assembled:—
>
> Right honourable
>
> We your most humble petitioners the freeholders And Inhabitants of the town of Tisbury on marthas Vineyard humbly pray that an act may pass that Tisbury & Chilmark and the dependances with the westerly end of the Island of marthas Vineyard be made one town or parrash for the better Carrying on all publique affaires there. So shall both and our posterity Ever give thanks And pray for your prosperous Government.
>
> Voted at a leagel town meeting held in the Township of Tisbury by the freeholders Inhabitants of said Tisbury this 21 day of march 1694.
>
> forasmuch that our town Clark is at present from home The abvoe written is signed by me PETER ROBINSON
>
> Constable of Tisbury.[1]

This was one of Athearn's pet schemes, and had undeniable merit. It was an absurd situation for three small communities, Tisbury, Chilmark, and the Gay Head region, to exist as separate precincts, having altogether not over three dozen white families in them, but it was against the policy of Mayhew to permit disintegration of his political structure and his family control of the west end through his manorial privileges. Nothing came of this petition at this time. Later in the year, on October 20th, Athearn thought to interest the General Court in his project by drawing a map showing "how the Iland of marthas vineyard is devided," and at the same time adding further comments on the advantages of consolidation. "Alreedy there ar Commission officers in the milterry over the foote Cumpeny of tisbury and Chillmark," he wrote, and added, "its a rare thing to Acomplish any thing without error: But if Major Mayhew do deny the substanc of what I here offer to be true I humbly pettition oppertunity face to face to defend the truth above written." The two men were at the General Court together, and the duel was continu-

[1]This vote is not on the town records, one of the portions probably lost. It was certified by Robert Cathcart, as clerk, on May 3, 1694. (Mass. Archives, CXIII, 58.)

ous. Athearn renewed his petition on the same day, in the form of an endorsement on his map. It is worth reprinting entire.

October the 20, 1694

I proposing to Major mayhew yesterday that Tisbury & Chilmark might be made one for the better carrying on all publique affairs there &c it being absolutely deny'd, moveth your suplycant humbly praying this honorable house that an act might passe That all lands on the north side of Chilmark & on the westerly of Chilmark including all the west end of marthas vineyard be made payable in all publique tax & rats To the Town of Tisbury:—if this be granted—Chilmark will soon petition to be one with tisbury—if major mayhew object this I say it seems as Expedient as for Chilmark to Jump over tisbury to Chikkemoo & to Jump over the Sound — to Elzebeths Ils—the end of this motion is to heal our being cut in peces, and to reduce us all in to a competent Township to maintain the worship of God & serve our King & Cuntry which is the prayer of your most humble supplycant

SIMON ATHEARN

major mayhew is only a Representative for Edgartown.[1]

The answer to this petition was simple and to the point, for it lacked one essential qualification, that "it takes two to make a bargain." The General Court, on Oct. 23, said as follows: —

In answer to the Petition of Mr Simon Athearn in the behalfe of tisbury, voted that when the whole Town of Chilmark they desire may be annext to them shall Request the same the Court may then consider of the granting of the same: and as to his proposal to abaten of their Tax Rate he not having yet made it appear that they are over Rated there can not be any abatement yet made.[2]

The reference to the abatement of taxes for Tisbury was in response to continued complaints of Athearn that that town was over taxed, as compared to Chilmark, or Tisbury Manor. He had said to the General Court that the province levy "will be very greevious to the pore of tisbury, and more espetialy to my knowledge the most of them have not raised their bread corn this present yeare." As he viewed the valuable farms in the Manor of Tisbury, paying but nominal rates on account of the peculiar tenure of the land, he waxed hot and indignant, "being senceable of the enequality." So when the session was finished, Athearn returned home and prepared himself for a campaign upon the lines indicated by the legislature. Continued defeats did not seem to discourage him.

[1]Mass. Archives, CVI, 94–6.
[2]Ibid., CXIII, 58.

The freeholders of his township were called to consider the subject a month later, and passed the following vote: —

November the 21 day 1694 it is agreed and voted at a legal town meeting that mr Simon Athern Thomas Look John Edy Joseph daggit & peter Robinson are Chosen a Commity for the Town of tisbury for to draw up a petition to the general assembly for an Easment of their tax and for an addition of Lands unsetled to their township [1]

In opposition to this, when the petition was given a hearing before the committee of the General Court in the following March (1694–5), Mayhew appeared and argued that Tisbury was not overtaxed, and that her lands were undervalued. Athearn answered this both before the council and the committees, and in writing in a petition drawn up for the consideration of the General Court. By this time Phips had been recalled to London for unsatisfactory conduct, similar to that which we have already seen, and the document was addressed to the deputy governor.[2] From a perusal of the document, it will be seen that the manorial system of land tenure was at the bottom of the controversy about the inequality of the tax rates. Aside from the objections to the manorial system as a discredited institution, there arose an intensely practical objection to its existence, as developed under the management of the surviving lord of the manor.

This province had laid certain general levies upon the towns for the support of the troops and other expenses growing out of the various expeditions against the French and Indians, and these taxes were based upon the valuations of lands. The lands in the manor being held by the lord and rented out, the basis of valuation was made upon the rentals produced, and as the greater part of these lands were leased to the members of the Mayhew family, the rents were nominal, or made so purposely, to depress the valuation for the assessors. It can readily be seen how this would work an injustice, especially where the judicial machinery remained in the hands of the men who were perpetrating the scheme. The following is the literal text of the petition presented by Athearn: —

To the honerable Lentnt Governor & Council & Represenaties assembled in Generall Court in Boston the 12 day of March 1694-5.

Your most humble petitioner, In most humble manner sheweth Being desired by the freeholders of Tisbury on Marthas Vineyard, To move the

[1] Tisbury Records, p. 26.

[2] The occupant of the position at this time was William Stoughton.

consideration of theire most humble petition &c. And having much debated the matter, before the honored Comitty, about the disproportion of the province Taxes on marthas vineyard, major mayhew saying that Tisbury had undervalued their Lands may be[1] admier'd, seeing, that major mayhew knoweth himself and his Breatherin only, did produce Leasees of their farms Lett for about forty or fifty shillings by the year, of the which honest Renters would give above Four times the value for by the year. To consider that major mayhew his breatherin and kindred say their lands and Estates is only in Edgertown & Chilmark or precincts, where those farms was so let by Lease, one Brother to another & from the uncle to the Cousen & from the cousen to the uncle. At length major penn Townsin made sum Eaquell proposals, for the better satisfiing of the Inhabitants for the futor &c.

And your humble supplicant prayeth the honnered house to pass an Act, That There shall be six assessors Chosen, that is, two of Each Town on marthas vineyard & under oath to take a Tru List of all Rateable persons & Estates on marthas vineyard & precincts, And to make one assessment on the whole observing the Law of apprisals of all Estates. And when the dew proportion ariseing in each town is found and devided, the major part agreeing, To deliver the assessment of each town or precincts to the constable of each town to Colect the same. And this Act to take place for the assessment of the province Tax to be payed in June 1695,—be a Rulle for Raising all province taxis on the vineyard, for the futor, And that the town of Tisbury bee enlarged by annexing the Lands & Inhabitants as the humble petition prayeth—But if the honnered House would please To make Tisbury & Chilmark & precincts, to be one Town or parrosh for the better carrying on all publique affairs there (it might be much for our peace And well being) for want of such an able settlement, our foundation is out of fram, being in peces, what Can we doe, but praying your Aid, And for your prosperous Government, Is the desier of your most humble suplycant.[2]

SIMON ATHEARN.

Indeed, the matter of taxation under the new government was becoming a serious matter. When the island was under the New York jurisdiction, the taxation was practically limited to the quit-rents, as far as any other evidence is now obtainable, and the change was felt very severely by the farmers of Martha's Vineyard, as soon as the change occurred. Massachusetts had undergone great expenses in the recent wars, and the ordinary disbursements for provincial accounts current were much larger than in any other colony. In a total levy of £10,000 for New York, the two islands of Nantucket and Martha's Vineyard would be assessed fifty pounds, while by the act of June 17, 1696, the General Court of Massachusetts made a tax levy of £30,000, and "doomed" the Vineyard alone to pay £350 of the total amount. This was almost

[1]Manuscript mutilated.

[2]Mass. Arch., CXIII, 111.

confiscation in the minds of the people here, and Matthew Mayhew, who that year again represented Edgartown and Chilmark combined, was the medium for the transmission of petitions for the abatement of taxes. Already they were in arrears for rates levied since the union with Massachusetts. He preferred the following petition for relief: —

> To the honoured William Stoughton, Lft Gov'r, the honoured Council and Assembly of the great and generall Court of the Massachusetts Bay in New England:—

Matthew Mayhew of Marthas Vineyard representing the towns of Edgartown and Chilmark on the said Marthas Vineyard humbly prayeth:

That whereas the inhabitants of the said Marthas Vineyard were by an act passed in this great and generall Court doomed to pay the summe of three hundred pounds as their proportion of a tax or assessment for raising the summe of thirty thousand pounds to be raised in this province and whereas the inhabitants of said Island Marthas Vineyard have prayed that the said summe should not be collected for divers reasons therefore offered: and whereas they humbly conceive that by reason of said doom they have been estimated as more of estate lyeable to bear the charge of the province then had their Estates been truly known would have been of them demanded:—Therefore said Matthew Mayhew in behalf of said Island prayeth that an act of this great and generall Court the summe of three hundred pounds be remitted and they shall more chearfully pay the severall summes now due demanded of them: all which your petitioner humbly laying before this great and generall Court humbly prayeth for and shall ever pray &c.

Your honours humble supplicant
MATTHEW MAYHEW

June 17th, 1696

In the House of Representatives:

Read:—Voted in answer to abovesaid petition that—

		Marthas Vineyard be abated out of their proportion
Edgartown	65- 0	of the £30,000 Tax: all their former part of s'd Tax
Chilmark	42-10	with as much of the last part as will amount to two
Tisbury	42-10	hundred pounds (their whole porportion being three hundred and fifty pound).

Read in Council June 17, 1696 and voted concurrance.[1]

This total amount of £350 had been assessed on the three towns between Sept. 14, 1694, and June 17, 1696, of which amount Edgartown was rated for £153, Tisbury and Chilmark, each £98. At the date mentioned in the petition, Edgartown was in arrears £80, Tisbury £60, and Chilmark £31; and in the equalization of the arrearages Tisbury was

[1]Mass. Archives, XIII, 137.

favored by the committee, at the expense of the Major's town, and Simon Athearn could score a victory over his ancient enemy.[1] But it was not a satisfactory situation for either side, as the taxes were so much in excess of what they had previously paid, that it touched the pockets as the well as sentiments of the freeholders. Nantucket felt it equally burdensome, and in September of the same year, its representative, James Coffin, joined with Matthew Mayhew in a petition for an abatement of their entire allotment in the "thirty thousand pound tax" and asked, in addition, an appropriation of fifty pounds each for military purposes in erecting fortifications, because of their exposed position on the coast, and their constant necessities of maintaining defensive operations and guards against the armed vessels of the French. The petition was granted by the General Court, the abatement allowed, and the sum asked for to be used in military works under the supervision of the commander of the forces.[2] During the three years which followed before the close of the 17th century, nothing of political note occurred worthy of mention.

Although maintaining an attitude of superficial allegiance to the Massachusetts jurisdiction, Matthew Mayhew privately wished for the return of the "good old times," when there was no one to supervise his authority with effectiveness, when lordships were to be had for the asking, and six barrells of fish paid their rates, if he could remember to send a sloop with them "to be delivered at the Bridge" in Manhattan, once a year. When the Major thought of these things his gorge rose within him, and not being a man hitherto subjected to restraint in things temporal or spiritual, his choler occasionally found vent in vigorous language. On one such time, according to the testimony of Joseph Marion, when conversation turned upon the provincial councillors of Massachusetts, the Major broke forth, and said "if they did not Repent of their unjust actions & extortions, their gray beards would never go to their graves in peace & said they all deserved to be kickt into the dock." Marion tried to calm the excited chief justice, and "reproved him" for his uncivil words. "Com, Com, Major," he said, "youl run into your old strain, a dun with this discorc." But the Major was not

[1] In a letter to the Speaker of the House, dated June 6, 1697, Mayhew lost his temper at the charges of Athearn that there was inequality of assessment in favor of Edgartown, and offered "to pay back to them their whole assessment" out of his own pocket if it should be so decided by the House. (Mass. Arch. LI 69).

[2] Mass. Archives, LXX, 298.

to be restrained. "The Government of this Country" he continued, "is the worst government in the world," and in his rage poured out such a torrent of contemptuous opinions that his listener could not "remember the particular words that he then spake, yet at other times he hath heard him sayd Mayhew speak words to the same effect or worse referring to his Ma'tis Government in this Province." It was not a day when such opinions could be uttered with impunity, and the irate head of the house of Mayhew and Lord of the Manor of Tisbury had to answer for this "freedom of speech." He probably forgot that he was no longer in command of the island kingdom, and could not do and say what he pleased.

> "That in the captain's but a choleric word,
> Which in the soldier is flat blasphemy."

CHAPTER XVIII.

Political History of the Vineyard, 1700–1900

By the opening of the 18th century, the political relations of the island to its new foster mother had become settled, and the proprietary family gradually "came back to its own" in the official control of its destinies. The beginning of this century also marked the development of the Vineyard in material wealth and increase of population. It had come to be known as a part of Massachusetts now, and residents of the "Bay" colony were more ready to seek homes here than when it was under the distant jurisdiction of New York. The deaths of Major Matthew Mayhew, in 1710, and of Simon Athearn, in 1715, removed from the arena of personal and political strife the two great contestants for the mastery of the island, and henceforth there was internal peace. There was no one to take up the fallen lance so long held by Athearn, and the sons and grandsons of the Major had none of his choleric temperament or domineering methods. However, they were none the less successful in obtaining the lucrative and influential offices, as in 1718, for example, two of them were appointed at one time justices of the Superior Court and Court of Probate.

NEW YORK AGAIN ASSERTS HER CLAIMS.

A generation had grown up since the transfer of the island from the jurisdiction of the province of New York, and doubtless most of the residents of the Vineyard supposed that province had abandoned all pretensions to material interests on the island. They were suddenly awakened one day in the year 1723, by a demand for the payment of the ancient quit-rents due under the charters of 1671, granted by Lovelace. That this was a startling demand can be readily understood, and served as a reminder to the older generation of the times when they used to send a few barrels of fish to New York as tribute to the Duke's government — when they happened to remember it. The following documents were served upon the officials of the Vineyard: —

Att a Council held att Fort Georges in New York
April the 19th, 1723.
Present: his Excelency William Burnit, Esqr.
Coll: Beekman Mr. Harison
Mr. Vandam Mr. Alexander
Mr. Barberie

Rip Vandam Esq'r Chairman of the Committee to whom was Refered the memorial of Archibald Kennedy Esq'e Receiver Gen" of this Province Setting forth that the owners or tenants in possession of the Severall Islands belonging to this government in the Sound and to the Eastward of said Island have for a long time delaid to pay the Quitt Rents reserved in their Pattents and that he is Loath to Commence actions against them for the Same without giving them Solem notis to pay them in, and praying an order of this board to pay unto him their Quitt Rents that thereby they might save themselves from Legal prosecutions Being Commenced against them for the same, humbly reported to his Excellancy and this bord that an order be granted according to the desire thereof:

ORDERED that notis to the owners and tenants of the several Islands in memorial mentioned to pay in their Quitt Rents to the said Receiver Gen" without further delay and that upon their neglect the said Receiver Gen" will proceed against them by due course of Law for the Recovery of the same which will be to them no small charge: and that the Clark of the Council or his deputy do prepare Circular Letters to be sent to them.

By order of his Excelancy in Councill:

J. BOBINOR d.c. Council.[1]

Copies of this circular letter reached the hands of Paine Mayhew in June of this year, and the effect was most disturbing to the land-owners of the island, who had supposed that the transfer of the sovereignty, in 1692, from New York to Massachusetts had quieted all other claims dependent upon acknowledgments of lordships. He at once communicated the circular to the Massachusetts authorities, with the following letter explanatory of the matter: —

May itt please your hon'rs

Yesterday came to my hand a pacquite of papers dyrected: On his Maj's Service Loyal Inhabitants of Martins Vineyard holding Lands of the Crown under the Government of New York:—and when I had opened the papers I found a Letter as herein enclosed and three other papers of the same tenure and date as the copy enclosed will show &c:—and least it should be Construed some way or other to asert the affaires of the present Constitution of government that we are now under I thought proper to

[1]Mass. Archives, IV, 88. It is difficult to understand how the New York authorities fell into this technical error Probably some one unfamiliar with the legal history of the Province had instituted these proceedings.

send them to y'r hon'rs and if anything of that nature should be thought I pray your hon'rs advice in the affaire.

And subscribe your hon'rs
most humble servant
PAIN MAYHEW

Marthas vineyard
June the 10th, 1723.
post: we were formerly under New York Government and hold our grants from thence under Certain Quit Rents but have paid none since we were under the Massachusetts Government.[1]

What answer the Massachusetts authorities made to Mayhew is not known, but it may be surmised that he was counselled to take no further notice of the demands, as they were in the nature of pretensions to jurisdiction, which had passed from New York thirty years ago. But notices of this kind act as clouds upon titles, and the freeholders of Edgartown, who were always "loyal" to the New York authorities, while they were under that jurisdiction, could not rest content to let the matter go by default, so, after some months, a meeting was held, Jan. 17, 1723–4, by those land-owners of the town who felt that some settlement of these claims should be made. Accordingly, they passed the following vote: —

Ajourned to the 18th Voted and Chose John Butler Jr. Agent to go to New York, in order to represent them in the affair concerning the quit rents as demanded by the government of said New York, as by the letters lately received with reference thereto. And further to act and do all things necessary in said affair.

And futher Voted the said John Butler shall have five Shillings a day, for every day he shall expend in said affair: and to pay him for all the copies that he shall bring from off the Records at said York.[2]

JOHN BUTLER ARRESTED IN NEW YORK.

In pursuance of their plan, John Butler, Junior, of Edgartown, repaired to New York to have a conference with the authorities there over the situation, and taking advantage of his presence in their jurisdiction, they arrested him, as a preliminary to legal proceedings, looking to the recovery of sundry barrels of "merchantable codfish," perhaps a hundred in the total. It is not entirely understood, whether the New York officials merely wanted the value of the "acknowledgment," or used it as a technical method of reasserting their

[1]Mass. Archives, IV, 89.
[2]Edgartown Records, I, 130.

claims to jurisdiction over the Vineyard, which they never had formally waived, as we have seen. William Backman, a mariner of New York, has left us a statement of the experiences of Butler, in his diplomatic mission to that city. He states that Butler was "as an agent There for the Proprietary of Edgar Town . . . . In order to settle and Adjust the Quitt Rents . . . . and s'd Butler being Remanded into Custody and kept by an officer under Command on account of the Rents & services due from s'd Edgar Town to the Government of New York." He further stated that Butler gave a bond to Mr. Archibald Kennedy, Receiver General of New York, and that he "had good reason to Judge that s'd Butler was in a greate manner compelled to do it." How long John Butler remained "in durance vile" is not known, but it is probable that as all the facts were better known by the New York authorities and the futility of their continued pretensions to Massachusetts territory was impressed upon them, they gave up the pursuit of these arrears of rentals and acknowledgments, and ever after nursed their grievances in silence. It is stated in a contemporary history "that some of the Freeholders of those Islands, (Nantucket, Marthas Vineyard and Elizabeth Islands), when occasionally in New York, were arrested for the arrears of the general Quit-Rents of these Islands," but beyond the occasion just cited the author has not found the record of any other arrest for the purposes stated.[1]

MICAJAH MAYHEW ASSERTS HIS LORDSHIP.

But this was not the final flicker of the old order of things. The ghosts of the "quit rents" and "acknowledgments" were followed by an equally anachronistic pretension — the attempted revival of the ancient manorial privileges, as appertaining to the eldest line of descent from the first Lord of the Manor of Martha's Vineyard. This was represented in the person of Micajah Mayhew of Edgartown, the eldest grandson of Major Matthew, who began to assert his "Lordship" as early as 1730, and proceeded to lease out lands and grant "rights" over that already in possession, as Lord of the Manor of Martha's Vineyard.[2] Thus no sooner were the people recovered from the sight of the quit-rent ghost than

[1]Douglass, Summary, II, 236.
[2]Deeds, V, 121.

their dreams were troubled by spectres of Lords of the Manor, in jack boots and doublets, straddling their ridge poles and haunting their broad acres. As an example of the effect this situation had upon tenures and the fee of property, a clause from a deed of the period may testify. It is a warranty deed in which the grantor undertakes to defend the title "from all & every excepting only what claim any of the family of the Mayhews by Surname may Challenge."[1] In Chilmark, where this family was numerically strong and influential and held to the traditions of their ancestral rights, there was acquiescence in these pretensions, and the custom of paying quit-rents was continued as late as 1732 by one of the family to the Lord of the Manor of Tisbury.[2] These acknowledgments were trifling in value, a lamb, an ear of corn, a peck of wheat, and the like annually, but aside from its annoyance to the actual owners, it was effecting a perpetuation of a legal and social solecism, repugnant to the sentiments of freemen and democrats. For twenty years, however, this spectacle was enacted by Micajah Mayhew, until in 1750 the men of Tisbury, tired of the mummery, revolted and asserted their independence of manorial and other lords in the following decisive language: —

And for as much as Severall Persons have of Late assumed to Sett up themselves as Lord Propriators in Opposition to the Ancient settled constitution and Continued Practice in said Town to the Great Disturbance and Disquietment of sd Town in their Ancient Peacable order:

Now therefore we the subscribers hereunto the Present Propriators and Freeholders of all the Common & undivided Lands & Meadows Lying within the Bounds of sd Tisbury as Derived from the ancient Inhabitants being settled in sixteen Shares, are Determined to Assert Maintain uphold and Pursue the settled order Rights & Priviledges to us belonging against all the usurpers Pretenders underminers of the said settled order and Do now Covenant agree & Ingage to and with Each other for the future Even from & ever after the Date of these Presents to stand by Assist & uphold Each other in the cost & charges that shall arise in or aboat their Rights of Propriaty in sd Commons or undivided Lands or Meadows as aforesaid According to Each Propriators Interest in all causes brought or that may be brought for or against them by any Person or Persons whatsoever Pretending to hold any of the sd Lands or meadows in any other way.[3]

This was subscribed by the shareholders representing the several shares of the original. At a later meeting they

[1]Manter to Waldron, March 5, 1735. Deeds, VI, 81.
[2]Ibid., VI, 56.
[3]Tisbury Records, 132. Meeting was held April 3, 1751.

voted to employ "one or more Attorney or Attorneys" to act with Jabez Athearn in the maintenance of their legal rights. It is believed that Experience Mayhew also made some pretensions to Lordship privileges over the Quansoo region where he lived, as representing the line of John, its first proprietor, of which a hint is found in the same town's proceedings.[2]

Nothing further came of it. Experience died in 1758, and two years later Micajah, the last of the Lords of the Manor, was laid to rest with his ancient pretensions.

THE STAMP ACT.

The passage of the Stamp Act by Parliament in 1765, by which the colonists were required to use stamps on all legal documents and newspapers, ranging in value from a half-penny to ten pounds, aroused the people to a practically unanimous resistance, and thus precipitated the campaign against "taxation without representation," which had its final arbitrament by the sword in the Revolutionary struggle. Although Parliament repealed this obnoxious statute the next year, yet it was followed by another in 1767, imposing duties on glass, paper, paints, and tea, the revenue from which was to pay for the billeting of the king's troops in the country. The people were in no better temper to accept this amended form of taxation than before, and Samuel Adams accurately expressed the sentiments of the colonists when he bound himself with others to "eat nothing, drink nothing, wear nothing" imported from England.

Parliament again receded from its position, and removed the duties from every article except tea, which was placed at a nominal rate, not for the sake of revenue, but to maintain the right of Parliament to impose taxes on the colonies.

News having reached Boston that two regiments were on their way from Halifax for that city, and an officer having been sent by General Gage from New York to provide quarters for these troops, a town meeting was held Sept. 12, and Governor Bernard was urgently asked to summon a new General Court. Acting under instructions, the governor refused. It was thereupon proposed to hold a convention in Boston — "in consequence of prevailing apprehensions of a war with France" — so they phrased the reason of calling the

[1]Tisbury Records, 130. Under date of 1749.

convention, and the meeting advised, significantly enough, all persons to provide themselves with firearms at the earliest moment, and to observe a day of fasting and prayer. Delegates from more than a hundred towns met accordingly on the 22d of September, and petitioned the governor to summon a General Court. Bernard refused peremptorily, and besides, denounced their meeting as treasonable. Disclaiming all pretensions to political authority, the convention, after a four days' session, agreed upon a petition to the king, and sent a letter to the province agent in England, to defend themselves against the charge of a rebellious spirit. "Such," says a historical writer, "was the first of those popular conventions, destined within a few years to assume the whole political authority of the colonies."[1] Chilmark was the only town on the island to send a delegate to this, the first convention of the people of the Commonwealth.

The following vote was passed at a town meeting held Sept. 27, 1768: —

"Voted that Mr. Joseph Mayhew be the Person to join with the Convention now Seting in Boston in order that such measures may be Consulted and advised as his majestyes Service and the Peace and Safety of his Subjects in this Province may require."

This was the first step in the dissolution of the bonds that fastened the colonies to the home government.

LATER HISTORY.

The political and general history of the Vineyard as a whole, during the subsequent years, merit not much space and but little reference to details. The special events of the French and Indian wars, the Revolution and other military matters, will be dealt with in a separate section. Henceforth, its relations with Massachusetts were no different from that of any other integral part of the Commonwealth, and the legislation for it as a whole was of the ordinary character found in the rest of the laws passed by the General Court. It covers mainly enactments concerning the Indians, taxes, excise, judicial arrangements, and the like, which will be treated under their respective subjects. In a political sense it has no special annals of its own as distinct unto itself. At the adoption of the Federal Constitution in 1788, the county

[1]Bancroft, "History of the United States," II, 97.

had two delegates to the convention. In the political divisions of the state, the island was classed with Nantucket and Barnstable, under the State Constitution of 1780, forming one senatorial district. This situation has existed ever since, and in the one hundred and twenty years of the maintenance of the Union, the Vineyard has furnished the senator in but twenty-eight of them, or less than one quarter of the time. The following is a list of the senators and other general officers who have represented the island in its political affairs from 1780 to 1900: —

SENATORS.

The following named persons have served this county in the State Senate for the district of which this island is a part, since 1780: —

1784	Beriah Norton,	(E)	1848	Thomas Bradley,	(T)
1787-8-9	Matthew Mayhew,	(C)	1852	Daniel Fisher,	(E)
1793-4	William Jernegan,	(E)	1853	Benjamin Manter,	(C)
1799	Benjamin Allen,	(T)	1855	Ivory H. Lucas.	(E)
1801	Benjamin Allen,	(T)	1859-60	Ichabod N. Luce,	(E)
1822	Jethro Daggett,	(E)	1871-2	Charles Bradley,	(T)
1836	Leavitt Thaxter,	(E)	1884-5-6	Howes Norris,	(C.C.)
1841-2	Thomas Bradley,	(T)	1895-6-7-8	William A. Morse,	(T)
1847	Leavitt Thaxter,	(E)			

COUNCILLORS.

The following named persons have served this county as members of the governor's council since 1780: —

1839	Leavitt Thaxter,	(E)
1855-6	Daniel Davis,	(E)
1863-4	Samuel Osborne, Jr.,	(E)

PRESIDENTIAL ELECTORS.

The following named persons have been elected as presidential electors since the adoption of the Constitution: —

1804	John Davis,	(T)
1858	John Vincent,	(E)
1868	Richard L. Pease,	(E)

CONSTITUTIONAL CONVENTIONS.

Cornelius Dunham of Tisbury and William Mayhew of Edgartown represented this County in the convention of 1788.

Shubael Dunham of Tisbury and Thomas Cooke, Jr., of Edgartown represented this County in the convention of 1820.

Alfred Norton of Tisbury, Horatio Warren Tilton of Chilmark and Jeremiah Pease, Jr., of Edgartown represented this County in the convention of 1853.

CHAPTER XIX.

The Missionary Mayhews.

THOMAS MAYHEW, JR.

The first attempt to Christianize the natives of New England took place on Martha's Vineyard, three years before the famous "Apostle" Eliot began his work on the main land. It would be perhaps more interesting, if we could say that this initial essay of the younger Mayhew was undertaken with any deliberate purpose; or that the emigration to the island by the elder Mayhew from the settled portion of the country, had in it any ulterior designs of evangelistic work. The relations with the natives, on the part of the son, were undoubtedly of a circumstantial nature, and the growth of his interest in their religious development of an unpremeditated kind. This need not minimize his credit in the least, as it cannot lessen our admiration for the fine character of the labor he performed in an unknown field. The beginning of his interest in this sphere of usefulness is thus related by one who knew the subject thoroughly, from original investigation, only a short time after the events narrated, and his narrative will be quoted at length: —

His *English* Flock being then but small, the Sphere was not large enough for so bright a Star to move in. With great Compassion he beheld the wretched *Natives*, who then were *several thousands* on those Islands, perishing in utter Ignorance of the *true* GOD, and eternal Life, labouring under strange Delusions, Inchantments, and panick Fears of *Devils*, whom they most passionately worshipped.

He first endeavours to get acquainted with them, and then earnestly applies himself to learn their *Language*. He treats them in a condescending and friendly manner. He denys himself, and does his utmost to obligue and help them. He takes all Occasions to insinuate and show the sincere and tender Love and Goodwill he bare them; and as he grows in their Acquaintance and Affection, he proceeds to express his great Concern and Pity for their *immortal Souls*. He tells them of their deplorable Condition under the Power of malicious *Devils*, who not only kept them in Ignorance of those earthly good things, which might render their Lives in this World much more comfortable, but of those also which might bring them to eternal Happiness in the World to come; what a kind and mighty God the *English* served, and how the *Indians* might happily come into his Favour and Protection.

The first *Indian* that embraced the Motion of forsaking their false Gods, and adoring the true one, was *Hiacoomes*, which was in the Year

1643; an Account of whom we therefore have in the first of the foregoing *Examples*, This *Indian* living near the *English* Settlement, quickly grew into an Acquaintance with them. And being a Man of a sober, thoughtful, and ingenuous Spirit, he not only visited their Houses, but also their publick and religious Meetings; at which time Mr. *Mayhew* took particular Notice of him, discoursed often with him, invited him to his House every *Lord's-day* at Evening, gave him a clear Account of the Nature, Reasonableness, and Importance of the *Christian* Faith, and quickly brought him to a firm and resolute Adherence to it.

Mr. *Mayhew* having gained *Hiacoomes*, he first imploys him as a faithful Instrument to prepare his Way to the rest of the *Natives*, instructing him more and more in this new Religion, showing him how to recommend it to them, and answer all their Arguments and Objections against it. And then in 1644, he proceeds to visit and discourse them *himself*, carrying a greater and more irresistible Light and Evidence with him. And whereas at first he could not hope to be heard in *publick*, he therefore begins to instruct them in a more *private* way, sometimes going to the Houses of those he esteemed most rational and well qualified, and at other times treating with particular Persons.[1]

And as Mr. *Mayhew* endeavoured the Good of those Heathens, by discoursing with as many as were willing to have any Conference with him so with *Hiacoomes* in particular, whom he from time to time directed to communicate the Knowledge received to those that Mr. *Mayhew* could not so easily meet with. And thus they united their Counsels, and wrought together, and by the Blessing of GOD soon gained som others.

But that which especially favoured the Progress of Religion among them, was a *universal Sickness*, wherewith they were visited the *following Year;*[2] (1645) wherein it was observed by the Heathen *Indians* themselves, that those who hearkene to Mr. *Mayhew's* pious Instructions did not taste so deeply of it, and *Hiacoomes* and his Family in a manner nothing at all. This put the *Natives* who lived within six Miles of the *English*, upon serious Consideration about this Matter, being much affected, that he who had professed the *Christian* Religion, and had thereby exposed himself to much Reproach and Trouble, should receive more Blessings than they: where upon *Myoxeo* the chief Man of that Place, and *Towanquatick* the *Sagamore*, (a sovereign Prince), with many others sent for *Hiacoomes* to tell them what he knew of *the God* which the *English* worshipped.

At this very Meeting, which was in 1646, *Myoxeo* was happily enlightened, and turned to chuse and acknowledge *this God* for his own; and *Towanquatick* soon after, encouraged by some others, desired Mr. *Mayhew* to give them a publick Meeting, to make known to them the Word of GOD in their own Tongue: and, among other Incitements, addressed him thus,— *You shall be to us as one that stands by a running River, filling many Vessels; even so shall you fill us with everlasting Knowledge.* So Mr. *Mayhew* undertook to give them a Meeting once a Month;

[1] "Some of them could not endure the light he brought;" wrote Mayhew, while "some were more attentive to hear and more ready to follow the truth." (Whitfield, "Light Appearing," p. 5.)

[2] Mayhew called it "a very strange disease," and "laid the cause of all their wants, sickness, and death upon their departing from their old heathenish ways." (Ibid., p. 4.)

but as soon as the first Exercise was over, they desired it oftener than he well could attend: however, once a *Fortnight* was the settled Course; and this was the *first* publick Audience among them, so from thence both Mr. *Mayhew* on the Week-days Lecture, and *Hiacoomes* on the *Sabbaths*, were constantly heard in *publick* as long as they lived.[1]

A letter from the young missionary, the first which he wrote upon the subject which has been preserved, will repay perusal in full, to show how he expressed himself on the progress and methods at this time. It was written in the late fall of 1647, three years after the conversion of Hiacoomes: —

Mr. Mayhew's letter from Capawack Novem. 18, 1647.

Sir: The encouragements I have met withall touching the Indians conversion, next unto God's glory, and his gracious promises, was the notable reason, judgment, and capacitie that God hath given unto many of them, as also their zealous enquiry after true happiness, together with the knowledge I had of their tongue, besides severall providences which had advantaged my progresse therein, as for instance: —

such as cure by devillish sorcery and to whom the devil appears sometimes.

1. There was one *Iesogat*, about 60 years of age, who was sick of a consuming disease, inasmuch as the *Indian Pawwawes*, gave him over for a dead man: — Upon which resolution of all the *Pawwawees* in the Island, the sick distressed Heathen upon a Lord's day came unto mee, (the rest of the English being present), to desire me to pray unto God for him: And when I had, by reasoning with him, convinced him of the weaknesse and wickednesse of the *Pawwawees* power; and that if health were to be found, it must be had from him that gave life and health and all things; I recommended this case unto the Lord, whereof he rejoyced, gave me thanks, and he speedily recovered unto his former strength.

2. In this present year, 1647, the eldest sonne of one Pakapanessue, a great Sagamore of the Island, being very sick, took occasion to send for me to come unto him: and when I came unto him, I found him not more weak in body, than strong in earnest desire that I should pray unto God for him; so I instructed him and prayed for him: And when I had ended, of his own accord he spake these words: — *Taubot mannit nuh quam Covin*,[2] viz: I thank thee God, — I am heavy to sleep; and so I left holding forth good affections: — But shortly after he was changed altogether, and contrary to the perswasion of other Indians, of severall Townes, sought unto witches. The Heathen seeing this, they forsook the wigwam,[3] saying, We leave the house for the Devill, and them that would tarry; this newse being brought to me, I much marvailled at, yet sent him this message, viz. Tell *Saul*, (for the sick man was by the English so called,) that when I was with him, I thought, as I then told him, that be would live, because he sought for life unto the living God, where if any where it was to be found; but tell him now, that I think he will dye. I also added the example of *Ahaziah*, who because he had the knowledge

[3] **The Indians so call their homes.**

[1] Rev. Thomas Prince, in "Indian Converts," 280–292.

[2] The last word is a misprint for *koueu*, meaning, he sleeps. The letter was printed in London, and the spelling of Algonguian words was not an art at that time.

of the great God, and sought the inferiour God, God was angry with him, and killed with him: And so for that this Saul was informed of the true God, and is fallen from him to the earthen gods here below; that God will kill him also; and so it shortly came to passe.

3. Not long after a *Sagamore*,[1] called *Towanquattick*, had his eldest sonne whose name is *Sachachanimo*, very sick of a Feaver; this young man sent for to come unto him, and when I came his father and himself desired me to pray for him, the which I did in their owne language, and promised to come againe unto him shortly if he mended not, and use some other means also for his recovery; when I came again unto him, I found him very ill, asked him (together with his friends) whether they were willing I should let him blood? acquainting them that we used so to do in such cases. After some consideration, they consented thereto, notwithstanding the *Pawaws* had told them before, that he should dye, because he sought not unto them; so I bound his arme, and with my Pen-knife let him blood, he bled freely, but was exceeding faint, which made the Heathen very sad, but in a short time, he began to be very cheerfull, whereat they much rejoyced, &c. So I left them, and it pleased the Lord the man was in a short time after very well.

[1] A Prince or ruler amongst them.

In these Providences, the Lord has manifested both mercy and judgment, and it is, that he may raise up the Tabernacle of *David*, that is fallen, and close up the breaches thereof, and raise up its ruines, and build it as in days of old, that they may preserve the covenant of *Edom*, and all of the Heathen, which are called by name, saith the Lord that doeth this.

But I pray you take notice of a speech of *Towanquattick*, (being the father of the young man recovered), who lamented the losse of his knowlege, said unto me,[2] *That a long time agon, they had wise men, which in a grave manner taught the people knowlege, but they are dead, and their wisdome is buried with them: and now men lead a giddy life in ignorance. till they are white headed, and though ripe in years, yet they go without wisdome unto their graves.* He also told me that he *wondered the English could be almost thirty years in the Country, and the Indians fools still, but he hoped the time of knowledge was now to come;* wherefore himself, with others desired me to give them an Indian meeting, to make known the word of God unto them in their own tongue. And when he came to me to accomplish his *desire thereabouts, he told me I should be to them, as one that stands by a running River, filling many vessels;*[3] *even so should I fill them with everlasting knowledge.* So I undertook to give them a meeting once a moneth; but as soon as the first exercise was ended, they desired it oftener than I could well attend, but once a fortnight is our settled course. This I present to your consideration, entreating you to present us unto the Lord for wisdome to preach unto the Heathen the unsearchable riches of Christ, so that the root of Iesse standing for an Ensigne of the people, the Gentiles may seek unto it, and his rest shall be glorious, Amen.

[2] an Indian Speech worthy of consideration.

[3] The better sort of them are full of such like expression affecting to speak Parables.

Yours in the best Bond, Tho: Mayhew, junior.

Great Harbour on the Vineyard 18 of the 9, 1647.[1]

[1] Glorious Progress of the Gospel, etc., London, 1649.

These tactics employed by the young missionary were very clever in their conception, and successful in their execution. He was pitting his skill in medicine against the crude methods of the Pawwaws, and he could combine the religious with the scientific to the advantage of his new theology. By his own admission he saved one of the sick men by bloodletting, while the other who died was given up because he had not forsaken completely the Pawwaws. It was a case where Mayhew could win either way, but we will not be too critical of his methods, for he was trying a new field, never cultivated before, and it was, perhaps, allowable for him to resort to a little subterfuge to arouse his subjects to the idea that these "medicine men" were but little better than sorcerers, without common knowledge of the diseases they professed to treat. It was doubtless the quickest way to gain a standing amongst them, for the curing of disease was the most revered of qualities in their Pawwaws. Upon this point the author of the account of the beginnings of the missions, which has been quoted already, says: —

However, Mr. *Mayhew* here met with three very great *Obstacles:* for, (1) Many strongly stood for their own Meetings, Ways, and Customs, as being in their account more advantageous and agreeable than ours, wherein they have nothing but talking and praying, and this in a manner too still and sober for them. (2). Others alledged that the *Sagamores* were generally against the new Way. But the (3.) and greatest of all was, how they should come off from the *Pawaws*. This was the strongest Cord that bound them; for the *Pawaws*, by their diabolical Sorceries, kept them in the most slavish Fear and Subjection to them. . . . . .

The Sagamore *Towanquatick* was exceeding malign'd by them, and in 1647 his Life was villanously attempted for his favouring the *Christian* Religion: but his great Deliverance, with a due Reflection on the Villany the rather confirmed him in it, and inflamed him with the more active Zeal to espouse and assert it; and the Meeting went on to the Joy of some *Indians*, and the Envy of the rest, who derided and scoffed at those who attended the Lecture, and blasphemed *the God* whom they worshipped, which very much damped the Spirits of some for a time in his Ways, and hindered others from looking towards them. But *Towanquatick* and *Hiacoomes* were inspired with a wonderful Courage and Constancy: And in the *following Year* (1647) had a *general Meeting* of all that were inclined for *Christianity* to confirm and assist one another in their abiding by it.

This Assembly was held in Mr. *Mayhew's* Presence, and therein he tells us, that twelve of the young Men went and took *Sacochanimo*, *Towanquatick's* eldest Son, by the Hand, telling him, *They loved him, and would go with him in GOD's Way;* and the elder Men encouraged them, and deseired them never to forget these Promises. And so after they had eaten, and sang part of a *Psalm* in their own Language, and Mr. *Mayhew* had

prayed, they returned home with Expressions of great Joy and Thankfulness.

The next Year (1648) there was a greater *Convention*, wherein was a Mixt Multitude, both of *Infidel* and *Christian* Indians, and those who were in doubt of Christianity; but Mr. *Mayhew* it seems was not now present. In this Assembly the dreadful Power of the *Pawaws* was publickly debated, many asserting their Power to hurt and kill, and alledging numerous Instances that were evident and undoubted among them: and then some asking aloud *Who is there that does not fear them?* others reply'd, *There is not a Man that does not.* Upon which *Hiacoomes* breaks forth, and boldly declares, that *tho the* Pawaws *might hurt those that feared them, yet he believed and trusted in the GREAT GOD of Heaven and Earth, and therefore all the Pawaws together could do him no Harm, and he feared them not.* At which they all exceedingly wondred, and expected some dreadful thing to befal him; but observing he remained unhurt, they began to esteem him happy in being delivered from their terrible Power. Several of the Assembly declared they now believed in the *same God* too, and would be afraid of the Pawaws no more: and desired *Hiacoomes* to tell them what this GREAT GOD would have them to do, and what were the things that offended him; he immediately fell to Preaching and Prayer, and by a rare and happy Invention he readily discovered and mentioned forty five or fifty sorts of *Sins* committed among them, and as many contrary *Duties* neglected; which so amazed them and touched their Consciences, that at the End of the Meeting there were twenty two *Indians* who resolved against those Evils, and to walk with GOD, and attend his Word, among whom was *Momonequem*, a Son of one of the principal *Indians*, who some time after became a Preacher.[1]

Of him the missionary speaks with special interest, as one whose conversion was of great value to his cause. He was a son of Annomantooque, one of the principal Indians of Gay Head, but his mother was a squaw of Nunnepog and there dwelt Momanequem at this time. He publicly confessed to "about twenty of his own sins, and professed to follow the one God against all opposition." He stated that he was converted to the new belief by Hiacoomes, but the missionary thought it was "from more than a natural Principle, considering that the Man hath been since an earnest Seeker of more Light, both publicly and privately; for that he also refused the Help of a Pawwaw who lived within two Bow-shot of his door, when his wife was in three Days in Travail, and waited patiently on God till they obtained a merciful Deliverance by Prayer." Momanequem became the first Indian preacher in Nashawakemmuck, and, in 1651, went to Boston with young Mayhew, where he was interviewed by the Rev. John Wilson, pastor of the First Church in that town. Wilson describes him as "a grave and solemn Man, with whom I

[1]Prince, *ut supra.*

had serious Discourse, Mr. Mayhew being present as Interpreter between us."[1]

At this time the work was progressing slowly but surely, and young Mayhew was making no mistakes. As is usual in conditions of this sort, the number of conversions was greater among the women than among the men, although they were "not known by open entrance into Covenant as the men, but are now near it." wrote Mayhew of the events of the year 1649. The Pawwaws "died hard," and continued to obstruct the meetings. The missionary tells of the conversion of one who "was sent at first about two or three months before by one of the greatest Pawawes upon the Island to learn and spy what was done at the meetings and carry him word." [2]

> "Truth from his lips prevail'd with double sway,
> And fools who came to scoff remain'd to pray."

The reception of these letters in England, sent out by Mayhew, Eliot, and others, descriptive of the novel work undertaken in this new field of religious endeavor, awakened great interest among the clergy and laity at home, and appeals for the support of such labors upon a definite basis were met by the liberal contributions of the merchants and well-to-do classes. At first, these contributions were individual in character, but as the reports continued to show satisfactory results the patrons of the work, after a conference, decided that it was of such probable magnitude, considering the future, that it would be wiser to unite their forces into an established body to manage the business economically and properly, with intelligent supervision. The printed tracts, already quoted, made known to the public the character of the work, and so impressed was the "Long Parliament" with the importance of the subject that on July 27, 1649, an ordinance was passed establishing "A Corporation for the Promoting and Propagating the Gospel of Jesus Christ in New England," consisting of a president, treasurer, and fourteen assistants, to be called "the President and Society for the Propagation of the Gospel in New England." A general collection throughout England and Wales, made by direction of Cromwell, produced nearly £12,000, the greater part of which was invested in real estate

[1]Mayhew, Indian Converts, 12–13.

[2]Light Appearing, etc., 13. An early example of the saying that those "who came to scoff, remained to pray."

as a permanent asset.[1] The commissioners of the United Colonies on this side were made the agents for the management of the practical affairs, distribution of the funds, etc., and from this time forth the work of Mayhew was under the patronage of this historic society. He was paid an annual salary, and further allotments were made to this mission for books, material, and other miscellaneous objects, tending to the "encouragement" of the converts. Meanwhile, the work was progressing here, and the benevolent at home were in receipt of reports made by Mayhew and his friends.

The narrator of the progress of events continues his annals thus: —

And now in 1650, comes on the critical Point of the Credit and Power of the *Pawaws* among them: for *Hiacoomes* thus openly renouncing and protesting against the false Gods he had worshipped, with all the *Pawaws* their familiar Ministers; and with an amazing Courage, despising and defying their Power, the *Pawaws* were greatly enrag'd, and threatened his utter Destruction; but to their own and their Peoples Surprize and Confusion, were unable to hurt him.

Mr. *Mayhew* improves the Advantage, and redoubles his Diligence, is incessant in his pious Endeavour: And now, while many are in doubt of their way, he offers to show them the right one; he spares not his Body either by Day or by Night: He readily travels and lodges in their smoky *Wigwams;* when he usually spends a great part of the Night in relating the antient Stories of GOD in the *Scriptures*, which were very surprizing and entertaining to them, and in other Discourse which he conceives most proper.

He proposes such things to their Consideration which he thinks firstly requisite: he fairly solves their subtle Objections, and tells them they might plainly see, it was purely in good will to them, from whom he could expect no Reward, that he spent so much time and Pains, and endured so much Cold and Wet, Fatigue and Trouble.

But as GOD was pleased to animate, uphold and preserve him, so also quickly to give a growing *Success* to his painful Labours.

For soon after, an *Indian* standing up at the *Lecture*, confessed his Sins, declared his Repentance and Desire to forsake them, and to go in GOD's way; and then going to *Towanquatick*, took him by the Hand; and in his native Simplicity said, *I love you, and do greatly desire to go along with you for GOD's sake:* the same he said to some others; and then coming to Mr. *Mayhew* he said, *I pray you to love me, and I do love you, and desire to go with you for GOD's sake;* upon which they received him with Gladness of Heart. After this, there came five Men more; and by the *End of the Summer*, there were thirty nine *Indian Men* of this

[1] "There is a corporation sitting formerly at Cooper's Hall commonly one Satterdayes from 9 to 10 o'clock for the Business. Hugh Peeters confessed of sixty thousand pounds, and the last yeare they said they had purchased land to about £1000 per ann: but shrunk to 700£ now." Edward Godfrey, in Colonial Papers, P. R. O., XX, 19 (1660).

Meeting, who had not only the Knowledge of the main Points of Religion, and professed their Belief of them, but had also solemnly entered into a *Covenant* to live agreeably to them: Besides the well-instructed and believing *Women*, who were supposed to exceed the number of the *Men*, tho they had not yet entered the *Covenant*.

Mr. *Mayhew's* way in Publick now is, by a *Lecture* every *Fortnight*, where to both Men, Women and Children come; and first he plays, then preaches, then catechizes, then sings a *Psalm*, and all in their own Language. After Sermon, he generally spends more time than in the Sermon it self, in a more familiar Reasoning with them. And every *Saturday* Morning, he confers with *Hiacoomes* more privately about his subject matter of preaching to the *Natives* on both the Parts of the following Day; Mr. *Mayhew* directing him in the choice of his Text, and in the Management of it.

About this time, viz. the *End of the Summer*, (1650) the Rev. Mr. *Henry Whitfield*, Pastor of the Church at *Guildford New England*, in his *Voyage to Boston*, in order to his Return to *England*, happened to put in at the *Vineyard* and to stay there ten Days.

There he tells us, he found a small Plantation, and an *English* Church gathered, whereof this Mr. *Mayhew* was Pastor; that he had attained a good Understanding in the *Indian* Tongue, could speak it well, and had laid the first Foundations of the Knowledge of CHRIST among the *Natives* there, by preaching, &c.

Mr. *Whitfield* attends Mr. *Mayhew* to a more private *Indian* Meeting, and the next Day to the *Indian* Lecture, where Mr. *Mayhew* preached; and then catechiz'd the *Indian* Children, who answered readily and modestly in the Principles of Religion; some of them answering in *English*, and others in the *Indian* Tongue: . . . . . .

Thus — Mr. *Whitfield* — But quickly after he left Mr. *Mayhew*, there happened a thing which amaz'd the whole Island, and turned to the great and speedy Advancement of the *Christian* Religion.

For it pleased GOD, who had drawn the *Indians* from the *Pawaws* to worship himself, whereat the *Pawaws* were greatly offended; yet now to persuade even two of themselves to run after those who fought him, and desire they might also go with them in the ways of *that God* whose name is JEHOVAH. They came very deeply convinced of the Sins they had liv'd in, and especially *Pawawing;* revealing the diabolical Mysteries, and expressing the utmost Repentance and Detestation of them; intreating that GOD would have Mercy upon them, pardon their Sins, and teach them his Ways, for CHRIST JESUS his sake. And very affecting it was to Mr. Mayhew and all who were present, *to see these poor naked Sons of Adam, and Slaves to the Devil from the Birth, to come towards the Lord as they did, with their Joints shaking and their Bowels trembling; their Spirits troubled, and their Voices with much Fervency uttering Words of sore Displeasure against Sin and Satan, which they had embraced from their Childhood with great Delight.* And now accounting it also their Sin that they had not the Knowledge of GOD, that they had served the *Devil*, the great Enemy both of GOD and Man, and had been so hurtful in their Lives; but yet being very thankful that thro' the Mercy of GOD they had an Opportunity to be delivered out of their dangerous Condition.

The *Christian Indians* exceedingly rejoic'd to see the *Pawaws* begin to turn from their wicked Ways to the Lord; and in a little time after, on a *Lecture*-Day, at the close of the Exercise, there were several more of the *Natives* who expressed their Desire to become the Servants of the MOST HIGH GOD; among whom was *Tequanomin*, another *Pawaw* of great esteem and very notorious. And now indeed both the common *Indians*, and the *Pawaws* themselves, began to observe and confess, that since the *Gospel* had been preached to them, the *Pawaws* had been very much foil'd in their diabolical Essays; and instead of curing as formerly, they now had rather killed many.

At the *same time* there came pressing in about *fifty Indians* more in *one Day*, desiring to join with the Worshippers of GOD in his service, confessing their Sins; some — those actual ones they had liv'd in, and others — the Naughtiness of their Hearts: Desiring to be made better; and for this end, to attend on the *Word* of *God*, and looking only to CHRIST for Salvation. And upon occasion, Mr. *Mayhew* observes that they generally came in by *Families;* the *Parents* also bringing their *Children* with them saying, *I have brought my Children too, I would have my Children serve God with us, I desire that this son and this daughter may worship* JEHOVAH. And if they could but speak, their Parents would have them say something to show their Willingness to serve the LORD: and when the *Commandments* were repeated, they all acknowledged them to be good, and made choice of JEHOVAH to be *their God*, promising by his Help to walk according to his Counsels, And when they were received by those that were before in the *General Covenant*, it was by loud Voices, giving Thanks to GOD that they were met together in the ways of JEHOVAH. *This was all before the End of the Year* 1650.[1]

We have seen, by the testimony of contemporaries, that the work done by young Mayhew was not advertised by him for the applause it might bring or the material advantages exploited for his benefit. When Whitfield visited the island in 1650, he said of the missionary, "I could get but little from him" in relation to his needs or the needs of the mission. Consequently the "New England Society," as it came to be called, did not immediately learn of the extent of the work carried on here. It is not until late in 1651 that we have the first intimations that the society had any knowledge or interest in the Vineyard mission, as shown by the following letter: —

New-haven Sep: 12: 1651.

Sir: —

Wee have heard of the blessing God hath bestowed on youer labours in the Gospel amongst the poore Indians and desire with thankfulness to take notice of the same, and from the appearance of these first fruits to bee stirred up to seeke unto and waite upon the lord of the harvist that hee would send more labourers with the former and latter showers of his sperit that good corn may abundantly Spring up and this barren Wildernes

[1]Prince, *ut supra*.

become a frutfull feild yea the garden of God: and that wee might not bee wanting in the trust committed to us for the furtherance and incorragement of this worke wee thought good to let you understand ther is paid by the Corporacon in London £30 for part of Mr Gennors librarye and as they informe us a Catalogue of the bookes sent over (which is for youer encoragement). Wee hope you have Received or els desire you would looke after them from Mr Eliott, or any other that may have them: or if ther bee any eror wee desire to heare itt: there are some houes and hatchetts sent over for the Indians encorragement of which youer Indians may have pt if you think meet, and bee pleased to give them a note to Mr Rawson of Boston of what shalbe needful for theire use, especially those that may bee most willing to laboure: wee alsoe are informed there is an £100 given by some of Exeter towards this worke of which some pt to youer selfe, but know not the quantitie: wee should bee glad to heare how the work of God goes on amongst them with you that soe wee might enforme the Corporation in England, and have our harts more inlarged to God for them, soe with our best Respects wee Rest

Your very frends &c.[1]

In a letter written to the Rev. Henry Whitfield, author of the tract entitled "The Light Appearing, &c." young Mayhew, under date of "Great Harbour, uppon the Vineyard, October 16th, 1651," makes the following statements concerning the progress of his missionary work since the last report: —

And now through the mercy of God, there are an hundred and ninetie nine men women and children that have professed themselves to be worshippers of the great and ever living God. There are now two meetings kept every Lord's day, the one three miles, the other about eight miles off my house. *Hiacoomes* teacheth twice a day at the nearest, and *Mumanequem* accordingly at the farthest; the last day of the week they come unto me to be informed touching the subject they are to handle.[2]

This winter I intend, if the Lord will, to set up a school to teach the Indians to read viz. the children, and also any young men that are willing to learne.[3]

The location of the meetings can only be conjectural, as it is not probable that a building for the use of the converts had been erected as early as that. Three miles from the house of the elder Mayhew would take us in a radius either to Katama, Felix Neck, or the shore of the Great Herring Pond, and the author inclines to the latter location as the probable place where stood the "Rock on a descending Ground, upon which

[1]Records, Commissioners of United Colonies, I, 205.

[2]Whitfield, "Strength out of Weaknesse," etc., pub. in London in 1652.

[3] "On Jan. 11, 1651–2, Mr. Mayhew fit up a school to teach the natives to read, viz., the children, and any young men who were willing to learn, whereof they were very glad. And as quickly there came in about thirty Indian children; he found them apt to learn; and more and more were coming every day." (Thomas Prince, "Indian Converts," p. 289.)

he used sometimes to stand and preach," and it is further conclusive that the meetings were open-air assemblies, during the propitious weather season. The meeting held eight miles off takes us directly to the present village of West Tisbury, and it is possible that the "school-house," so often mentioned in the early records of Tisbury, may have been a rude structure used for this purpose, as well as for the instruction of the Indian youth in the English language. The location of this meeting cannot be more accurately determined. Experience Mayhew says that Momanequem preached in Nashowakemmuck, perhaps meaning close to the boundary line. The annals of the missions continue to record the progress of events as follows: —

In the *Spring* of the Year 1652, the *Indians*, of their own accord made a Motion to Mr. *Mayhew*, that they might have some Method settled among them for the Exercise of *Order and Discipline*, that so they might be obliged to live in a due Subjection to the *Laws* of GOD; whereto they desired to enter into a *Covenant:* they desired him also to inform them what were the *Punishments* which GOD had appointed for those who brake his Laws, to which they were also willing to subject themselves; and that they might have some Men chosen among them, with his *Father* and *himself*, to see that the *Indians* walked in an orderly manner; encouraging those who did so, and dealing with those who did not, according to the Word of GOD.

In order to this, a Day of *Fasting and Prayer* was appointed to repent of their Sins, and seek the divine Presence and Help; and another shortly after, to finish the Work. Being then assembled together, some *Indians* spoke for their Excitation, and about ten or twelve of them prayed, as Mr. *Mayhew* describes it, *not with a set form like Children, but like Men indued with the good Measure of the Knowledge of GOD, their own Wants and the Wants of others, with much Affection, and many spiritual Petitions favouring of an heavenly Mind.*

The same Morning Mr. *Mayhew* drew up an excellent *Covenant* in their native Language, which he often read and made plain to them: and they all with free Consent and Thankfulness united in it, and desired the Grace and Help of GOD to keep it faithfully; which were it not for making this Account too large, I should have here inserted.[1] And Mr. *Mayhew* observed, that when they chose their *Rulers*, they made choice of sech as were best approved for *Piety*, and most like to suppress all Wickedness, and encourage Goodness; and that afterwards were they upon all Occasions forward to show their earnest Desire of the same.

In short, by the end of *October* 1652, there were *two hundred eighty two* Indians, not counting young Children in the number, who were brought to renounce their *false Gods, Devils and Pawaws*, and publickly, in set meetings, before many Witnesses, had freely disclaimed and defied their

[1]See letter of Thomas Mayhew, Jr., dated Oct. 22, 1652, printed in "Tears of Repentance." (London, 1653.)

tyrannical Power; yea, eight of their *Pawaws* had now forsaken their diabolical Craft, and profitable Trade, as they held it, to turn into the ways of GOD. And as not any of these were compelled thereto by Power, so neither were they allured by *Gifts*, having received none from the very Beginning.[1]

When Thomas Mayhew the younger began to be a salaried missionary of the society is not definitely known, but from the following letter it would appear that it was not until 1654 that such a relation was established. Undoubtedly, he had been in receipt of irregular gratuities for some time, as contributions permitted. This communication from the commissioners of the United Colonies, dated Sept. 18, 1654, gives us some interesting particulars of the way in which the business was handled by them: —

Mr. Mahew:

Wee have Received youer large letter of the 16th of the sixt 1654 and not to trouble you or our selves with any long preface you may take notice wee have Considered the Contents therof and doe Rejoyce att the Information you give us of the Blessing of God upon youer labours among those poor barberous people upon the Island Etc: and theire dayly coming in to Imbrace the Gospell of Christ: which wee are willing to hope (att least for many of them), that it is in Cincerirtie and truly for the love of Christ himselve and not for loves and it is our prayer and earnest desire that the great expectations of the people of God concerning this greate worke may not bee frustrated or in any measure disappointed: as for our selves we are most Reddy and willing according to the trust comitted to us to doe what wee may to promote and Incurrage the same: and all such meet Instruments as laboure therein and therefor have agreed to allow youer selfe for youer pains and laboure this yeare the sume of forty pounds: and for a Scoolmaster and one or two meet persons (as there need may require), to teach the Rest, the summe of tenn pounds a peece *p* annum: Beginning from this time, as alsoe that tenn *p* more be comitted to you to dispose to sicke weake and well deserving Indians which wee desire may bee frugally Improved and an account thereof (as of what ever else you Receive to bestow upon the Indians), bee sent to the next meeting of the Commissioners: And for the meeting house which you desire to be built for the Indians though wee Conceive another form lesse Chargeable and of lesse Capacitie then you propound bee sufficient which wee leave to youer further Consideration: and such advice as you may take upon the place: yett wee shall allow upon that account the som of forty pounds, in Iron worke, Nayles, Glasse and such other pay as in our Agents hands, expecting the Indians should Improve theire labours to finish the same as they did at Naticke: and wheras wee are Informed that a Boat is necessasry and yett wanting for the safe passage of youer selfe and Indians betwixt the Island and the mayne wee have allowed eight pounds for that and desiring it may be carefully preserved and Imployed onely for the service Intended, and nott att the pleasure of the

[1]Prince, *ut supra.*

Indians Etc: upon other ocations. Wee desire you would be slow in withdrawing Indian professors from paying accustomed tribute and performing other lawfull services unto theire Sagamores, till you have seriously Considered and advised with the Majestrates and Elders of Naighbouring Collonies least the passage and spreading of the Gospell bee hindred thereby. Soe wee Rest,

Your loving frends.[1]

These grants amounted in the total to £128, or an equivalent in the value of money to-day of about $2,500, of which the missionary received what would represent now a salary of $1,000 per annum. It is probable that no single person on the Vineyard was in receipt of so much actual money as this in the course of a year. This sum was allowed the next year to Mr. Mayhew, but at the next annual meeting of the commissioners, in September, 1656, his salary was increased to £50 per annum. At this meeting we first meet with the name of Peter Folger, who appears upon the payroll at £30 yearly as "Imployed by Mr. Mayhew." There were two Indian interpreters, Hiacoomes and Pannuppaqua, who were to be paid ten pounds each for their services.[2] This apparently constituted his staff, of which Folger probably acted as schoolmaster to the native youth, and the two Indians acted as preachers probably. That Hiacoomes did is well known, but the name of his associate does not appear among the "Godly Ministers" or "Good Men" in Experience Mayhew's "Indian Converts," at least under his Algonquian title. At the same time Mayhew was continuing his good work, and increasing his flock of catechumens for development in the new theology which he had brought for their acceptance. Each day and month lessened the strength and influence of the Pawwaws. On this Prince says: —

Indeed the Natives in general observed to their wonder, that the Christians were all along exempted from being hurt by the Pawaws; even some of the Heathen Pawaws themselves at length came to own, that they could not make their Power to seize upon a Christian: and those who were yet Enemies to the Christian Indians, could not but acknowledge that the Blessing of Heaven was in an eminent manner among them.

Continuing, the annalist summarizing the results of Mayhew's work at this period says: —

Thus this worthy Gentleman continued his almost inexpressible Labour, and vigilant Care for the Good of the *Indians*, whom he justly es-

[1]Records, Commissioners of the United Colonies, II, 123.

[2]Ibid., II, 141, 163, 167.

teemed his Joy and Crown. And GOD was pleased to give such a victorious Succese to his painful and unwearied Labours, that by the year 1657, there were *many hundred* Men and Women added to the *Christian Society*, of such as might truly be said to be holy in their Conversation; and for Knowledge, such as needed not to be taught the first Principles of the Oracles of GOD: besides the *many hundreds* of looser and more superficial Professors.

In this year, at the annual meeting of the commissioners, the same salary was voted for Mayhew, but the pay of "an English Scoolmaster Imployed by him," (Peter Folger), was reduced ten pounds, and this sum was granted to "Mr Mayhew Seni'r," but the purpose is not stated. The two native preachers and interpreters were continued at the old rate. By this time the mission work had been in existence about fourteen years, and it was so far successful and well-systematized with assistants who could carry on the work well under his guidance. At this time matters of a family and personal character, connected with the patrimony of his wife's brother, Thomas Paine, in England, demanded attention, and it was considered necessary that they should go over to the estates left to young Paine and settle his affairs permanently. Mayhew requested leave of absence in 1656 for this purpose, but the commissioners told him that they were "assured that a worke of higher consideration would suffer much by his soe long absence advised him to send som other man."[1] Mayhew listened to their advice, and agreed to postpone the trip to a more convenient time. It was delayed a year, but after the annual meeting of the commissioners this year (1657), he was allowed to go. His intention was, naturally, to combine this personal business with his own public labors, and he arranged his plans so as "to give a more particular Account of the State of the Indians than he could well do by Letters, and to pursue the most proper Measures for the further Advancement of Religion among them." To add a touch of realism to this part of his journey, he decided to take with him one of the converts, as a living evidence of the power of the Gospel of Christ. He chose a son of Miohqsoo, who was a preacher, and had been brought up by him in his own house. His intended departure with this young native caused the greatest interest and excitement among the people of his flock. His own projected absence was mourned in advance. It was said of them "that they could not easily bear his absence so far as

[1]Records, Commissioners of the United Colonies, II, 165.

Boston, before they longed for his return." He arranged a farewell meeting of his faithful followers, and the legend is that he went to the most distant assembly of them, probably in Taakemmy or Nashowakemmuck, where he held a service of worship and song, accompanied with a parting injunction to them to be steadfast in his absence. His journey towards the east end of the island became almost a triumphal procession. They refused to consider this a farewell, and followed him homewards till he came to a spot on the "Old Mill Path," since known in song and story as the "Place on the Way-side," where by this time had gathered hundreds of others in anticipation of his return to meet with them. Here a great combined service was held, and the simple children of this flock heard their beloved shepherd give a blessing to them and say the last sad farewells to them individually and as a congregation. It was a solemn occasion, long held in memory by all who participated. He made his departure from Boston in the month of November, with his two companions, says Gookin, "in the best of two ships then bound for London, whereof one James Garrett was master. The other ship whereof John Pierse was commander, I went passenger therein.[1] Mr. Garrett's ship which was about four hundred tons had good accommodations greater far than the other: and shee had aboard her a very rich lading of goods, but most especially of passengers, about fifty in number; whereof divers of them were persons of great worth and virtue, both men and women; especially Mr. Mayhew, Mr. Davis, Mr. Ince, and Mr. Pelham, all scholars and masters of arts, as I take it, most of them."[2] When this ship cleared the white receding shores of Cap Cod in her outward voyage, and headed for the green pastures of Old England, it was the last seen of this fine vessel and her distinguished passengers. It was never known what disaster overtook her, but it only came to be known that she was long and then longer overdue, while her companion ship had reached her destination. Some great ocean cataclysm engulfed her, and she foundered in storm or collision with an iceberg. It must have been an awful and perhaps inspiring scene, as she carried with her to the chilling waters of the

[1]Gookin "intended and resolved to pass in that ship: but the master who sometimes had been employed by me and from whom I expected a common courtesy, carried it something unkindly, as I conceived, about my accommodation of a cabin; which was an occasion to divert me to the other ship, where I also had good accommodation, and my life preserved, as the sequel proved."

[2]Gookin, "Description of the New England Indians," 201.

great deep these precious lives of beloved fathers, husbands, and brothers. Doubtless Thomas Mayhew could say in that supreme moment, like Sir Humphrey Gilbert: "It is as near to Heaven by sea as by land." Weeks and months passed by without tidings of Master Garrett, and hope gave way to fear, then to despair, as the time lengthened out. Even as late as August, 1658, nearly a year after, the disconsolate old governor wrote, "I cannot yett give my sonnes over." There was still hope that they might have been captured by Spanish or Algerian pirates, and carried to the shores of the Mediterranean. But it was not to be. This young Christian warrior was to be the first of the hundreds of Vineyard men to perish "at sea."

Contemporary writers, diarists, correspondents, and others, all refer to the loss of Thomas Mayhew, Junior, with appreciative words. Morton says: "Amongst many considerable passengers there went Mr. Thomas Mayhew, jun., of Martin's Vineyard, who was a very precious man. He was well skilled, and had attained to a great proficiency in the Indian language, and had a great propensity upon his spirit to promote God's glory in their conversion; whose labors God blessed for the doing of much good amongst them; in which respect he was very much missed amongst them, as also in reference unto the preaching of God's word amongst the English there. The loss of him was very great."[1] The commissioners of the United Colonies refer to his loss, "which att present seemeth to be almost Irrepairable,"[2] and his fellow worker, the "Apostle" Eliot, said: "The Lord has given us this amazing blow, to take away my Brother Mayhew."[3]

The "Place on the Way-side," mentioned as the spot "where he solemnly and affectionately took his leave of that poor and beloved People of his," became in the minds of the Indians a sort of hallowed spot. It was the last place associated in their thoughts with their lost shepherd, and it is stated that the ground where he stood "was for all that Generation remembered with sorrow." It is a part of the legendary lore of this spot, that no Indian passed by it without casting a stone into a heap that, by their custom, had thus grown like a cairn, in remembrance of him, to be a great monument to this sad event in their lives. The attachment

[1]New England's Memorial.
[2]Records, Commissioners of United Colonies.
[3]Letter dated Dec. 8, 1658, published in London, 1659.

must have been genuine, for we are told by an authority that, "for many Years after his departure, he was seldom named without Tears." It is one of the historic places on the island which has been suitably made a permanent memorial by the Martha's Vineyard Chapter, Daughters of the American Revolution, of Edgartown, who, on July 27, 1901, dedicated a bronze tablet, set in a large boulder, placed on top of the stone pile above referred to. The boulder was brought from Gay Head, by descendants of the "poor and beloved" natives who raised the foundations when passing by in generations since gone. The tablet bears the following inscription: —

THIS ROCK MARKS THE "PLACE ON THE WAYSIDE"
WHERE THE

REV. THOMAS MAYHEW, JR.,

SON OF GOV. MAYHEW,
FIRST PASTOR OF THE CHURCH OF CHRIST ON MARTHA'S VINEYARD,
AND THE FIRST MISSIONARY TO THE INDIANS OF NEW ENGLAND,
SOLEMNLY AND AFFECTIONATELY TOOK LEAVE OF THE INDIANS,
WHO, IN LARGE NUMBERS, HAD FOLLOWED HIM DOWN FROM THE WESTERN PART OF THE ISLAND,
BEING HIS LAST WORSHIP AND INTERVIEW WITH THEM BEFORE EMBARKING FOR ENGLAND IN 1657,
FROM WHENCE HE NEVER RETURNED
NO TIDINGS EVER COMING FROM THE SHIP OR ITS PASSENGERS.
IN LOVING REMEMBRANCE OF HIM
THOSE INDIANS RAISED THIS PILE OF STONES, 1657-1901.
ERECTED BY THE MARTHA'S VINEYARD CHAPTER,
DAUGHTERS OF THE AMERICAN REVOLUTION.
THE LAND GIVEN FOR THIS PURPOSE BY CAPTAIN BENJAMIN COFFIN CROMWELL, OF TISBURY;
THE BOULDER BROUGHT FROM GAY HEAD, A GIFT FROM THE NOW RESIDENT INDIANS.
TABLET PURCHASED WITH CONTRIBUTIONS FROM MAYHEW'S DESCENDANTS.

Historical remarks relating to the subject of the memorial were made at the unveiling by Miss Harriet M. Pease and Dr. Charles E. Banks, and greetings from an Indian deacon

of the present church at Gay Head made a fitting close to the interesting exercises, conducted by Mrs. Warren, the Regent of the Chapter.

The relative amount of funds allowed to the younger Mayhew, as compared to that given elsewhere, became the subject of hostile criticism, as the facts were made public. It has been seen what salary was allowed to him, and the other gratuities annually voted for his assistants. It may be compared with that allowed to other workers elsewhere. Eliot received £50 per annum from 1656–1662, but the allowances to his assistants exceeded the amounts given to others. The total outlay of the society in 1658 was £520, of which sum less than one-fifth was appropriated for Vineyard workers.[1]

The elder Mayhew complained to the commissioners of the scanty sums given for this island. "When I consider the great somes given," he wrote to Governor Winthrop in 1658, "and that one maine cause of it was this work; and judging 'twas given as one maine end for the comfort of those that began it, & were now uppon it, I say that they in the first place should be liberally provided for."[2] Samuel Maverick, of Boston, in a written description of New England, thus refers to the matter: —

> Almost South some what Westerly from Billingsgate is Natuckett Island on which many Indians live and about ten leagues west from it is Martines Vinyard, whereon many Indians live, and also English. In this Island by Gods blissing on the Labour, care and paines of the two Mayhews, father and sonn, the Indians are more civilized then anywhere else which is a step to Christianity, and many of them have attained to a greate measure of knowledge, and is hoped in a short time some of them may with joy & Comfort be received into the Bossome of the Church, The younger of those Mayhews was drowned comeing for England three yeares since, and the Father goes on with the worke, Although (as I understand) they have had a small share of those vast sumes given for this use and purpose of the Revenues of it It were good to enquire how it hath been disposed of I know in some measure or at least suspect the bussines hath not been rightly carryed.[3]

Governor Edward Godfrey of the Province of Maine, who was in England at the time of the Restoration, makes a mysterious allusion to the subject in one of his indictments against the influences which controlled Massachusetts affairs: "I

[1]Records, Commissioners of United Colonies, II, 167, 189, 205.

[2]4 Mass. Hist. Soc. Coll., VII, 34.

[3]Egerton Mss., 2395 (British Museum), ff. 397–411.

have endeavoured," he says, "to screw into the Great Benevolences that have been so publicly knowne to propagate the Gospell in New England . . . . there is a snake in the weeds."[1]

It is interesting to observe the assertion of Thomas Mayhew, the elder, that "one maine cause of it (the collection of funds for evangelizing the natives) was this work," begun by his son. He had received, according to the elder Mayhew, £160 in all, besides his books, during the fourteen years of his labors. "The work was followed by him," says the father, "when twas bare with him for foode and rayment, and then indeede there was nothing in sight any waies but Gods promises."[2]

THOMAS MAYHEW, SENIOR.

The work of converting the Indians to Christianity, when the young missionary left for England, was placed under the supervision of the father, while the same corps of assistants remained to follow out the plans laid out by their lost leader. The father was no stranger to this class of labor, though he was busy with the civil and material concerns of the island colony. In his anxiety for its proper continuance, as the long absence of the missionary became too great for hope of his return, he wrote to the commissioners about the future: "I thought good to certifye you that this ten yeares I have constantly stood ready to atend the work of God here amongst the Indians. Verry much time I have spent & made many Journies, and beene at verry much trouble and cost in my house, and I have reseved one yeare 20 li. and the last yeare ten pounds. It is more" he adds, "then when I entred on it I did expecte. Methinks that which I have had is verry little. Truely if I were now to be hired to doe ass much yearely as I have donne, thirtie pounds per annum, & more to, would not doe it."[3] It was indeed a difficult place to fill, requiring peculiar qualifications, a knowledge of the Indian character, and more than all this, an ability to speak their tongue. This the elder Mayhew had to the fullest extent. "His place as Patentee and chief Ruler," says Prince in a sketch of his life, "obliged him not only to a frequent Converse with the Natives, but also to learn so much of their Language as was needful to understand and discourse with

[1]Colonial Papers, P. R. O., XX, 19.
[2]4 Mass. Hist. Soc. Coll., VII, 34.
[3]Ibid.

them."[1] But he realized that he was nearly three score and ten years of age, and that a younger man was needed to carry on the work. He suggested to the commissioners that either Rev. John Higginson or Rev. Abraham Pierson be urged to take up the fallen burden, and bear it along the paths blazed by his son. The commissioners responded: —

> You may assure youer selfe that wee will use all Dilligence to make a supply as the Lord may direct us: wee shall according to your advise move Mr. John Higginson and Mr. Pierson, but we greatly feare wee shall not prevaile unlesse the Lord strongly sett in to pswade them.

But Mayhew would not be discouraged, and wrote to one of the members: —

> If my sonne be gonne to heaven, I shall press very hard upon Mr. Higginson to come here, as I have written to the commisioners.

Meanwhile, the work was going on under the old staff, with the aged magistrate directing the details. This was what the commissioners in reality wished to bring about: —

> Wee thinke that God doth call for youer more then ordinery Assistance in this Worke, and are very well pleased that youer sperit is soe farr Inclined therunto: and desire you may persevere therein.

Mayhew was solicitous for the welfare of the young widow with her three sons and three daughters, left without means of support. He asked that the society give her aid on account of the services of the deceased missionary, and that it "find a way to keepe two of the sonnes at schoole."[2] Mrs. Mayhew, Junior, attended the annual meeting of the commissioners in September, 1658, and laid her case before them personally, and they gave her an allowance of twenty pounds "in consideration of her husbands paines and labours amongst the Indians," and wrote the father that "youer Daughter Mayhew was also with us and hath received such Incurragement from us as wee thought we might adventure to bestow: but shal bee very free to doe further as the Corporation shall advise."[3] At this same meeting, the following grants, in addition, were made: —

To Mr. Thomas Mayhew senr for his paines in teaching and instructing the Indians this year to September 1658	20 00 00
To Thomas and James two Indians Interpreters and school masters that Instruct the Indians att Martins Vineyards each ten pounds	20 00 00

[1] Indian Converts, 297.

[2] 4 Mass. Hist. Soc. Coll., VII, 34.

[3] Records, Commissioners of the United Colonies, II, 205.

To Peter Folgure English scoolmaster that teacheth the Indians and Instructs them on Lords day 25 00 00

To Mrs. Bland for healpfulnes in Phisicke and Chirurgery att Martins Vineyards[1] 02 00 00

The usual allowances for Hiacoomes were made in addition to the above grants, and the commissioners wrote: "wee hope god will afford strength who hath given you a hart for this great worke." It was indeed a great work, and one which ought to have engaged the energies of a much younger man, but none came forward to fill the vacant chair. The salary offered was not sufficient for the purpose of attracting anyone not having his heart in the task. "I pray take it for granted, if such employment as mine amongst the Indians be not to be considered, or verry little, I hope I shall sattisfie my sellfe whether the call of God by the Indians, which is still continued by them verry lately expressing themselves to that purpose." In these words he placed the matter squarely before the commissioners, and went about his work. The misgivings in the old man's mind over all these conflicting circumstances are told by the pastor of the Old South Church, Boston, in language that reflects accurately what passed therein, and his words are quoted at length: —

He sees no Probability of obtaining so sufficient a *Salary* as might invite a *regular Minister* to engage in the *Indian* Service; he has little or no Hopes of finding any of the Spirit of his deceased *Son*, to bear the Burden attending, and at this time of Necessity to be undergone, with a Prospect of more than could well be expected, to encourage to so toilsome a Work; he considers, that his excellent *Son* had spent his Strength, and yet rejoiced in the midst of these many Aches, Pains and Distempers, contracted by his often lodging on their hard Matts, in their exposed Wigwams, and enduring wet and cold, in Faith of *God's* accepting and prospering him in that painful Work, whereto he could see no earthly Advantage that might rationally move or encourage him. The pious *Father* concludes that this was all of GOD, and not merely of Man: and when he looked on the *Indians*, he could not bear to think that the Work so hopefully begun, and so far advanced by his Son, should now expire with him also.

In the Consideration of these things, an holy Zeal for the Glory of God, and a most compassionate Charity for the Souls of this bereaved and perishing *People*, kindle up in his Breast. They raise him above all those Ceremonies and petty Forms and Distinctions that lay in the Way, and which he accounted as nothing in competition with their *eternal Salvation:* and he therefore resolves to do his utmost, both to preserve this most important Work, and to carry it on under all external Difficulties and Discouragements.

He determines frequently to visit and encourage this poor People. He goes once every Week to some of their plantations. At so advanced

[1] Records, Commissioners of the United States, II, 205.

an Age he sets himself with unwearied Diligense to perfect himself in their Difficult Language; and tho a *Governour*, yet is not ashamed to become a *Preacher* among them. And his Heart was so exceedingly engaged in the Service, that he spared no Pains nor Fatigues, at so great an Age therein; sometimes travelling on Foot nigh *twenty Miles* thro' the Woods, to preach and visit, when there was no English House near to lodge at, in his absence from home.[1]

Very little can be added to this clearly limned picture of this new missionary, as he took up the burden dropped by the younger man when no one else arose to fill the vacant chair.

By the end of the next summer, before the annual meeting of the commissioners, the elder Mayhew addressed a letter to his friend, Governor John Winthrop, Jr., of Connecticut, giving him an explanation of the situation up to that time. Omitting the formal portions, the abstract follows: —

I have ever borne the greatest burthen touchinge this worke when my sonne was here, hardly ever free, and I have through mercye taught them this year, and doe still goe on, and the Lord hath strengthened me much of late, beyond my expectation. I am sorry that the Commissioners did not send some trustye & considerable person to see how things are carried on here. Mr. Browne of Seacunck, ere he went for England, wrote me he would come on purpose to sattisfie himsellfe about these Indians, whoe had, as I perceived, many doubts of them & all the rest. I understand there is little or noe hopes of Mr. Pierson. I am still of this mind, that a man will fitt the church here, & the Indians allsoe, is abundantly most convenient: though he hath little or noe Indian languadge, he will soon attaine it, with the hellpes that are here now: I have wrote the Commissioners I can clearly make knowne to them by an interpreter, what I know myselfe. I do speake to them sometimes about an houre. I ask sometimes where they understand: they say yes: and I know they doe, for in generall I really know they understand me, but sometimes I dount myselfe & then I ask. Notwithstandinge this, I desire, if it may be, a sollid man & a scholler for both works. If not, for the present the Indians are comfortably supplied. If I should be taken by death, here is hellpe that the schoolmaster who hath some languadge,[2] and my sonne Doggett[3] that hath I think much more than any English man uppon the Island, and is a considerable young man : & of the Commissioners I much desire, if I come not, that touching the business that the Commissioners of the Bay may have some power granted to consider with me & determine what they shall see good grounds for. I resolve, if God will, for to goe thither before the meeting next year, either before winter or at Springe.

You may be pleased to tell the Commissioners that I say & tis true that I have great neede to have what may be justly comminge to me for this worke to supply my wants.[4]

[1]Indian Converts, 298.
[2]Peter Folger was the schoolmaster.
[3]Thomas Daggett, his son-in-law.
[4]4 Mass. Hist. Soc. Coll., VII, 36. Letter dated Aug. 29, 1659.

At the annual meeting of the commissioners, held in September, 1659, the following allowances were made by them for the work on the Vineyard: —

Imprimis to Mr Thomas Mahew for his paines in teaching and Instructing the Indians at Martins vinyards,	30 00 00
To Peter Folger, an English schoolmaster there,	20 00 00
To four Indian Teachers there, one ten pounds, the other three five pounds apiece[2]	25 00 00

Among the plans which the new incumbent devised for the improvement of the natives was an advanced education at some of the schools in or around Boston, with perhaps a collegiate course for such as should prove fit to receive it. The commissioners were evidently doubtful of the expediency of this idea, and wrote him in somewhat of a cautionary tone: "Conserning the Indian boys you do speake of sending wee desire that they should bee well entered, that is fitt for the accidence before they come hither." By this last phrase was meant, prepared for teaching in the grammar. The plan was not immediately adopted. The accounts of the commissioners for the next year contain the following items: —

To Mr Thomas Mahew for Teaching and Instructing the Indians att the Vineyard for this yeare (1660),	30 00 00
To Peter Folger a Teacher and Scoolmaster to the Indians there,	20 00 00
To Hiacoomes an Indian Scoolmaster and Teacher of them on the Lords day,	10 00 00
To seaven other Indian Teachers comended to us by Mr. Mahew that are healpful in Teaching others,[2]	17 10 00

The advancement of the work along natural lines seemed to the new helmsman to be in the direction of making these many converts into one church organization, formed like the churches of the English, and he determined to try the experiment. Accordingly, he arranged for the regular ceremonies incident to such affairs, and sent invitations to Gov. Thomas Prence of Plymouth, "and several others, but they came not," the old missionary says, "but the English on the island and several strangers of divers places present did well approve of them."[3] It is presumed that the formation of this "church" was not regarded as complete according to the rules of Congregational bodies. It is probable that Hiacoomes was pastor.

[1]Records, Commissioners of the United Colonies, II, 218.

[2]Ibid.

[3]Letter, Thomas Mayhew to Daniel Gookin, dated Sept. 1, 1674. Rev. John Cotton said this church was "gathered," but had no "officers."

Among the other plans for the continuance of the work was the education of the eldest son of the deceased missionary, young Matthew, preparatory to his following in the footsteps of his father. Accordingly, he was sent to school in Cambridge, in order that he might be liberally educated, and proceed further in a collegiate course when he grew older. We see his name in the accounts of the commissioners for 1659, for the first time. The "Indian boyes" also appear in the accounts for the year 1661, which are here given, showing many grants to the work on the island, aggregating £211, or an equivalent of about $5000 in the money of the present day. It is evident that the criticisms of the public as to discriminations against the island missions had been of some effect.

To Mr Thomas Mayhew of the Vineyards for his sallary	30 00 00
More for his extreordinary paines charge and trouble the time past among the Indians there	10 00 00
To 8 Indian scoolmasters and Teachers of the Indians there, viz: — To Sacomas, Memeekeen, Takanah, Kisquick, Samuel, Manaso, James and Annawanett	30 00 00
To Wheele Cards and Cotton woole to Imploy the Indian weemen att the Vinyards to bee kept as a comon stock for them	10 00 00
To Mistris Mayhew the Relicte of Mr. Thomas Mahew for her Incurragement and support	10 00 00
To Fisenden of Cambridge for the Diet of Mathew Mahew	08 00 00
To Peter Folger a Teacher att the Vineyard	20 00 00
To Mistris Bland for her paines care and Phisicke for the Indians att the Vineyard for the yeare and to satisfy her for what was short of her expectation and expence the last yeare	05 00 00
To Mr. Danforth of Cambridge for the Diett and clothing of 4 Indian Scollors for one yeare ending att October nexte att 15 lb a piece	60 00 00
To the clothing of Mathew Mayhew for the yeare past	05 00 00
To wood for the scoole	00 18 00
To Mr Mahew that hee distributed to well deserving Indians	02 00 00
To severall books delivered to the Indian scollars and Matthew Mahew as by accounts appears	08 17 13
To clothing an Indian att his first coming	01 00 00
To Mr Corlett for teaching 4 Indians and Mathew Mahew[1]	12 00 00

At this time the natives of Gay Head, who were nearer the influences of their chiefs on the main land, had "obstinately" refused to have aught to do with the religion of the English. For about twenty years they had resisted all ap-

[1]Records of the Commissioners of the United Colonies, II, 261.

proaches on the subject, and now the old missionary turned his energies towards bringing them into the fold. His biographer says that he did not "content himself with the Progress which his son had happily made before him, but indefatigably labours for a further Advancement." This was the only spot on the island where heathen rites were still carried on, and he wished to clean the board entirely. So he began with the Sachem Mittark about this time, and got him interested in the subject through his native teachers. Meanwhile the other work was going on as before. The missionary-magistrate "ordinarily preached to some of their Assemblies one Day every Week," and from the narration of the general character of his work heretofore quoted, we may conclude that he fully earned the pay allowed him by the society. The records of the commissioners for the two following years contain these items relating to the Vineyard: —

September 10, 1662.

To Mr Mahew of Martins Vinyard his sallary for a year past	30 00 00
To eight Indian Scoolmasters att Martins Vinyard, viz: — Iacoms, Mamnachesen, Tacanash, Kesquish, Samuel Nacasco, James and Annawamett.	30 00 00

September 3, 1663.

To Mr Thomas Mahew att the Vineyard his sallary	30 00 00
To eight Indian Teachers and Scoolmasters att the Vinyard[1]	30 00 00

One of the Indian "boyes" sent from the Vineyard, upon the recommendation of the new missionary, was a son of the Sachem of Homes Hole, and he had by this time so far progressed in his studies, that he was entered as a student at Harvard College, and was making excellent improvement, passing his examinations satisfactorily. Other students were now sent.[2]

In 1664, the accounts show that the salary of Mr. Mayhew was increased to forty pounds, and that the eight schoolmasters continued to be carried on the payroll of the society. It is apparent that the compensation paid to the principal persons in the employ of the society depended on the available funds

[1]Records, Commissioners of the United Colonies, II, 277, 296.

[2]At this meeting of the Commissioners it was ordered "that the severall of those Indians scollars att Mr. Welds bee Removed to the gramer Scoole att Cambridge att the expiration of this yeare and hee is alowed to take another youth now sent from Martins Vineyard that came to him about the 9th of this Instant (September)." (Ibid., II, 280.)

from time to time, and not upon any stipulated rate.[1] At this juncture, Rev. John Cotton had received and accepted a call to the English church society of Edgartown, and had become interested in the work of Christianizing the natives. Encouraged by Mr. Mayhew, he set about to learn the language spoken by the island tribes. "He hired an Indian after the rate of Twelve pence per day for Fifty days to teach him the Indian Tongue," says his nephew, Cotton Mather, "but his Knavish Tutor having received his Whole Pay too soon, ran away before Twenty Days were out; however in this time he had profited so far that he could quickly preach unto the Natives."[2] Thus he became a welcome assistant to the old missionary, and gradually fitted himself for the special duties of such a position in case of need.

In 1666, Mittark, the Sachem of Gay Head, who had been attending the mission meetings at Nunpaug for the past three years, during a temporary residence there, embraced the new religion and, returning to his home, began preaching to his people, and they followed him into the church of the Puritans, thus completing the work of evangelization upon the island among all the sachemships. It was the final great result of the labors of the aged missionary.

The accounts of the commissioners for the year 1666 are not extant. In 1667, the name of John Cotton appears for the first time as recipient of a salary of thirty pounds for preaching to the Indians, and his wife was paid ten pounds "for Phisicke and Surgery" among them. At this same meeting, September, 1667, Mr. Mayhew was allowed thirty pounds, the same as Mr. Cotton; there were nine Indian "scoolmasters" this year who received thirty-two pounds, and five pounds were voted to Matthew Mayhew, who was being educated to take his grandfather's place.[3] This year also witnessed the last appearance of the new assistant, Mr. Cotton, on the rolls of the society. He quarrelled with Mayhew and, having received urgent calls to go to Plymouth, he thought best to sever his connections with those who could not get along with him. The cause of the trouble is not known. The situation was a delicate one, considering all the circumstances. Matthew was ostensibly preparing for the work,

[1]Records, Commissioners of the United Colonies, II, 317.

[2]He left some valuable notes on the Indian grammar which his son Josiah extended, and they are now in existence.

[3]Records, Commissioners, etc., II, 330.

under the guidance of his grandfather, at the expense of the society, and it is probable that Mr. Cotton found that the old missionary was not the easiest master to serve. The young minister undoubtedly had "ideas" which were not approved by the elder man, and the future being uncertain, discords resulted. Both carried their grievances to the commissioners, and the following record of it appears in their proceedings: —

> Mr. John Cotton appeered before the Commissioners and was seriously spoken too To Compose those allianations between him and Mr. Mahew: other wise it was signified to him that the Commissioners could not expect good by theire laboure whereas by their mutuall Contensions and Invictives one against the other they undid what they taught the Natives.

Mr. Cotton told them that he had received "sundry calles" to go to other places, and "he was left to his libertie to dispose of himselfe as the Lord should Guid him."[1] He finally went to Plymouth, where he continued the work of preaching to the Indians of that locality.

"When I lived at the Vineyard, (1665–1667)," says Rev. John Cotton, "the praying towns were Chappaquidgick, Nashamoiess, Sengekontaket, Taakiminy, Nashuakemmuck (and) Talhanio." This last name is an undoubted misreading for some locality not now known in that form. The word is not Algonquian, and without the original text before us it must pass as printed. As no mention is made of Christiantown, where a "praying town" had been granted several years before this, we may suppose that Onkokemmy may be intended. Thus matters went on with such satisfaction for the next few years that in 1670 the growth had been so steady, and the converts had proven so staunch in the new faith, that Mr. Mayhew made arrangements to perfect the tentative organization of 1659, and give the Indian church full powers under the Congregational orders. Prince the annalist says: —

> The Day appointed being come, which was August 22, 1670, an *Indian Church* was compleatly formed and organized, to the Satisfaction of the *English* Church, and other religious People on the Island, who had Advantage of many Years Acquaintance, and sufficient Experience of their Qualifications. At this *Solemnity* it seems the famous Mr. *Eliot* was also present; for in a Letter of *September* 20, 1670, published the Year after at *London*, in a Tract entituled, *A brief Narative of the Progress of the Gospel among the* Indians *in* New-England, *in the Year* 1670, he gives an Account of the State of the *Natives* under the Hands of this

Mr. *Mayhew*, and tells us, "That passing over to the *Vineyard*,[1] many were added to the Church of that Place, both Men and Women, and were all of them baptized, and their Children also with them; and that the *Church* was desirous to have chosen Mr. *Mayhew* for their *Pastor*, but he waved it, conceiving that in his present Capacity, he has greater Advantages to stand their *Friend*, and do them Good, to save them from the Hands of such as would bereave them of their Lands, &c. But they should always have his Counsel Instruction, and Management in all their Ecclesiastical Affairs, as they hitherto had; that he would die in this Service of CHRIST."[2]

The Apostle Eliot came, as the leading light in the missionary firmament, together with Mr. Cotton, the former preacher here, and by them together with the aid of Mr. Mayhew the regular rites were administered. "We did at first receive them," says Mayhew, "they renouncing heathenism and confessing their sins: and those were generally professors." The three missionaries, Eliot, Mayhew, and Cotton, imposed hands in the ordination of Hiacoomes as Pastor, John Tackanash as teacher, and John Nahnoso and Joshua Momatchegin as ruling elders, the first regularly ordained church officers in the native church on the Vinevard. Hiacoomes continued in charge of his flock for many years after, surviving his colleague, Tackanash, who died in 1684. Hiacoomes delivered a funeral oration at the beloved teacher's funeral, which has been preserved to future generations by the diligence of Rev. John Mayhew, who "took in Writing the Heads of the said Speech." Hiacoomes joined in the ordination of his successor, Japhet Hannit, giving the "charge" required by the rites of Congregational orders. "I saw him frequently when I was a Youth," says Experience Mayhew, "and still remember him, the Gravity of his Countenance, Speech and Deportment. He seemed always to speak with much Thought and Deliberation, and I think very rarely smiled. I was present when he laid hands on Mr. Japhet, prayed and gave the Charge to him: which Service he performed with great Solemnity." He survived until 1690, when in the fulness of a great age he "went into Eternal Rest." Tackanash was the virtual successor of Hiacoomes when the latter became superannuated, and was made the pastor of the united churches on the east end of the Vineyard before his

[1]Dr. Increase Mather says that both Mr. Eliot and Mr. Cotton went over, and assisted in the ordination, in his Latin letter to the famous Mr. Leusden of Utrecht, written in 1687, and published at London in 1688.

[2]Indian Converts, 300.

death. "When there was no English Pastor upon the Island," says the author of "Indian Converts," "some of our godly English People very chearfully received the Lord's Supper administered by him; and I suppose none would have scrupled it, had they understood the Indian Language." That he was highly esteemed by both his own people and the whites is evident from the excellent character given to him by the author just quoted. He died Jan. 22, 1683–4, and was buried the next day in the presence of a great concourse of mourners, probably at Nunnepoag where he lived. The ruling elder, John Nahnoso, was an Indian of Sanchakantacket, and upheld the requirements and dignities of his sacred office worthily, according to the accounts which have come down to us. He was by virtue of his position in the church known by the Indians as an "Aiuskomuaeninuog," or Reprover, the Man of Reproofs, because they admonish sinners and offenders against discipline of the church. He died in 1678, "universally esteemed a good Man." The other ruling elder, Joshua Momatchegin, lived on Chappaquiddick, and survived all his colleagues of the first church. When the church was divided later on, and those living at Chappaquiddick were set off as a separate body, he with Hiacoomes were the principal officers, but after the death of Hiacoomes, the membership fell off almost to the vanishing point, and the place was "unchurched," according to his biographer. Nevertheless he continued steadfast, and "tho there was such a Flood of strong Drink, as drowned most of the People in the Place where he lived, yet he kept wholly free from any Excess in the Use of those Liquors by which his Neighbours were destroyed." He died about the year 1703.

It is to be understood that this church, then gathered, comprised in its membership the converted natives from all parts of the island. It is presumed that the meeting house was at Nunnepog in Edgartown, and may have been the structure for which the commissioners made an appropriation in 1654.[1] This combination of all the praying Indians into one church proved not to be a practical arrangement, and within two years there was a division, "the pastor and one ruling elder for Chappaquidgick; the teacher and the other ruling elder for the other church, which hath some members, if I mistake not," says Mr. Cotton, "in all the other towns

[1]This meeting house was destroyed by fire. (Indian Converts, 116.)

above mentioned." Meanwhile, as elsewhere related, the civil affairs of the Vineyard were undergoing a radical change, under the political connection established with the duke's new administration in New York, and Magistrate and Missionary Thomas Mayhew was acquiring greater powers both over the English and the Indians. The missionary-governor, in his hour of civil honors, did not forget his wards, and bespoke the interest of his suzerain, Governor Lovelace, in the development of his work. This was all unknown to the cavalier executive, Christianizing aborigines, but he gave the old missionary a letter to the governor of New Plymouth, in which he says: "I doe Recommend it you that you'l please to graunt to him some enlargm't of Recompence for his Trouble and Paines amongst the Indians soe farr as conveniently it may be done for his Encouragement in his Ancient Dayes. He together with his deceased sonn haveing been Instruments of doeing much Good by their Instructions in bringing divers of them to the knowledge of the Christian Religion wch is worthy of great Commendacon. What Civility you shall doe him herein shall bee kindly acknowledged."[1]

The condition of the mission work here at this time is fully detailed in a letter of Thomas Mayhew to the commissioners, under date of August 23 of this year (1671), and it will be quoted in full: —[2]

Right Worth: & Worsh'll

The Commissioners of the United Collonies

these are to Informe you touchinge the present state of the word of God amongst the Indians uppon thes Iles the Vynyard and Nantukkett as farr as I can Judge by such as I have spoken with from time to time till this present both such as are of the Churche and those that are praying Indians Doe in a Comfortable manner upphold the publique worshippe and service of God: I meete with nothing that doth Contradicte it. For the Vynyard the two Churches goe on verry well with whome myselfe & others have communicated: done by them in a Solemne Manner. My sellf the two pastoers & one of the elders doe usually spend most parte of the last day of the weeke together for the better progresse of this great designe: Those are many that have Cast of heathenisme and except those at the Gayhead of all the rest I know not of any but will say they approve of the way of God: many occasions I have to reason with those I most suspect. The Counsell wee heare they say is verry good though many practice litl yett in words they side with it. Uppon my

[1]New York Col. Mss. (Deeds), III, 74.

[2]1 Mass. Hist. Soc. Coll., VI, 196. On the contrary, Simon Athearn and Jacob Perkins of Tisbury complained bitterly of Mayhew's lenience to the Indians in court. (N. Y. Col. Mss., XXIV, 159.)

returne from York I called all the Sachims together with the Chieffest amongst the rest for to acquaint them that seeing they had acknowledged our king to be theirs & to fight for him and with his subjects against his & their enemies: that now the gentelman that orders government here had taken them into his highnes p'tecon and in all extremities would assist them expecting from them no other returne but that they lived quiettly & peaceably under the govment he had sett over them: being myselfe the wch he had wholly for diverse reasons Refered unto me: of which every man accepted of thankfully: And not onely soe but after much discourse I made a vote as to the waie of God and there was not one but helld upp his hand to furthere it to the uttmost. Many of them not p'fessed praying men diverse allso spake verry well to the thing p'pounded. I remember not such an unyversall Consent till now: As to the meetings uppon this Iland there are two Churche meeteing and three other. In all which there are generall Church Members: this is besides what is Donne by Metark at his place & sometimes some other helpe: besid this there are 15 families at Elizabethes Iles 7 whereof are praying families: the teachers I shall sett downe underneath: Concerning theire Sallary Severall doe speake of it as small if it may be Inlardged I desire it and that 50 li may be added to Elizabeth's Ile wch Indians are under my care allso: for my part tis well knowne my time is either at home or abroade spent generally uppon this service, and soe it was about seven yeares ere I had any consideration wch some thought I should have being in oface: Seeing it pleaseth God for to Contynue me in my measure serviceable thus farr now hallfe my eightieth yeare. If a rule for bounty for me may be found use it I suppose when I am gonne it will cost double to doe what I doe now or have donne. As Mr Elliot writes I see but few that attend this Imployment. I had greate hopes till now to have seene you at Plymouth: a letter is litle to a man's presence: besides that this is hastyly, a vessel being in the harbor to goe uppon the first tourn of the wether being but a weeke before the tyme: I take it for granted by a letter I did receive from Boston yesterday you sitt not at Plymouth: I have sent to be more certeinely Informed: if I finde you doe soone ynough if God will I shall com: Thus Saluteing you with al due Respecte humbly Intreating you to take in good p'te this shorte Information: Committing you to the guydance & p'tecon of the almighty in your weightye affayres & desyring yo'r prayers I rest

The humble Servaunt of your much
honoured Selves to serve In Xt Jesus

23 : 6 : 71 uppon the Vinyard. THOMAS MAYHEW

Over leafe

The Names of the Teachers

Iacombes	10 00 00
Toquenosh pastor allso	5 00 00
To Mumannequin	2 00 00
To Samuell & Nunaso	5 00 00
To John Amannett & famy	5 00 00
To Nanankommin & Eanawannett	5 00 00
To Nantukkett Sachim	3 00 00
To Metark	3 00 00

To John Iacombes	2 00 00
To John Gybbs	2 10 00
To the Sachims from Nantukkett	2 10 00
Ive give 50 sh for some that have donne some service at Elizabeths Ile	2 10 00
	48 00 00
To Nathaniel for schooling some time since[1]	01 10 00
	49 10 00

At a meeting of the commissioners of the United Colonies, held on the 6th of September, 1672, the following grants were made for carrying on the mission work on this island: —

To old Mr. Mahew of the Vineyard	40 00 00
To sundry Indian Teachers and Rulers on Martins Vineyards and Nantuckett under the Government of Mr. Mayhew.[2]	57 00 00

The advancement of the work of converting the Indians was greater on this island than elsewhere. It was the only place at this time which had two established churches. Even the church at Natick, under Eliot, was not organized with officers, as was the case here. It will not be necessary to follow from year to year any further the fortunes of this missionary undertaking, lest it become too monotonous and occupy greater space than can be spared. The ten years succeeding this date represent the last decade of the life of their ancient teacher, and it is not to be expected that much active work would be done by him at his advanced age. In 1678 the two churches had over forty members who "walked inofensively," and the several bodies of praying Indians were now methodically divided into at least seven regular meetings holding weekly services with eleven teachers, over which he kept general supervision, preaching to one or the other of the meetings as his strength permitted.[3] Prince says: "Nor did the Settlement of a Church with Pastors among them abate of his ministerial Care or Pains for these aboriginal Natives: but this honourable and antient Gentleman still proceeds in the laborious Work, even to the ninety third Year of his Age, and the twenty third of his ministry, which was in 1681, when he dies, to the great Lamentation both of the English and

[1]Records of the New England Company, pp. 39–43. Some references to Nantucket are omitted.

[2]Records, Commissioners of the United Colonies, II, 356.

[3]Conn. Col. Records, 1678–1689, pp. 504–506.

Indians." Indeed, the duties devolving upon him by the change of government, in 1671, and the animosities which his "life" appointment aroused, kept him so fully occupied, as elsewhere told, that he must have been glad to leave the details of missionary work to others. In 1673, his grandson John had become pastor to the churches of Tisbury and Chilmark united, and soon after began to preach to the natives as assistant to his grandfather. Matthew, who had received special training for the work, at the expense of the society, had completely turned his back on it, and was devoting himself to politics, an occupation more to his taste and for which he was pre-eminently fitted.

The last days of the aged governor are thus described by Rev. Thomas Prince, who obtained his facts from Experience Mayhew: —

> Not long before his Death he had a very ill Turn, which his relatives thought would have carried him off; but he told them, The time was not yet come, and that he should not die with that Fit of Sickness: and as he said it accordingly proved, he recovering and preaching again several times. After this he told a Grandson of his, yet living, That the time of his Departure was near at hand; but he earnestly desired that God would give him one Opportunity more in publick to exhort the English of the Town where he lived, viz Edgartown, on the East End of the Island; which he had for some time been also obliged to teach, thro' the want of a regular Minister. GOD granting him his Desire, he taught them the following Sabbath and then took his affectionate Farewel of them: and falling ill that Evening, he assured his Friends, That his Sickness would now be to Death, and he was well contented therewith, being full of Days, and satisfied with Life, &c. He gave many excellent Counsels and Exhortations to all about him; his Reason and Memory not being at all impaired, as could be perceived. And he continued full of Faith and Comfort and holy Joy to the last.[1] His great Grandson, now the Reverend Mr. Experience Mayhew, tells me, that when his Father went to visit the Governor, in his last Sickness he took his young Son with him, being then about eight Years old; and he well remembers his great Grandfather's calling him to his Bedside, and laying his Hands on his Head, and blessing him in the Name of the LORD.[2]

Matthew Mayhew, in announcing his grandfather's death to Governor Hinckley, of the Plymouth Colony, gives the fol-

[1]The exact date of his death can be pretty closely fixed. He was alive March 24, 1681–2, when he acknowledged a deed, and on March 28, following, his will was attested by a witness in court. In Experience Mayhew's "Indian Converts," p. 301, it is stated that he preached on the Sabbath before his death, and fell ill that same evening, and was sick six days. March 19 was Sunday in that year, and the six days of his illness would carry us to Saturday evening, March 25, 1682, which is the probable day of his death.

[2]Indian Converts, 301.

lowing particulars of the last hours of the old missionary governor: —

It pleased god of his great goodness, as to continue My honoured Grandfather's life to a great age, wanting but six dayes of ninety yeares:[1] so to give the comfort of his life: and to ours as well as his comfort, in his sickness which was six dayes, to give him an increase of faith, and comfort, manifested by many expressions, one of which I may not omitt, being seasonable, as in all, so espetially in these times; viz: I have lived by faith, and have found god in his son; and there I finde him now, therefore if you would finde god looke for him in his son, there he is to be found, and no where else &c: he manifested great assurance of salvation; he was of low price in his own esteem, saying that he had been both unworthy and unprofitable, not deserving the esteem many had of him; and that he was only accepted in, and through the lord Jesus: &c.[2]

To this he adds his own estimate of him: "I think without detraction I may say no man ever in this land approved himself so absolute a father to the Indians as my honoured grandfather: I got no great hope that there will ever be the like in this selfish age."

The exact location of the burial place of the governor is given in a document entered in the registry of deeds, as prepared by his direct descendant, William Mayhew of Edgartown, Aug. 14, 1838. In this paper he says, after describing the "home lot" of the family: "Gov. Thomas Mayhew and his wife, according to the best of my knowledge were buried in the west corner of Grafton Norton's lot about ten feet from the street and a little to the north west of the graves that are now visible. I think there is a rock near the head of the graves of the said Thomas and his wife." In this same yard, on South Water street, there are several grave stones erected to members of the Mayhew family, and William Mayhew adds: "I believe the whole number to be eight." It is the house lot just north of the "Old Mayhew House."

JOHN MAYHEW.

John Mayhew, the youngest son of Thomas, Junior, born "in the beginning of 1652," succeeded to the work so long carried on by his grandfather, and was the third of his family

[1]Subtracting ninety years less six days, his age as stated by Matthew, we are carried back to March 31, 1592, as the day of his birth, and allowing for his error of one year in his age, we have his birth falling on Saturday, March 31, 1593, the day prior to the record of baptism, as shown in the sketch of his family and early life in another portion of this history.

[2]Prince Mss. (Hinckley Papers), I, No. 30, in Boston Public Library.

to engage in it. He was just turned thirty years of age when he became the spiritual teacher of the native churches, but owing to his modest and retiring disposition, his connection with it has not been sufficiently established in the public knowledge. "But I can assure my Reader," says Prince, "that he fell not short either of the eminent *Genius* or *Piety* of his excellent *Progenitors*." His ministry among the Indians was generally successful, though it was marked by the appearance of a schism, due to the spread of the Antipedobaptist doctrines. This gained considerable headway, and caused him much concern. "Mr. *Mayhew* was rightly for repelling them with spiritual Weapons," says Prince, "and being a Person of very Superior Abilities, and Acquaintance with the Scriptures, he used to desire such as began to imbibe those principles to produce their Reasons; and those who wanted to be resolved in their Difficulties, to give him the Advantage to resolve them in publick, that others might also receive Light and Satisfaction; whereby they came to be more clearly instructed, and more fully convinced and satisfy'd, than in the ordinary Way of *Preaching*, which yet always preceded the other." It is stated that such was the power of his arguments against this new-fangled doctrine that the promoters "could make no Progress in their designs on the Island." However, this sect did succeed later in displacing the old orthodox religion of the Mayhews on Gay Head, as will be related in the history of that town. John Mayhew inherited the personal qualities of his father, in so far as his disregard of the temporal returns for his services. From 1682 to 1686 he was paid but ten pounds a year, "but after the honourable *Commissioners* came to be acquainted with him, and the eminent Service he did, they raised his Salary to *thirty Pounds* which was about two Years before his Death."[1] And yet, says Prince, "he went on chearfully, in Hopes of a rich and joyful Harvest in *Heaven*." He was destined to have but a short career, as in the latter part of September, 1688, he was taken with "an heavy Pain in his Stomach, Shortness of Breath, Faintness &c," and gradually grew worse until "he deceased on February 3, 1688–9, about two in the Morning, in the 37th Year of his Age, and the

[1] "In the Island of Martha, which is about Twenty Two miles long, are two american Churches planted, which are more Famous than the rest, for that over one of them presides an Ancient Indian Minister, called Hiacooms: John Hiacooms, Son of the said Indian Minister, also Preaches the Gospel to his Countreymen in (Chappaquiddick) Church: in that place John Tockinosh a Converted Indian Teaches." (Brief Relation of the State of New England, pub. London, 1689.)

16th of his Ministry; leaving the Indians in a very orderly Way of assembling on the Lord's Day for publick Worship in four or five several Places, and of hearing their several well instructed Teachers, who usually began with Prayer, and then after singing part of a Psalm, from some Portion of Scripture spake to the Auditors: as also an Indian Church, of one hundred Communicants, walking according to the Rule of Scriptures." [1]

EXPERIENCE MAYHEW.

The death of John Mayhew left a vacancy in the leadership of the Indian churches for several years. This loss coming so soon after the death of the old governor was the indirect cause of much demoralization in the religious element among the natives, as well as the introduction of the Antipedobaptist doctrines to confuse their minds. But another scion of this missionary family was rapidly growing up to take the crook dropped by the shepherds who had gone before him. This was Experience, eldest son of John Mayhew, born Jan. 27, 1672–3, and sixteen years of age at the father's decease. "The Indian Language has been from his Infancy natural to him," says Prince, and with this essential basis for successful work among them, he was trained by his excellent father for the work of the ministry, particularly to the natives. He began to preach to them in March, 1693–4, about five years after the death of his father, and on October 26th of the same year was invited to "teach" the English church in Tisbury.[2] Whether he complied with the latter call is not known, but it is certain that he devoted himself thereafter, with all his abilities, to the special work of instructing the natives in the Christian religion. In some respects he is the giant of his name in this field of labor. Among his contemporaries he was so esteemed. "Tho this Gentleman also unhappily missed of a learned Education in his younger days; yet by the signal blessing of God on his diligent Studies and Labours, he grew so conspicuously by that time he was about twenty five Years of Age, that the Rev. Dr. Cotton Mather, first in a Sermon printed at Boston 1698, and then reprinted in his Magnalia in London 1702, speaking of more than thirty Indian Assemblies, and of more than thirty hundred Christian Indians then

[1] Indian Converts, 305.
[2] Tisbury Records, 25.

in this Province, he adds, in the Margin the following Words, 'That an hopeful and worthy young Man, Mr. Experience Mayhew, must now have Justice done him of this Character, That in the Evangelical Service among the Indians there is no Man that exceeds this Mr. Mayhew, if there be any that equals him.' " The condition of the work under his control at this time will be interesting. The society in England desired a comprehensive report of the state of the missionary field to which it was contributing, and the commissioners appointed Rev. Grindal Rawson, pastor of the church in Mendon, and Rev. Samuel Danforth, pastor of the church in Taunton, to make a visitation of the several Indian missions throughout the Province, and inspect the work done in each. The following is an abstract of so much of this report as relates to the island missions: —

At Martha's Vineyard, viz. at Chilmark, alias Nashauekemmuk: here is an Indian church of which Japhet is pastor; a person of the greatest repute for sobriety and religion, and diligent in attending his ministerial employment: unto whom is adjoined Abel, a ruling elder, who likewise preaches to a part of the church, living at too great a distance ordinarily to attend church administrations. In that place we find two hundred and thirty one persons, three score and four in full communion. Their children are well instructed, as we find by our examinations of them in their catechism.

At Onkonkemme, within the bounds of Tisbury, are three score and twelve persons, unto whom Stephen and Daniel, who are brothers, are preachers; well reported of for their gifts and qualifications. Here we spent part of a Sabbath, and were joyful spectators of their Christian and decent carriage; the aforesaid Daniel praying and preaching not only affectionately but understandingly to them; unto whom we also imparted a word of exhortation in their own language, to their contentmnt and declared satisfaction.

At Seconkgut, in aforesaid Chilmark, also, which belongs to the inspection of aforesaid Stephen and Daniel, are thirty five persons, to whom for their greater ease, either the one or the other dispenses the word.

At Gay-head, Abel and Elisha are preachers to at least two hundred and sixty souls; who have here at their charge a meeting house already framed. We find that the Indians here, as also may be affirmed of most of the Indians belonging to Martha's Vineyard, (Chaubaquedeck excepted), are well instructed in reading, well clothed and most decently in English apparel.

At Edgartown, viz. at Sahnchecontuckquet, are twenty five families, amounting to one hundred and thirty six persons; Job Russel is their minister (error for Job Peosin).

At Nunnepoag about eighty four persons; Joshua Tackquannash their minister, Josiah Thomas their schoolmaster.

Maſſachuſee PSALTER :

ASUH,

Uk-kuttoohomaongaſh

DAVID

Weche

WUNNAUNOHEMOOKAONK

Ne anſukhogup JOHN,

Ut *Indiane* kah *Engliſhe*
Nepatuhquonkaſh.

Ne woh ſogkompagunukhettit
Kakoketahteaekuppannegk, aketamunnat,
kah wohwohtamunat Wunnetuppantam-
we Waſſukwhongaſh.

John v. 39.

*Natinneakontamook Wuſſukwhonkanaſh, newut-
che ut yeuſh kuttunnantamamwoo kuttahtom-
woo micheme pomantammooonk ; kah niſh
naſhog wauwaonukqueniſh.*

BOSTON, N. E.
Upprinthomunneau *B. Green*, kah *J. Printer*,
wutche quhtiantamwe CHAPANUKKEG
wutche onchekehtouunnat wunnaunchum-
mookaonk ut *New-England* &c 1709.

FAC-SIMILE TITLE PAGE OF THE MASSACHUSETTS PSALTER, OR PSALMS OF DAVID

By Experience Mayhew

At Chaubaqueduck, about one hundred and thirty eight persons; Maumachegin preaches to them every Sabbath. Josiah, by birth, is their ruler or sachem.[1]

This is the most comprehensive report we have had about the missions to the Indians, and gives us a detailed account of the several praying towns and the numbers in each. In a letter dated March 2, 1705, the Rev. Increase Mather wrote to Sir William Ashhurst, governor of the society, that Experience Mayhew had reported "that there are about one hundred and four score families of Indians on that island; and that of these, there are no more than two persons which now remain in their paganism," adding the further information that "he is at this time, gathering another church of Indians, whereof he is himself to be the pastor."[2] About this time, Rev. Josiah Torrey of Tisbury, who had learned the Indian tongue, began to preach to the Indians in that town in their language. Increase Mather called him "a hopeful young man."

The Society for the Propagation of the Gospel, under the advice of Mayhew probably, and with the approval of the commissioners, took another step forward in the relations which existed with the natives, and began the plan of caring for their material welfare. It will be remembered that Matthew Mayhew had sold to Governor Dongan certain fees and privileges in 1685 on Gay Head, known as the Lordship and Manor of Martha's Vineyard. Dongan, who had been created Earl of Limerick, was in receipt of yearly tribute from the Indians for the occupancy of this land, and the friends of the natives considered that the indefinite continuance of this tenantry system would reduce the Indians to a state of indolence and hopelessness. It was seen that without any interest in the soil they cultivated they had become shiftless, sinking deeper and deeper into poverty, and were becoming thereby an easy prey to vicious habits. As a result of negotiations with the owner, the society, on May 10, 1711, bought of him all his vested interests, Noman's Land excepted, for the sum of £550, and the title of Lord of the Manor passed from Lord

[1]Records, New England Company, 82. Two years later, the following persons were receiving compensation for preaching to the Indians here: John Weeks, at the Elizabeth Islands, £10–0–0; Experience Mayhew, £35–0–0; Japheth, Indian Pastor of an Indian church at Martin's Vineyard, £20–0–0. (N. Y. Col. Documents, IV, 755.) This was in 1700.

[2]Records, New England Company, 84, 86. It is believed that this was a church in Christiantown.

Dongan to the corporation. Sir William Ashhurst, the governor of the society, says in a letter: "I hope it will be the means to make the Indians live comfortably upon it, and prevent their scattering abroad, which would certainly have brought their offspring back again to their old idolatry."[1] This plan ensured a landlord in sympathy with their needs.

It will not be practicable to follow the yearly work of this missionary, for his services cover too long a period, but for the purposes of obtaining a view of the conditions about the middle of his pastorate the following account, given by him to the Rev. Cotton Mather, in 1720, is of interest. After stating that there were six small villages of natives on the island, containing about 155 families, to the number of about eight hundred persons, he proceeds: —

> Each of these villages is provided with an Indian Preacher to dispense the Word to them on the Lord's Days, when I am not with them. They meet for the Worship of God twice a Day on the Sabbath, and after Prayer sing a Psalm; then there is a Sermon Preached on some portion of Scripture, which being ended, they sing again, while the Days be of sufficient length; and then conclude with Prayer. . . . . .
>
> There is also care taken to Catechise the Youth; for besides what is done in this kind, by the Indian School-Masters & Preachers, I frequently examine the Young People myself, and have determined to attend this Service once a Fortnight, in some or other of the fore-mentioned Villages; and this Method will, I hope, prove very advantageous; and many grown People as well as Children, attending these Exercises.
>
> Having now Preached to the Indians upwards of 25 Years, I have never yet had any special charge of any one single Congregation committed to me; but have visited the several fore-mentioned Assemblies alternately, as I thought necessary; Preaching ordinarily unto some or other of them every Lord's Day, and on working days once a Fortnight; constantly also attending their Church-Meetings, to assist and direct them.

After referring to the aid rendered to him by the Rev. Josiah Torrey, he adds: "The Rev. Mr. Samuel Wiswall Pastor of the Church in Edgartown, has now almost learned the Indian Tongue, with a design to do what Service he can among that people."[2]

The period represented by the pastorate of Rev. Experience Mayhew was noted not only its for length but for the high character of the work done by him in the development of native missionary talent. It was the longest service rendered

[1]Records, New England Company, 94–6. Livery and Seizin was not given until Oct. 6, 1712. (Sewall, Letter Book, I, 422.)

[2]Mather, "India Christiana" (1721).

by any of his name, and during it he had acquired a reputation of international proportions. He brought to it the zeal and industry of a mind in sympathy with his calling, and next to Eliot is classed at the most profound scholar in the Algonquian tongue. His published works in the native language are as follows: —

I. Ne Kesukod Jehovah Kessehtunkup &c. [The day which the Lord hath made.] A discourse concerning the institution and observation of the Lord's-day, etc. Boston, 1707.

II. Massachusee psalter: asuh. Ukkuttoohomaongash David etc. [The Massachusetts psalter: or Psalms of David, etc.] Boston, 1709.[1]

III. It is probable that the Indiane primer of 1720 and 1747 was revised by him.

His masterpiece, "Indian Converts," will be referred to in another place. It was dedicated "to the Honourable William Thompson, Esq., Governour, and To the rest of the Honourable Company for the Propagation of the Gospel in New England, and Parts adjacent in America."

Although he was not a college-bred man, yet such was the "Extraordinary Progress" he made in learning, that he was frequently offered the Degree of Master of Arts by Harvard College, but he "was pleased to excuse himself from the Honour." However, the college later prevailed upon him "to over-rule his Modesty," and the degree was conferred upon him at the Commencement on July 3, 1723, "to the Approbation of all that know him," says Prince.

That the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel appreciated his value is well indicated by his long service in their employ, extending from 1694 to 1758, a period of sixty-four years, but their financial support was not always constant nor adequate. In 1730 he petitioned the General Court for a grant of land as a recompense for his "Labours & Services in converting the Indians to Christianity & the Disadvantages to his own private Estate." The court ordered an allotment of two hundred acres, one mile to the eastward of the great Wachusett Hill.[2] Again in 1739, he was in financial straits and in another petition to the General Court represented that he had "been obliged to spend of his own Estate about

[1]Sewall says Mayhew was printing this book on Jan. 1, 1710–11, a discrepancy in dates. (Diary, II, 295–6.) See Indian Converts, p. 307, where 1709 is given, with a statement that he was also employed in translating the Gospel of John.

[2]Province Laws (1730), Vol. XI, C. 172. This was the Blue Hill in Milton.

Sixteen Hundred Pounds for the necessary support of himself and his Family notwithstanding his utmost care to preserve the same, by his living as frugally, as with any discovery he could do; His annual Salary being no more than an Hundred Pounds. Not that till within a few years last past, besides Twenty pound p anno lately allowed him, on account of his extraordinary Expenses in Entertaining the Indian Ministers and others on necessary occasions, resorting to his House and frequently lodging there . . . . insomuch that he has already been obliged to sell of his own Lands to the value of Six Hundred Pounds, besides Two Hundred Acres, formerly Granted to him." The General Court again came to his rescue and gave him a grant of six hundred acres in Hampshire County, and an annual allowance of £30, old tenor, for the space of five years.[1]

Like his forefathers he began the training of one of his sons to follow in his footsteps, and thus perpetuate the succession of ministry to the Indians in the family name. Accordingly Nathan, born in 1712, was sent to Harvard College in 1727, where he graduated in the class of 1731, but the young man died two years later, and all hopes were then centred on his youngest born sons, Zachariah and Jonathan. The latter did, indeed, take a college course, being made a Bachelor of Arts in 1744 at Harvard, but this brilliant young man desired a wider field for his talents, and accepted in 1746 a call to the famous West Church in Boston. This left Zachariah to assume the reins, but he had not been in preparation for it, and at the decease of the father, full of years and honor, on Nov. 29, 1758, there was no one ready to fill the place. In the cemetery on Abel's Hill, in Chilmark, lie the mortal remains of this remarkable man, the scion of a famous ancestry, and the progenitor of one of the most famous pulpit orators of the pre-Revolutionary period.

ZACHARIAH MAYHEW.

It devolved upon Zachariah Mayhew, who was forty years old at his father's death, to become the fifth missionary in successive generations, and after some time spent in deciding upon the matter, he concluded to take up the work, and in 1767, nine years after the death of Experience, he was

[1]Mass. Archives, XII, 104–108. The land was laid out in 1741.

ordained a preacher of the gospel to the Indians. When he took charge of the work, it was a different sort of a field from that plowed and cultivated by his ancestors. There were scarce three hundred Indians in the whole county by this time, two-thirds of whom resided in Chilmark and Gay Head. When he began his labors there were four societies engaged in the task of supporting missionary work among the natives of America, three belonging to Great Britain, one of which was of Scottish incorporation. The original society continued to support the Vineyard minister until towards the period of the Revolution, when the political agitations caused a withdrawal of funds and a lessening of interest in the subject. Rev. Jonathan Mayhew, in 1762, tried to secure the incorporation of a local society expressly for "propagating Christian Knowledge among the Indians of North America," but George the Third would not grant the necessary approval. This benevolent intent was frustrated, probably, for both religious and political reasons, as one of the four societies was maintaining a number of Episcopal churches in New England out of its missionary funds, the society chartered in 1707 by William III, to establish missions of the established church. This last-named organization was the object of great opposition among the Puritan element and many controversies grew out of its operations.[1] This, together with the attitude of the people of New England towards the crown tended further to alienate patronage; and Rev. Mr. Mayhew, in June, 1776, petitioned the General Court for relief from taxation, as he had been "long since deprived of remittances from England

[1]This society was attacked in a pamphlet prepared by Jonathan Mayhew, published in 1763, in which he essays to show the "nonconformity" of the conduct of its officers with the chartered requirements. The society, he says, has probably "expended 42,400 pounds sterling in New England," and by this means "might have maintained forty or fifty missions among the heathen for over thirty years past." The Indians on the Vineyard were already cared for; but Dr. Mayhew urges particularly the opportunities which had existed "for half a century past" among the Six Nations of New York, saying, "The chiefs have even petitioned for missionaries repeatedly through the governor of New York sending their petitions to this society." Only one missionary had been sent in response, Dr. Barclay, to the Mohawks, a little west of Albany, from 1735 to 1740; but his brief labors had been too feebly supported by the society to be of much avail. Mr. Apthorp, the Cambridge rector, himself saying, "Indian conversions are undertaken by our society incidentally and, as it were, ex abundanti." Had the society directed its energy to this work instead of planting churches in the towns already so supplied, says Dr. Mayhew, it would not only have furthered the good of the Indians, but "by converting these Indians, from New England to Florida, on the back of our settlements, important political results would have been gained. It would have had a direct and manifest tendency to attach them to the British interest. The more to counteract the designs of the French, till of late our most dangerous enemies on this continent."

from a charitable fund" for his support.[1] How long this had ceased is not known, but we may assume as early as 1770, the time of the Boston Massacre. Mr. Mayhew continued his labors, however, throughout the war period, with what support he could procure from the religious and charitable societies. For a period of eleven years after 1775, when hostilities broke out, the old "New England Company" made no contributions whatever for the missionary work in this region, but in 1786 diverted its revenues to New Brunswick. In 1794 another society with similar objects was contributing to the support of Rev. Mr. Mayhew and Rev. Joseph Thaxter for services as missionaries.[2] By this time, through intermarriage with negroes, the native population had increased to 440, of whom the larger part lived at Gay Head, and the work was not lessening as far as numbers were involved. Zachariah continued this work until his death, which occurred on March 6, 1806, in the eighty-eighth year of his age and the thirty-ninth of his ministry.[3] He was the last of his name to pursue this unique vocation, which had been a family distinction for one hundred and sixty-three years, a record practically unparalleled in the history of our country.

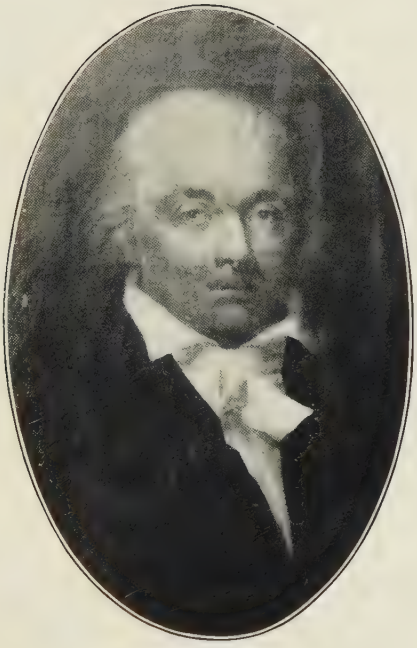
His successor was the Rev. Frederick Baylies, son of Frederick Baylies of Taunton, Mass., where he was born in 1774, and about 1810 came to this island to take up the missionary work. Of him a contemporary visitor records the following opinion: "He was a true-hearted man and highly useful in the sphere allotted to him. He labored diligently among them for some twenty-five years. The first time I visited the Island he was hale and vigorous, devoted to his work and much interested in the furtherance of liberal views of Christianity. His salary was about 550 dollars, a portion of which he expended for the support of Teachers among the Indians on the Vineyard, Nantucket, and Cape Cod. Under his instruction and preaching the Indians have a good deal improved."[4] Mr. Baylies died suddenly on a canal boat,

[1]He was joined in this petition by Rev. Gideon Hawley, missionary to the Mashpee Indians. The request was granted.

[2]Brief account of the Society for Propogating the Gospel among the Indians and others in North America, 1798. This society was incorporated in 1787, and was known as the S. P. G. The other was called the S. P. C. K. Several "small schools for Indian children" on the Vineyard were also maintained by this society.

[3]Hallock, "The Venerable Mayhews," etc., p. 61.

[4]Devens, "Sketches of Martha's Vineyard," 28. Mr. Baylies became much interested in the history and genealogy of the island and its people, and left numerous papers on the subject, some of which have been of use to the author of this work.



REV. FREDERICK BAYLIES

1774–1836

MISSIONARY TO THE INDIANS

while traveling in New York State, Sept. 30, 1836, having an apoplectic stroke, in the sixty-third year of his age.

Since the death of Mr. Baylies there has been no regular missionary to the Indians of the Vineyard. The Society for Propagating the Gospel Among the Indians and Others in North America has intermittently made donations to the church at Gay Head, and owns the present church and parsonage. The annual gift to the mission is $150, and has been continued for the past twenty years.

The religious faith of the worshippers, however, is Baptist, and the clergyman in charge is of that faith. For this reason the mission has received annually from the Massachusetts Baptist Missionary Society a grant of $100 for the support of the minister.[1] The present missionary is the Rev. W. H. Whitman, and regular services are maintained under his supervision.

[1] The society, since its first contribution in 1855, has given a total of $3910.84 to the Gay Head mission.

CHAPTER XX.

County of Dukes County.

ORGANIZATION AND JURISDICTION.

On the first day of November, 1683, the Provincial Assembly of New York divided the province into several counties and incorporated them by name, including Kings (now Brooklyn), Queens (Long Island), and Dukes, the last being decreed to "conteine the Islands of Nantuckett, Martin's Vineyard, Elizabeth Island, and Noe Man's Land."[1]

Laws were made at the same time, regulating the times of holding courts; but "Dukes County was referred to the Governeur and Counsell." The following also was then passed: "And forasmuch as there is a necessity of a high sheriffe in every county thro' the Province, Be it enacted by the Governor, Counsell, and Representatives in General Assembly met, and by the authority of the same, that there shall bee, yearly, and every year, a High Sheriffe constituted and commissionated for each county; and that each Sheriffe may have his under-sheriffe, deputy or deputies."

The effect of these laws was to combine the separate jurisdictions of the Vineyard and Nantucket and to add another office or two to the civil list, which was promptly filled by Matthew Mayhew, who seemed to feel that nothing was too small for his attention from chief magistrate down to register of deeds. Nantucket heretofore had been conducting its own affairs under a local autonomy subject to a certain suzerainty of the Mayhew proprietary government, while the outlying Elizabeth Islands with Noman's Land were under the jurisdiction of the Lord of Tisbury Manor. The county now being organized the officials met at Nantucket and passed the following order respecting the courts on Sept. 21, 1686: —

> Its ordered by the Court that henceforward the Court shall be held the last Tuesday in May at Nantucket, and the last Tuesday in September at Mathews Vinard.
>
> Sept. 21, 1686, The Court is adjourned to this day senit or till Mr. Mayhew come.[2]

[1] N. Y. Col. Mss., Vol. XXXI.

[2] Nantucket Records, II, 38. "Senit" is an abbreviation of Sennight, or seven nights, meaning a week.

County of Dukes County

This county organization continued to exist as outlined during the few remaining years of its connection with the province of New York, until by the charter of William and Mary it became on Oct. 7, 1691, a constituent county of the Massachusetts Bay Colony.

At the time of the incorporation of Dukes County there were only four counties in Massachusetts, namely: Essex, Middlesex, and Suffolk, which were each incorporated May 10, 1643, and Hampshire, May 7, 1662. Next came Barnstable and Plymouth, June 2, 1685, followed by Bristol on June 21, 1685.

The people of Nantucket did not desire to have further connection with Martha's Vineyard, after the separation from New York, and wished to dissolve the county organization and become a separate county by themselves. Requests for this arrangement were made to the General Court of Massachusetts in 1694, by the leading men of Nantucket. The following communication from Matthew Mayhew, acting for the governor and council, to the petitioners shows the progress of the matter at that date: —

Mart: Vineyard Sept'r: 28: 1694

Gent.

on motion to the Governor and Counsell of the province of the Massachusetts Bay in New England intimating the present state of that part thereof formerly Dukes County, through some misinformation, to be abridged of the libertie of subjects to the Crown of England the further consideration is remitted till your selves appear at Boston there to them render your reason for your urgent desier of your seperation out of s'd County, my self being desired to give you notice that his Excellency Sr William Phips in Councill will hear the same in their Convention beginning tusday the 16 of October next when it will bee expected you should therefore render your reasons therefore. I am gentl.

Your humble servant

MATTHEW MAYHEW

To the worship:

John Gardner James Coffin & William Geyer Esqrs

on Nantuckett.

"If I may adventur," wrote Simon Athearn to the General Court on March 12, 1694–5, "to shew my opinion concerning marthas vineyard & Nantucket being a County as when under York — It will be uneasy to the Inhabitants, and disturb peace and Trad, But it will be most easy for each Island to keepe their particular sessions at home & in case of appeale to sum supearior Court: Besides it will be a province Charge

to heire a vessel onc a year to Carry the Justices of the Supearior Court to Marthas Vineyard or Nantucket."[1]

This suggestion was effective. Nantucket continued to be a part of Dukes County until the seventh year of the reign of William III. On the 29th of May, 1695, the following act was passed by the General Court of Massachusetts: —

AN ACT FOR THE BETTER SETTLEMENT OF THE ISLANDS OF MARTHA'S VINEYARD, AND ISLANDS ADJACENT.

Be it enacted by the Lieutenant Governour, Council, and Representatives convened in General Court, or Assembly, and by the authority of the same: That the Islands of Martha's Vineyard, Elisabeth Islands, the Islands called Nomans-Land, and all the Dependencies formerly belonging to Dukes County, (the Island of Nantuckett only excepted) shall be, remain and continue to be One County, to all intents and purposes; by the name of Dukes County:

It was further provided that appeal of cases should be to the Superior Court at Plymouth and jurors be summoned from both counties. There was also a provision for

The Island of Nantuckett to remain and continue under the same Form of Government as is already there settled: And Appeals from the Judgments given or to be given in the Inferiour Court of Pleas within the said Island, to be heard and tryed in the Superior Court of Judicature to be held at Boston within the County of Suffolk, as is by law provided.[2]

Whether intended or not this statute created a county "by the name of Dukes County" instead of "Dukes," and in consequence all legal phraseology used in connection therewith has always read "County of Dukes County" and it so continues down to the present day.[3]

This reduction of the limits of the county to Martha's Vineyard alone was not entirely satisfactory to the people of this island, as it threw the management of affairs back into the family "ring," and the old agitation began once more. Simon Athearn again wrote a letter to the Speaker of the House of Representatives, Mr. James Converse, June 23, 1699, in which he voices the sentiment of the opposition: —

Wee in our discors, by the way, have thought it well that duks County was annext to barnstabl County, only it would increst a perpetuall Charg.

[1]Mass. Col. Archives, CXIII, 111.

[2]Province Laws, Vol. I, c. 7, Act of May 29, 1695.

[3]The words "County of Dukes County" are used in the Land Records, viz:—the first time in Vol. I, p. 160, Feb. 24, 1702; Vol. II, p. 3, Oct. 29, 1703; Vol. II, p. 238, Mar. 20, 1706; Vol. IV, p. 273, Oct. 2, 1707, and Vol. II, p. 160, Mar. 3, 1707-8.

But duks County want able Larned men to Ingaig such a subtell serpent who is headgd about with so many relations thats its thought theres scarse a Jury to be found to try suit against him or his. . . . .[1]

As the Elliment of fier would have all fier so have Major Mayhew and his have used all means to have all Rule in his house except a Cifer to make the summ. Its probable being annext to Barnstabl County may be a remedy.[2]

Athearn further said that he had thought of preferring a petition "in Consideration of these and other things," but it does not appear that this was done. Matters did not improve, but the atmosphere was different under Massachusetts rule from the old New York oligarchy.

This changed political condition encouraged the opponents of the existing official family, which had gradually regained its power, to further efforts to shake off the continued yoke of family judges on the bench. Of the four justices at this time three were Mayhews (with Richard Sarson), and the minority member was James Allen of Chilmark. Under the lead of Simon Athearn of Tisbury, in all probability, the following vote was passed in that town in 1701, to influence the sentiment for the termination of this condition: —

october 2d: 1701 it is voted by the maiger part of of the freeholders at a Leagall town meeting that Tisbury do pettion to the General Court that Dukes County may be anext to the County of barnstable with . . . not to attend the Courts Except nessasary ocation ariseth from amongst us and that the Register of Lands of the Island be kept on marthas vinyerd.[3]

Nothing came of this however, but it was the early beginning of a long struggle, continuing for nearly two centuries, to remove the courts from Edgartown, and to keep them at that time from family management and influence.

From this time until the year 1717, Nantucket Island alone constituted Nantucket County. In that year it was

Ordered, that Tuckanuck is . . . . to be accounted a part of Nantucket . . . . and the Justices and all other officers of Dukes County are commanded to take notice of this Resolve. This was the result of repeated efforts asking for annexation.[4]

[1]This refers to Matthew Mayhew.

[2]Sup. Jud. Court Files, No. 4605. (8)

[3]Tisbury Records, p. 43.

[4]June 5, 1711, James Coffin, Tristram Coffin, and others, petitioned the General Court that Tuckanuck be annexed to Nantucket County.—(Mass. Archives, Vol. XXXI, page 85.) Later on, June 6, 1713, James Coffin, of Nantucket, petitioned the General Court "that Tuckanug be annexed to Nantucket township."—(Nantucket Records, Vol. I, page 79.)

These were not the only attempts of the people to enlarge their county bounds. At a legal town meeting of the town of Sherborne, on Nantucket, June 6, 1771,

Voted, That a petition be preferred to the General Court to desire and request that the islands of Muskekit and Gravelly Island me be annexed to this County.

Voted, That Abishai Folger, Esq., Zaccheus Macy, Frederick Folger, Josiah Barker, and Timothy Folger, in conjunction with the Selectmen of the town, be a committee, in behalf of the town, to draw up said petition, and send the same to the General Court.

At a town meeting in Edgartown, Sept. 4, 1771, it was

Voted, That an answer should be made to a petition put into the General Court, by the town of Sherborne relative to the Island of Moskekett and the Gravelly Islands adjacent.

Voted, That there should be a committee chosen consisting of five men: and *Voted*, That John Norton, Esqr., Mr. John Pease, Jr., Mr. William Jernegan, Mr. Beriah Norton, and Mr. Ebenezer Smith, Jr., be a committee to make answer to the said petition.

Voted, That Enoch Coffin and John Worth, Esqr., be added to this committee.[1]

At a town meeting in Sherborne on the Island of Nantucket, Sept. 11, 1771,

Voted, That a remonstrance be sent to the Governor to lay the state of inoculation before him in a true light, and to desire him to sign a bill to annex Muskeket and Gravelly Islands to this County, by a majority of 114 voices against 4.

A committee was chosen to prepare and present it.

The petition of Abishai Folger and others was presented in July, 1771. A bill passed both branches making the annexation prayed for, but the governor refused his assent. In other words, using the language of these latter days, he vetoed it.

On Oct. 19, 1805, the town of Chilmark, at a special meeting, voted that a committee of three persons, Benjamin Bassett, Matthew Mayhew, and Allen Mayhew, be authorized to petition the General Court "to alter the name of Dukes County to that of Mayhew."[2] It is not known whether this was expressive of any general sentiment among the people of the Vineyard, but it may be assumed to the contrary as no other town took similar action, and there is no further record of this in the archives of the Commonwealth.

[1]Edgartown Records, I, 295.

[2]Town Records, Chilmark, loc. cit.

EARLY JUDICIAL AFFAIRS OF THE COUNTY.

The organization of an Anglo-Saxon community is incomplete without definite provisions for the administration of justice between man and man and for the application of laws for the protection of the community by wise and honorable men. That such machinery was established on the Vineyard early must be accepted as a fact, without the recourse to our records which are silent on the subject for a decade after the settlers came hither. The first suit at law was heard in December, 1652, but before whom does not appear, but the next entry states that "the *town* hath ended the case between John Pease and Edward Sales," and from this we may suppose that it was a sort of neighbor's court which settled differences between the townsmen.[1] It will be remembered that their number was few, and probably did not exceed by many an ordinary jury of adult males at that period. Doubtless these improvised "courts" were presided over by Thomas Mayhew, Senior, as patentee. Early in 1654 a "Verdict of the Court" is mentioned, and on June 6, that same year, seven men were chosen "to end all controversy, except member, Life, and Banishment, and to keep a meeting quarterly namely four times in a year."

A further provision was made "that Mr. Mayhew senior shall have power in his hands to end any debt or controversy to the order of five shillings between any in this town."[2] In 1655 a chief magistrate and four assistants were chosen "to attend all Controversies that shall arise in the town," and determine them at quarterly courts held on the last Tuesdays of March, June, September, and December. If they could not arrive at a unanimous decision, "then such cases are to be referred to the town to end; that is such as are admitted to be townsmen."[3] Each magistrate could settle a case involving five shillings or under. In 1656 the number of assistants was further reduced to two, with Thomas Mayhew still continuing as presiding justice. In 1659 a case is entered where two arbitrators were chosen by each side, "and those four persons have liberty to choose an umpire to end the case in case they cannot agree."[4] It will thus be seen that the early court proceedings were of the simplest kind, beginning with a sort of

[1]Edgartown Records, I, 149.
[2]Ibid., I, 122.
[3]Ibid., I, 137.
[4]Ibid., I, 142.

neighborhood jury or town meeting, wherein all had a voice in deciding between litigants, and gradually adopting the forms which obtained in other communities. The following rule in relation to the sessions of the General Court were adopted in 1660: —

> The time of meeting att Court is at Nine of the Clock in the morning and all meetings are to continue till they are Disolved by the major part of the freemen. The fine for not coming in season is 12d. and for going away before the meeting is Dissolved.[1]

In March, 1658, we find the first reference to a trial by jury on the town records of Edgartown, fifteen years after the settlement of the island, as follows: —

> It is ordered by the town that all cases are to be ended this present year by the magistrate with an original jury which shall be chosen by the town consisting of such a number as the town shall judge needful for the end of all such cases as shall be presented to be judged and determined: that is to say all cases within the compass of life members and banishment: and this jury is to be chosen at the town meeting which are to be four times a year according to the former order by the major part of the freemen.
>
> Moreover in all cases which shall exceed the value of five pounds being first here ended and the Plaintiff or Defendant remaining unsatisfied either of them have liberty to redress himself by an appeal to (a) bigger Court and that the estate of him which maketh the appeal shall stand bound to answer all of the charges which shall be occasioned by the removal of the suit if he be cast in the suit.[2]

What was meant by a "bigger court" is not clear, whether a larger jury or a court in the Province of Maine, to which it was possible to appeal under the proprietary rights of Gorges, may be left to our surmises. It is, however, of record that in 1662 a case was heard by the Plymouth Courts which was certainly "bigger" than the Vineyard Court, but its jurisdiction was only by courtesy of a reference. As it was a suit in which Thomas Mayhew was personally interested and involved, the Plymouth justices were requested to hear it "by joynt consent of both partyes."[3]

In 1663 there is a record of a verdict "assented unto by Thomas Mayhew," possibly as presiding justice, or in his as-

[1]Edgartown Records, I, 147.

[2]Ibid., I, 157.

[3]Plymouth Col. Rec., IV, 27; VII, 104. The case was John Daggett versus "the towne of the said Vineyard." In 1669 Richard Sarson entered suit at Plymouth against Nicholas Butler for killing a steer that belonged to the widow of Thomas Mayhew, Jr. "The jury saied to this action non liquet." (Ibid.) Nantucket cases were also tried at Plymouth.

sumption of greater powers under his patent. In the same year there is reference to "the small court" and "the monthly court," which perhaps may mean sessions held by one magistrate. The jurors by a vote passed in 1664, were to be paid "six pence a fee for every action," equal to about half a dollar of our currency in relative value. In 1665, as elsewhere told, the elder Mayhew appealed a case, which went against him, "unto the Cheif & high Court and Counsell of the Province of Mayne," but it is doubtful if the appeal was ever accomplished. In 1669 is another reference to a "small court holden," which implies, of course, a "large court;" and of this we have one glimpse indicating an organized bench sitting as a general court in 1670, with Thomas Daggett as clerk. How long it had been established as such does not appear, but on Aug. 3, 1670, it sat to hear a suit for divorce, James Skiff *vs.* Elizabeth Skiff, on a charge of desertion, and the plaintiff was awarded the verdict. The proceedings of this "General Court" were certified by Daggett in his capacity as "Clarke to the Court att the Vineyard."[1] All these courts had only the status of common acceptance, as the Vineyard was without any jurisdiction, practically, and had no charter or authorized agencies to carry on legal measures. When the Duke of York assumed control order came out of this chaos.

The Fort James Conference of July 6–12, 1671, made definite provisions for the organization of a judicial system. It was enacted by the Governor and Council of New York "that for Tryall and Decision of all Differences of Debt or Damage to the Vallue of Five Pounds, they shall have a Court in their Island wch shall bee composed of the Governor there who shall have a double vote and three Assistants to be Elected annually by the Inhabitants of the two Townes and Plantacons upon the Island, from whose Judgment in any case to the Sume of Five Pounds or under noe appeale shall be admitted." In all actions and cases over five pounds and under fifty pounds hearing was to be had "at the General Court to bee held by them and their Neighbours of Nantuckett, that is to say by the Governor or Chiefe Magistrate of Martin's Vineyard and the first two elected of the three Assistants aforesaid, and by the Chiefe Magistrate of Nantucket and his two Assistants." Governor Mayhew was designated as president of the court as long as he lived, with a double or casting vote. The first session of the court was ordered to be held at "the Island Martin

[1]Plymouth Col. Records, V, 33.

Vineyard at some convenient Time to bee agreed upon" with the people of Nantucket.[1] This was finally arranged between them, but not until the mid-summer of the next year, and on June 18, 1671, the new "general court" held its first session at Edgartown, under the presidency of the Worshipful Thomas Mayhew. By them it was ordered that they should meet annually "either upon the first Tuesday in June or upon the first convenient Opportunity in respect of Weather." The presiding justice was allowed six shillings per diem, and each magistrate four shillings for attendance upon the general court, and three shillings and two shillings and six pence, respectively, for service at the quarter courts. These local petty courts were to be held on the last Tuesdays of March, June, September, and December, for the trial of minor actions of the limit prescribed above, without appeal, and in cases involving the value of five pounds and over, appeal could be taken to the general court constituted of the justices of the two islands. This first general court provided a code of laws for the prosecution of actions and appeals; the modes of attachments, arrests, and imprisonments for debts, subpoenas, contempt of court, pay of jurors, duties of constables, costs of court, and as a final clause ordered "that in all Actional and Criminal Matters and Cases which fall not under the Head of some of these Laws already made shall be tryed and Judgment or Sentence given according to the Laws of England."[2] This in effect based procedure upon the particular laws enacted by the court, the province laws, or the common law of England, a condition which gave rise to much complaint. "Our condition is such," said Simon Athearn, "the authority took sum laws out of boston & plimmouth Law books to be our law, and made a law that if any Case com to tryell which this law doth not reach it should be tryed by the law of boston or the law of England: the law of England non of us know: the law of boston rejected as not the dukes law."[3]

It is not known with certainty who constituted the full court at the first session, but it can be said with some degree of assurance that besides the Governor, James Allen, Richard Sarson, and probably Thomas Daggett were the assistants,

[1]N. Y. Col. Mss. (Deeds), III, 75.

[2]N. Y. Col. Mss. (Deeds), III, 78.

[3]Ibid., XXIV, 159. In addition to the laws for the disposition of legal matters, other general laws were passed. One of these related to the excise, liquor selling, the licensing of public houses, and sale of strong drink to the Indians, another to weights and measures, and another to estates of deceased persons.

elected under the provisions of the act passed by the Governor and Council of New York, to represent the two towns. From this time forth the judicial "system" of the Vineyard became such in fact as well as in name. This court exercised both civil and criminal jurisdiction as a court of common pleas and sessions of the peace. It settled admiralty cases as well, and its functions were of the widest latitude characteristic of frontier administrations.

When Dukes County was created in 1683, the regulation of the time for holding courts here was referred to the governor and council, as previously stated. Six months after the passage of the bill, the following order in council was made to cover this detail: —

> WHEREAS by an act of generall assembly Entitled an act to settle Courts of Justice made the first day of November: 1683-4, the times & place for the holding of the Courts of Sessions in Dukes County is Referred to the Governour & Councill, I have therefore Thought fitt to Constitute & appointe that yearly & Every yeare there shall be twice or more if occasion shall require a court held at such time & places as shall bee thought fitt & Convenient by . . . . Matthew Mayhue Esqre: Chief Magistrate & Justice of the peace of Martiens Vinyard Mr: Richard Sarson Thomas Dogget Mr: Thomas Mayhew Esqres. & Justices of the peace of the said Martins Vinyard Giving them full power & Authority to keep the said Court of sessions untill further Order According to Law & for so Doeing this shall bee your sufficient warant.
>
> Dated at fort James the 9th: of June 1684.[1]

In 1692, when the new government of the Province of the Massachusetts Bay began to legislate for its recent acquisition, Martha's Vineyard, the courts of our island had been organized on a definite authoritative basis for twenty years, and during all that time they had been in the control of the Mayhew family. On Nov. 25, 1692, the general court passed an act establishing courts of justice and provided therein that "there be a general sessions of the peace held and kept at Edgartown upon the Island of Capawock alias Marthas Vineyard . . . . upon the last Tuesday in March and on the first Tuesday of October yearly from time to time." The trial of all civil cases "by appeal or writ of error" was provided for at the Superior Court to be held at Boston.[2] The old bench was reappointed with one new associate.

When the act for the "better settlement" of Martha's Vineyard was passed, May 29, 1695, provision was made for

[1]New York Col. Mss., XXXIII, 95, No. 8.

[2]Acts and Resolves, I, 73.

appeals from the General Court of Sessions of the Peace and the Inferior Court of Common Pleas to Plymouth as expressed in the following extract from the statute: —

> And all Appeals from any Judgment or Judgments given, or to be given in any of the Inferiour Courts of Pleas within the said County, shall henceforth be Heard and Tryed at the Superiour Court of Judicature to be Holden from time to time at Plymouth, within the Neighboring County of Plymouth; any Law Usage or Custom to the contrary notwithstanding: the Jurors to Serve at the said Superiour Courts of Judicature, to be from time to time Chosen and Summoned out of the several Towns within the said County of Plymouth and Dukes County, according to the directions in the Law in such case provided.

A suit for dispossession entered in our court in October, 1695, by Nathaniel Oliver of Boston against Anthony Blaney, involving the western quarter of Naushon, disclosed a defect in the county judicial system established by Massachusetts. Blaney in his answer to the complaint declared, "that the Marshall who a rasted him had no jurisdiction power nor libertie for such action on Ilesabeth Ilands," and after due consideration of this plea the justices decided "the defendants plea sufficient to barre farther proceedings."[1] The General Court of Massachusetts in its first enactments had omitted the Elizabeth Islands, or assumed they were part of the Vineyard, and thus no provision was made in reality for the administration of justice on the former. All commissions limited jurisdiction to Martha's Vineyard by specific designation. Consequently to heal this defect, the council at a meeting held on Oct. 16, 1696, ordered new commissions to be issued in which "Dukes County" was substituted for "Martha's Vineyard."[2]

On June 19, 1697, and on June 16, 1699, additional acts were passed, establishing courts and "settling time and place" for holding same, but no important change was made in our local sessions. The last act established a court of general sessions of the peace and inferior court of common pleas, both of which were to be held as before directed.[3]

In 1739 the Justices of the Dukes County Court of Sessions sent the following petition to the governor and general courts: —

[1]Dukes County Court Records, Vol. I.

[2]Mass. Arch., XL, 266; Executive Records of Council, II, 421.

[3]Acts and Resolves, I, 283, 367. In 1695 the Justices were Richard Sarson, Matthew Mayhew, and Thomas Mayhew, in the order named, with Joseph Norton as marshal.

Whereas the s'd Courts now stand Istabliſhed by Law to be held & Kept at Edgartown with & for the County afores'd On the Last Tuesday of March & October Annually The which with Respect to March Court hath Proved very Prejudicial to the Inhabitance both of this County & the County of Nantucket both with respect to their Husbandry, whaling & fishing &c.

Your Petitioners Therefore Pray that your Excellency & Honours will be pleased to order & grant the s'd March Court may for the future be held & kept in Edgartown afores'd on the first Tusdays of March Annually and your Pettitioners as in duty bound shall ever Pray[1]

This request was granted by the general court and consented to by Governor Belcher.[2]

CAPITAL TRIALS.

In those days the name and honor of the king or his family could not be assailed with safety, and that our island court was fully alive to its duty in protecting the dignity of the duke is evident from an incident which occurred in 1676. John Wright, a coastwise skipper, was indicted here upon the testimony of Isaac Norton and Peter Jenkins, "for speaking contumelius werds concerning his Royall highness James Duke of York, saying he was no more looked upon then a Dog, to the wounding and impayring his fayme and Dignitie." He was tried, convicted, and sentenced to death. But an appeal for clemency to Governor Sir Edmund Andros was allowed. The royal governor wrote Mayhew that "yourself having no farther objection, but satisfyed of his Innocency, Hee ought not to be prest." The court was complimented for its "due proseedings therein" and the unlucky, and probably tipsy, sailor was saved from the gallows by a pardon. In an effusive letter of gratitude for his delivery Wright thus apostrophises Andros: "to whome under God I am behoulding to for my all there being a sentence of death given upon my Concarnes by the Court of Martynes Vineyarde had not your Cleminessy given me a Resericktion I had bin now but the prodikt of a sifer."[2] It was a dangerous thing to speak ill of the duke on Martha's Vineyard.

But a real capital trial was held before this court in 1689, the defendant being an Indian. The story is thus told by a contemporary writer:—

[1]Mass. Arch., XLI, 345.

[2]Dukes County Court Records, Vol. I, comp. N. Y. Col. Mss., XXVI, 42; N. Y. Col. Doc., XII, 656.

About the year 1668 an Indian squaw was found murdered at Martha's Vineyard, and the neighbourhood suspected an Indian man, whose name was Pamahtuk, to be the author of the murder. Nevertheless upon his examination he deny'd that fact; and because the fact could not be proved against him, he was left at liberty. More than twenty years after this there was another Indian squaw found murdered and this Pamahtuk with some others were thereupon questioned, who all denyed the murder; nor was there any evidence to convict them of it. Hereupon an Indian present moved that Pamahtuk might be again interrogated concerning the murder committed so many years ago; and behold the poor creature immediately confessed himself guilty.[1]

At the court holden Sept. 17, 1689, Mr. Thomas West, "their Majesties Attorney complaineth against pammatoock Indian & Eleksander for killing Sarah an Indian maid at tisbury." The grand jury found a true bill that the Indian (Pammatoock) killed the girl in 1664.[2]

"After a fair trial," says our authority, "he was found guilty," and the court records tell the rest in short and simple phrase.

Ordered that pommatoock Indian shall be executed the 26 of September 1689 for murder don in or about 1664: until he is dead dead dead.[3]

The punishment was inflicted on the day specified, probably in Edgartown, and is the first known execution on the Vineyard. In this case it will be noticed that "their Majesties Attorney" conducted the prosecution. This officer is first mentioned in the previous year, under date of Jan. 8, 1687–8, as "the King's Slissiter (solicitor)" and it is presumed he was a recent appointment to aid the court in the trial of criminal cases.[4] Thomas West was the king's attorney in 1690, and in the absence of other evidence may be considered as serving as such from the first date when that officer is mentioned.

JUDICIAL.

There were few persons on the island before 1800 who were learned in legal affairs, and it is probable that litigants conducted their own cases to a great extent. The County Clerks acted in all matters involving the preparation of legal documents, and the clergy usually drew up wills for their parishioners. It is thought that Temple Phillip Cooke of

[1]Mather, "Magnalia," II, 444.

[2]This date does not agree with the above cited authority, but being the original legal record it is believed to be the correct one.

[3]Dukes County Court Records, Vol. I.

[4]On that same date the court is designated as "oyer and terminer," an ancient phrase applied to a court sitting to hear and determine causes.

Edgartown (1724), whose beautiful cipher signature is elsewhere shown, was the first educated attorney on the island. Admissions to the bar were not required in those days, and not until fifty years later is there any record of such a proceeding. At the January term of the Court, 1779, William Jernegan was sworn in as attorney at law, and he was followed in 1780 by Thomas Cooke, son of Temple Phillip; by Nathan Bassett in 1784, and Ebenezer Skiff in 1798, these four representing all admissions to the bar before the beginning of the nineteenth century.

THE SHIRE TOWN.

By reason of its primogeniture, rather than by a decree by statute, Edgartown has been the county seat since the settlement of the island, a period of over two and a half centuries, but it has not always held peaceful possession of the title. As the only "towne uppon the Vineyard" for thirty years, there was no rival to dispute its hold on the official records of the estates of the inhabitants of the island. When the government was reorganized in 1671, and other towns were incorporated, no provision was made for a county jurisdiction, and hence no shire town was required; but Edgartown continued to be the residence of the governor whose influence was paramount, and who doubtless kept all the court and land records in his possession or in that of his family. When the county was organized in 1683, no shire town was named, but it was provided in the organization of the courts that they should be held at such "places as shall bee thought fitt & convenient" by the justices, who selected the Vineyard and Nantucket alternately without naming the township. There was really but one place for such a purpose, and that was Edgartown. In this situation matters remained until the transfer of jurisdiction to Massachusetts when, on Nov. 25, 1692, in an act relating to the time and place of holding courts, Edgartown was for the first time specified as the location, and thus acquired an official confirmation of her primacy.[1] This seat of the new jurisdiction remained firm for about thirty years, during which time a new generation had grown up and the towns of Chilmark and Tisbury were increasing in wealth and population. In 1700 the province taxes for Edgartown were £15, for Chilmark £9, and for Tisbury £7; and in 1708 they were for-

[1]Acts and Resolves, Mass. Bay, I, 73. In a subsequent act dated June 16, 1699, this was repeated. (Ibid., I, 367.)

Chilmark £51, for Edgartown £50, for Tisbury £30, showing for the first time the lead of Chilmark in taxable value. In 1720 the figures were still more noticeable — Chilmark £38, Edgartown £23, and Tisbury £11, making a total of £49 or over two-thirds at the middle and west end of the island. With wealth and numbers came ambition, and we find as a result, in 1720, the first definite move made to procure the removal of the shire town to the geographical center of the island. The townsmen of Chilmark started the ball rolling at a meeting held on Sept. 15, 1720, when it was

Voted, That Pain Mayhew Esq who is the Representative of said town be & is hereby dyrected to put in a pettission in behalf of the town to the Generall Court to obtain the Remove of the sheir town from Edgartown to Tisbury and that the Courts holden for the County of Dukes County may for the futur be held att Tisbury.[1]

Supplemental action was taken later at a town meeting held in Chilmark Nov. 28, 1720, when it was voted that a petition be sent to the General Court to obtain a committee to see about removing the place of "setting" of the courts for Dukes County.[2] With becoming modesty, as the beneficiary of this change, Tisbury took no action, maintaining a passive attitude. For several years Chilmark and Tisbury had been pooling their interests in the matter of representatives to the General Court, and with one of the Mayhew family, Major Pain, then the joint representative, it was felt that the change could be effected. But nothing came of this first concerted attempt to remove the shire town.

EARLY COURT HOUSES.

Sittings of the courts were probably held at the residence of the elder Mayhew, as appears by an entry in the court records under date of March 26, 1677–8, when a person was fined for an "unseemly Act in the governers house when a difference was in triall & examination before the Govourner."

Whether there was a court house in existence before this date is not known, as there are no references to such a building in the early records. On June 3, 1680, at a general court, the following law was passed: —

Ordered That the Court shall be accommodated and provided for during their sitting at the charge of the County.[3]

[1]Chilmark Records, p. 365.
[2]Ibid., p. 22.
[3]N. Y. Coll. Mss., XXIX.

This would indicate that no accommodations had been provided heretofore, and even this does not specify that a building should be erected for the purpose. It is not likely that such was the case, and it is probable that the quarter sessions were holden in the church at Edgartown. But a new element had been injected into the situation, and now Chilmark and Tisbury were making an effort to obtain the "county seat" for the latter village. Under these circumstances the office holders of Edgartown proceeded to anchor down the title of their place as shire town by providing a court house for the county, and thus have an argument against removal in case of further squalls from the west. Accordingly the bench entered into negotiations for a site, and finally, on March 14, 1721, bought a lot from Samuel Bassett, which is described as follows: —

[Dukes Deeds, VI, 124.]

Samuel Bassett to the Inhabitants of Dukes County and the Present and future Justices.

Land on which to build a Court House in Edgartown, being a part of a lot lately bought of Simon Athearn, "25 foot in breadth, beginning at a foot path that goeth along the town on the S. W. side of sd Bassett's lot, adjoining the land of Sam'l Butler, & extending westward 40 feet . . . for the use above expressed so long as the Justices from time to time shall keep or order the County Court house yard kept, warranting they shall and may build thereon.[1]

This lot was on North Water street, on the west side, about half way between Thomas and Morse streets, and it is supposed that a court house was erected thereon at once as it is known that the building was in existence some years later and described as located "within 20 rods" of the water.[2]

For forty ensuing years peace reigned on this question and, presumably, Edgartown considered herself secure in her glory, but the same causes were still operating and the west end of the island was not satisfied. It was a state of neutrality that all understood and, in 1761, the agitation began again. We may suppose that Chilmark was the chief conspirator at this time as on the previous occasion, for the battle was started by its people in the latter part of that year. The following records show what action they took: —

[1]Bassett sold three acres and a house to Samuel Waldo of Boston in 1729 (Deeds' IV, 313), and Waldo deeded same to Samuel Stewart in 1734, "reserving for Court House land 30 feet in width and 80 feet in length joining to said foot path," *i. e.*, along the bank, the present North Water street. (Deeds, V, 142.) This is a different measurement of the plot as described in Bassett's deed.

[2]Mass. Archives, CXV, II, 758.

Att a Town Meeting Lawfully warned and heald in Chillmark on Wednesday the 14th of Oct. 1761 Zacks Mayhew moderator. . . . allso voted that Mr. Jonathan Allen be an agant for sd town in order to join with the agant of the town of Tisbury in sd County to Prepar a Petishon to the grate and general Court of the Province of the Massachusetts Bay that Tisbury may be made the Shear town of sd County in the room of Edgartown in sd County and to do and act all things necesary Relation thereto.[1]

This time Tisbury was not so shy and, when the subject was brought to the notice of the townspeople, a meeting was called to see what stand it was best to take in the premises. Accordingly, a town meeting was called two days later to consider the subject, and the following is a record of the action taken by the freeholders: —

At a legal Town meeting held at the Meeting House in Tisbury on the 16th Day of October Anno Dom: 1761 . . . . said Meeting was Notified to se if a Vote might be Obtained to Chuse some meet Person to Prefer a Petition to the General Court or Assembly held att Boston &c: that Tisbury might for the future be Made The Shire Town in Dukes County: Said Agent to Joyn with the Agent of Chillmark in Prefering Said Petition and said Vote being Put it Past in the Affirmative and Mr. James Athearn was Chosen for the Purpose Abovesaid Recorded.[2]

This joint committee, Jonathan Allen and James Athearn, acting in accordance with their instructions, prepared and presented to the Governor and Council and the Representatives in General Court assembled, the following petition, dated Nov. 20, 1761, setting forth the reasons for the change desired:—

[Mass. Archives, CXVII, fol. 752.]

PROVENCE OF THE MASS. BAY

To His Excellency Francis Bernard Esq., Captain General &c., & to the Hon'bl His Majesties Council & House of Representatives in General Court assembled:

The Petition of James Athearn & Jonathan Allen Agents for the Towns of Tisbury & Chilmark, Humbly sheweth: That the first setling of This County by the English was at the East end att the Town of Edgartown, which ever since has been The Shire Town in said County & the courts held there But as the People Increased They Extended towards the West End so that the Greatest Part of the Inhabitants are in the Towns of Tisbury & Chilmark, as may be seen by the lists of Valuation.

Now Your Pettrs Humbly Pray That as the Greatest Part of the Inhabitants are in Tisbury & Chilmark that Tisbury may be for the future The Shire Town in said County & The Courts Held There which we apprehend will be vastly more Beneficial For the Community in said County as The Courts will be Held in the Center of said County which now is at

[1]Chilmark Town Records, I, 118.

[2]Tisbury Records, 179.

one End. It will Likewise Lessen the Court Charges for Grand Jurors Bills of Costs, Travel of Witnesses &c. And further yr Pettrs apprehend it will accomodate the Inhabitants of the County much more then at present for those Persons obliged to Tend Court Cant Return Home at night which they may if s'd Courts may be for the Future held in Tisbury & Further yr Pettrs would Inform yr Excellency & Hon'rs that that Part of This County called Elizabeth Islands & the Island of Nomans Land lay Three Leagues to the Westward and Southward of the Island & have thereon about Twenty familys which are obliged to Tend Court after they have Landed on the West Part of The Island. They are obliged to Travel at Least Twelve Miles to the Courts at Edgartown, which they Cant Doe & Returne at Night, Whereas if the Courts were Held in Tisbury they might Doe their Business & Return at Night & Farther yr Pettrs would Beg Leave to Inform yr Excellency & Hon'rs That That Part of Edgartown where the Courts are Held now is Poorly furnisht with Pasture or Hay to Keep Horses &c. Moreover yr Pettrs further Inform yr Excellency & Hon'rs that The Ferry for Transporting People from the Vineyard to the Main Land is in Tisbury &c. And at a Legal Town Meeting held in the Towns of Tisbury & Chilmark your pettrs were chosen as Agents for the purpose aboves'd as may appear by the s'd Town Vote Hereto Annext, and yr Pettrs as in Duty Bound shall ever Pray.

JAMES ATHEARN JONATHAN ALLEN.

The council took the following action, under date of Nov. 21, 1761: —

In Council Read and Ordered that the Petitioners serve the Town of Edgartown with a copy of this Petition that they shew Cause (if any they have), on the second Thursday of the next sitting of this Court, why the Prayer thereof should not be granted.[1]

In due course this notice was served as directed, and although it was known what was going on, yet Edgartown had done nothing officially about the matter. When notice was received, a town meeting was called, at which the following votes were passed on Dec. 15, 1761, to meet the impending disaster: —

Voted. John Sumner Esq., John Norton Esq., Matthew Norton, Mr. John Coffin, Mr. John Worth, Mr. Peter Norton, Mr. Elijah Butler, serve as a committee to draw an answer to a Petition which was sent into the General Court by the town of Tisbury and Chilmark praying that Tisbury might be made the Sheir Town.

Voted, that John Norton and John Sumner Esq., be joint agents for the town with full power either of them to appear in the absence of the other at the Great & General Court of this Province and there in its behalf to make answer to a Petition of the towns of Chilmark & Tisbury, which prays that Tisbury may be the Sheir town in Dukes County & to prosecute the sd answer till the fate of the Petition be determined.[2]

[1]Council Records, XXIV, 117.

[2]Edgartown Records, I, 233.

This strong and formidable committee started out on the war path without delay, and the sub-committee prepared the following interesting, humorous, and powerful answer to the petitioners: —

[Mass. Archives, CXVII, fol. 758.]

To his Excellency Francis Bernard, Esq., Capt General &c., To the Honorable his Majesties Council & House of Representatives in a General Court assembled: —

Forasmuch as your Excellency & honours have been pleased to order that the Town of Edgartown should be served with a copy of a Petition of James Athearn & Jonathan Allen Esq'rs as Agents for the Towns of Tisbury & Chilmark for the removal of the Shire Town in Dukes County from Edgartown to Tisbury in order for our offering Reasons if any we have why their Prayer ought not to be granted, Wherefore we the Subscribers as Agents for s'd Edgartown beg leave to make Answer as Followeth: — And in the first place we shall shew the true force (if any there be), in those reasons which they have alleged for the removal thereof, and then offer some further reasons why their Prayer ought not to be granted.

May it please yr Excellency & hon'rs they alledge that it would be for the good of the community of the County which we suppose they intended to lay down as a general Proposition & to support by their following Reasons: they say in case the Courts should be held in Tisbury the Bills of Cost in the County for Travail of Jurors and Evidences would be less than now — to which we answer that we send a number of Jurors equal to both the other Towns so that when those of Chilmark have got to Tisbury (to which place they must come be the Courts held here or there), they in conjunction with those of Tisbury make a number equal to that of Edgartown. And we very humbly inquire whether it costs any more to pay a certain number of men for Travailing Eight miles east than an equal number eight miles west: and whether there would be a Diminution of charge for the Travail of Evidence in case the Courts should be held in Tisbury is altogether uncertain: but allowing they would, and as great a Diminution as they can with the best appearance of Reason pretend; we cant suppose it would nearly be equal to the Interest of the money which it would cost the County to remove the Court House & Goal (both of which it is noted are now in very good Repair at Edgartown), so that it would not thro'out in all ages in any part Countervail that Charge to the County.

Again: They Allegd that they apprehend that it will accomodate the Inhabitants of this County, much more than at present for those Persons obliged to attend Courts cant Return home at Night, which they might if the Courts were held at Tisbury — by which we conceive that they cant intend that none of the Inhabitants of this County can now return home at night whereas they might all return home at Night in case the Courts were held in Tisbury, for this is most evidently false it being as easy for People that live within 1, 2, 3, &c miles of Court to return now as then but that they cant in so great a proportion now as then: and here it is true that the Inhabitants of Chilmark have now Eleven miles to Travail, whereas those of Edgartown would have then but eight and that other

things being equal, those of Edgartown can as well return from Tisbury on account of the distance as those of Tisbury from Edgartown, but notwithstanding those things considering that the People of Chilmark & Tisbury mostly live by farming & keep Horses, they can doubtless in as a great proportion & with the same ease return now as then it being much easier to ride Eleven miles than to walk Eight.

They plead in favour of the Inhabitants of the Elizabeth and Noman's Land Islands in which they say there are near 20 Families, that after they have sailed 3 Leagues to the North Shore they have 12 miles to Travail to the place where the Courts are now held: and so cant go home at night, whereas in case the Courts were held at Tisbury they might go home at night. To which we answer that if the Courts were held at Tisbury they would have three or four miles to travail from a part of the North Shore, which distance we can hardly suppose they could Travail after sailing 3 Leagues and perform business at Court and Return the same Day: it is true these People have further to Travail now then in case the Courts were to be held at Tisbury, but this is no charge to the County in general for they are never required to serve as Jurors (the advantage of their doing so being in no measure a compensation for the trouble of warning them); and with Regard to the Inhabitants of those Islands in particular as they have seldom if ever any occasion to attend Courts, except for the Renewal of their Licence for Innholding, we Question whether the charge of the additional Travail to them would ever preponderate their part of the Charge of removing the Court House and Prisn.

Again they further assert that that part of Edgartown where the Courts are now held is poorly furnished with Pasture or Hay to keep Horses, & to which we answer that they don't generally attempt to put up their Horses, & so it is possible that some time when they have desired it they may have found the less provision therefor, but it does not appear that they have any Reason to Complain there being several Persons that live near who Declare thay have ever been ready to take proper Care of their Horses & never Refused any when applyed to for Twenty years past, and are still ready to furnish them with good hay at one Shilling pr night at March Court and Pasture at eight pence pr Night at October Court, provided they are disposed to put them up.

They inform your Excellency & hon'rs that the Ferry for Transporting People from the Vineyard to the Main Land is in Tisbury, by which we suppose they intend to intimate that in case the Courts are held in Tisbury People from the Main Land (if any there be) who have occasion to attend our Courts could do it more easily, but we beg leave to inform your Excellency & hon'rs that altho' Tisbury does enjoy the Privilege of the Ferry yet the Difference is but very small as the distance from it to the Courts where thay are now held or in Tisbury, & that the Distance to either Place is so great that People would be obliged to Transport their Horses, it being eight miles now and six miles to Tisbury: And that People from Boston, Rhoad Island & Nantucket (to which places our Trade is almost wholly confined), can come within 20 Rods of the Court House by Water, whereas in case the Courts were held in Tisbury they would be obliged after Landing to Travail 6 or 8 miles. And we would just observe here with regard to the Inhabitants of the Elizabeth Islands that

there is no harbour upon the North Shore and the waves are frequently so high that it is probable that they would be obliged to Land at Holmes' hole & then the difference of their Travail would be no greater than that of the People who came over the Ferry from the Main land. And as a further Reason why the Prayer of the afores'd Pettr's ought not to be granted we beg leave to inform y'r Excellency & hon'rs that the Indians who often have occasion to attend Courts are now much better accomodated than in case the Courts were held at Tisbury, for here they can within call of the Court furnish themselves with plenty of Shell Fish for Provisions, whereas then they would be obliged to spend their money therefor if anything they have and otherwise to Live upon People or suffer hunger: and now when any of them are in Goal others easily furnish them with Shell Fish and with fire wood, which they have a great plenty of on Chappaquiddick, which lies near the Court House, whereby their lives are rendered the more comfortable; likewise as we are liable to be ransacked by Privateers or the like in time of war (of which the General Court in the last Spanish war was so apprehensive as to grant us a considerable sum of money for building a Fortification), in case the Courts were held in Tisbury our danger hereof would be very greatly increased; for if an enemy knew when our Courts were held and that they were held there (as they might easily inform themselves), they would doubtless Choose such a time to Plunder us.

Furthermore: This is the only Safe Harbour for Shipping upon the Island and the People not only of this but of the other Towns Carry on their Trade & Business here, and as our Courts are held just before our Whale men sail in the Spring and about the time they make up their Voyages in the Fall; so People can accomodate their business at Court times: Whereas then they would be greatly removed therefrom.

Again: That altho' the other two Towns have Increased faster than we for some time past yet there is no Rational prospect of their doing so in the Future; for the Island has now as many Inhabitants as the Land will comfortably support; so that if there should be any further increase of Inhabitants it seems they must be supported by whaleing, Fishing & seafaring business, and as there is no other safe harbour except this (as we have before observed), so it seems that this must be the Place for Carrying on such business, and there is a prospect (with Divine blessing), of an Increase herein, in this place inasmuch as the Situation of this is much more commodious than that of Nantucket, and since our People seem now to be running into it, as there sailed from this Town the Summer past nineteen Masters of vessels and upwards of fifty Sailors. Disorders arise often among the sailors who live in the Harbor and some of them have been obliged to be committed to Goal, which now can very easily be done and the Prisoner be delivered immediately when ever the wind suits for sailing; whereas it would be vastly incommodious to send them up Eight miles from the Harbur and when the vessel was ready to sail to wait till they could be brought back again; and it is not at all unlikely that were the Instruments of Correction removed they would take the advantage thereof and be guilty of greater disorders, and if it should here be objected that Holmes hole Harbour is more used than this by Coasters and Foreigners it may be very easily answered that it is much easier to sail into this Harbour (a thing which they frequently do when they are

under apprehansions of a storm, that harbour being much Exposed to a North East wind), than to send six miles by land.

Lastly: The Charge of moving the Court House & Prison would be very heavy upon this small County, especially at this Time inasmuch as our Province Taxes are high and we have been of late at some very considerable expense in the County e. g. we have settled Two Ministers, one the last year, the other this — we have built a new Ferry boat, Repaired the Court House & lately paid for building a Goal & been at the charge of imprisoning and Trying an Indian for Murder.

These or the like Reasons we humbly conceive ought to continue the Mother Towns in the enjoyment of their Priviledges of this nature notwithstanding thay be not in the Center, especially since your Excellency & hon'rs have not seen fit to remove the Shire Towns in several Counties in the Province in which a removal we apprehend might with parity or superiority of Reasons be urged as in this, and we beg that considering these things your Excellency & hon'rs would be pleased to continue us in the enjoyment of those Priviledges which we have had from the beginning, and redily Dismiss their Petition especially seeing it is not the first time they have thus Troubled us. Which we shall have the more occasion to hope for if we may be favoured with a hearing on the floor.

And as in duty bound shall ever pray &c.

Edgartown Jan'y 8th 1762.

JOHN NORTON } Agents for
JOHN SUMNER } the Town of Edgartown.

The council having read the plain and forceful statement of the petitioners and the witty and stirring remonstrance of Edgartown were in an uncertain frame of mind, and after deliberation, took the following action on Jan. 22, 1762: —

In Council Read again, together with the Answer of the Town of Edgartown, and Ordered That Benjamin Lynde and John Cushing Esqrs with such as the honourable House shall join be a Committee to take the same under consideration, hear the parties and report.

In the House of Representatives Read and Concurred and Mr. Tyler, Capt. Livermore and Capt. Richardson are joined in this affair.[1]

The augmented committee finally reached a decision upon the subject which was a compromise, as it only divided the holding of the courts between the two towns, and on Feb. 8, 1762, the following act was passed in pursuance of the recommendation of the committee: —

Be it enacted &c., that the Court of General Sessions of the Peace and Inferior Court of Common Pleas for the County of Dukes County, appointed to be holden on the last Tuesday of October, annually, shall instead of being holden at Edgartown, be henceforth holden at Tisbury, on the last Tuesday of October, annually, and all officers and other persons concerned, are requested to conform theerto accordingly.[2]

[1]Council Records, XXIV, 191.

[2]Acts and Resolves, Province of Mass. Bay.

The result was not satisfactory to either petitioners or remonstrants, in all probability, as the "west enders" wanted the whole establishment removed to Tisbury; but it is significant of the deliberate way in which this matter was managed that nothing further was done by the petitioners to accomplish their purpose for a quarter of a century. Meanwhile, the act went into effect, and it required the building of another court house and the maintenance of two by this small county. It is probable that the October terms of the court, 1762 and 1763, were held in the meeting house at Tisbury, as no steps were taken to provide a court house for the sitting of the justices. Accordingly, at a meeting of the judges of the court, held on February, 1764,

On a motion made by Mr. Chief Justice Mayhew to the Court that there was need of a House to be built in Tisbury for the Holding of the Courts by Law to be held there on the Last Tuesday of October annually,

Voted That there should be the sum of £108–0–0 Lawful money forth with raised in the said County of Dukes County, The sum of £48 to be raised and applied for the Building the aforesaid House and the Remainder being £60–0–0 for Defraying the other Charges that the County is now in debt for.[1]

At the same meeting, probably to perfect negotiations already under way, the following action was taken by them: —

Voted the sum of £48 to Samuel Cobb, "he first giving conveyance to this County of a Piece of Land for to set said House upon on the West side of Mill Brook in Tisbury & likewise obliges himself to build a House of the Same Dimention as the Court House in Edgartown & to finnish the same in the Same manner that That is done by the first Day of October next.[2]

Taxes to	Edgartown	38–10–93–4
	Chilmark	41–06–61–4
	Tisbury	28–02–8
		118–0–0

The land referred to is situated on the spot now occupied by the post office in the village of West Tisbury. The deed describing the property, executed by Samuel Cobb to James Athearn, as agent for the county, was dated July 10, 1764, and is in abstract as follows: —

for the entire use and benefit of the County of Dukes County aforesaid a certain piece of upland lying in Tisbury aforesaid at the southeast corner of that piece of land bought of Silvanus Cottle late of said Tisbury

[1]Dukes County Court Records.

[2]Ibid.

ying on the east side of the old mill river in said Tisbury bounded on the east side by the road dividing said land from the land of Barnard Case and on the south by the road dividing said land from the land of Samuel Manter of said Tisbury to extend twenty five feet north & twenty five feet west from said corner so as to be twenty five feet square, to him the said James Athearn to and for the only use aforesaid in order for said county to erect a Court House for said County thereon.[1]

At a meeting of the justices at this time, to act upon the subject, the following vote was passed: —

July 1764. Court of Sessions. Present: Matthew Mayhew, Chief Justice, John Sumner, Ebenezer Smith, and James Athearn, Associates.

Ordered that there be a floor laid in the Upper part of the Court House in Tisbury and that the Roof be Joynted & Ploughed and that the Justices Bench be Raised the fore Part & that there be hanging benches to lean upon . . . . and that the Joyce be straight.[2]

It is supposed that the building was completed at the time required, and that the new court house, of the same size and style as its rival in Edgartown, with its "hanging benches" for the spectators "to lean upon" was opened with much pomp by their honors for the first time in October, 1764, to comply with the law.[3] Here the courts annually administered justice until 1807, and in this building met the delegates to the County Convention in December, 1774, and passed those stirring resolutions of resistance to the British government on the eve of the great struggle. To-day it is used as an ice house, or part of it, on an adjoining lot, having been removed years ago from its original location.

LATER COURT HOUSES.

In 1781, upon petition of William Jernegan, Thomas Cooke, and Benjamin Smith, representing "the Expediency of Removing the Court House in Edgartown to some more Convent Place Provided that the same may be Removed and Compleated in some sutable Place without Expense to the County which they think may be Done by Granting the Land whereon said house Stands to the Undertakers of that Business."

The justices granted this petition and impowered them to remove the old Court House from North Water street "to

[1]Dukes Co. Deeds, IX, 425.

[2]Dukes County Court Records.

[3]There was a town meeting held in the "County House" in Tisbury in December, 1764, and thereafter the annual and other town meetings were convened there. (Tisbury Records, 186.)

some sutable place on the Southerly part of the Highway Betwixt the Meeting House & the Dwelling House of the said Thomas Cooke as soon as may be."

Accordingly on Dec. 5, 1781, in consideration of the old lot, Thomas Cooke deeded to the County a lot of land forty feet square on the present Commercial street, south side, situated to the "Northwestward of the School House that adjoins the Road which Matthew Mayhew gave the Town from the Spring or Harbour to the Meeting House."

The times were then full of excitement over the impending controversy with the mother country, and it was not till the war had ended, twenty-five years after the law of 1762, that the two towns began another fight to accomplish the removal of the shire town. Tisbury was the aggressor on this occasion in point of time, and held a meeting on Feb. 7, 1786, of which the following is a report of its doings: —

Tisbuary ss: At A Town-meeting Legally Warn'd & held at the Courthouse in Tisbuary by the Freeholders and other Inhabitants on Tuesday the 7th of Febreuary AD: 1786 in Order to Act and do what was Inserted in the Warrant for calling the Same Decon Stephen Luce being Moderator, And then it was put to Vote and Voted in the Affirmative that Mr Benjamin Allen Tisbuary's Present Representative Should be a Committee Man to Joyn the Town of Chilmark in Prephering a Pettition to the General Court of the State of the Common Wealth of Massachusetts to have the Town of Tisbuary to be made the Shire Town in Dukes county and for their Courts to be held there for the Future Either at the Present Session or any Other Sessions hereafter &c: —[1]

Chilmark followed suit two days later, and the record of her doings in the premises is contained in the following extract from the proceedings of the meeting: —

Att a meeting on the ninth Day of february 1786. Then was chosen Nathaniel Bassett Esq. Moderator.

Voted that there be a committee of two persons to Draught a Petisson to the General Court to make Tisbury the Shear town for the said County: then was chosen Matthew Mayhew Esq. and Benjamin Bassett Esq. to Draught said Petition and to Lay it before the Town att the adjornment, and said town meeting is adjorned to Monday next at two o'clock in the afternoon.

att a Town meeting by adjornment on the thirteenth day of february 1786, then was chosen Nathaniel Bassett Esq. Moderator.

And said Committee Bring in the Petition to the town and the Town Voted that the Petition be sent to the General Court.[2]

[1]Tisbury Records, 257.

[2]Chilmark Records, I, 203, 206.

With the above named petition went the petition of Tisbury, drawn up by Benjamin Allen, and both were presented to the General Court at its session for that year. The former is not in the archives, but that of the agent for Tisbury is of record and reads as follows: —

To the Honorable the Senate and House of Representatives of the Commonwealth of Massachusetts in General Court assembled:

The Petition of Benjamin Allen of Tisbury in behalf of said Town, and appointed on the Seventh day of February instant, at a legal Town meeting as by a vote of said town will appear. To Petition the General Court in conjunction with the inhabitants of the Town of Chilmark in the County of Dukes County That the Town of Tisbury may be made the shire town in sd County, first Because it is the middle town in Said County and in the center of the County, and the people, and one half of the County Courts have Been held there for some years, and a new Court House within a few years hath been built at Tisbury: but no goal as yet. But one must soon be erected at Tisbury and as the Goal at Edgartown is old and much out of Repair our small County must now be at the cost of building two Goals & keeping them in Repair, which will be such a cost as this small County is not able to pay, and one goal is quite sufficient for sd County if in the center of the same; for further Reasons your Petitioner begs leave to referr your honours to the Petition of the town of Chilmark which is now before your honours; your Petitioner humbly prays your Honours will be pleased to Take the above into your wise & Compassionate Consideration & order That the Town of Tisbury may be made the shire town in Dukes County and all the sd County Courts for the future to be held there: & as in Duty bound shall ever pray.

BENJAMIN ALLEN Agent for Tisbury[1]

February 23, 1786.

The representatives took the following action on the prayers of the petitioners shortly after: —

In the House of Representatives
February 28, 1786.

Read with the Petition on the same Subject from the Town of Chilmark & ordered that the Hon. Walter Spooner Esqr, Solomon Freeman Esqr & Shearjashub Bourne Esq, Committee appointed the last sitting on the petition of a number of the Proprietors of the Island of Chabbaquiddick, have it in instruction to view the County of Dukes County with respect to the suitable place or place or places of holding the Courts there, hear the parties & report.[2]

It does not appear what action was taken, if any, on the report of this committee, but it is sufficient to say that no change occurred as a result of the agitation. For twenty years

[1]Mass. Archives.
[2]Ibid.

more there was peace between the rival ends of the island, and not till the beginning of the next century did there appear any ripples upon the waters. This time Edgartown started the ball again, by trying to get the fall session transferred from Tisbury. In 1805, Thomas Cooke and Cornelius Marchant joined in a petition for a change of this character, but it got no further than the files of the Committee of the General Court, where it was lost. This time the east end faction was determined to fight it out to a finish, and kept up the agitation the next year.

On May 7, 1806, the people of Edgartown held a meeting "to know the minds of the inhabitants with respect to the necessity & conveniency of supporting two Court houses in this County," and by a unanimous vote they decided "to have but one and that to be the one that is now in Edgartown." And they further voted to obtain the approbation of the General Court that there be but one court house established in this county.[1] Following this the two petitioners, Cooke and Marchant, renewed their prayer for a change the next year, but no reason therefor are stated in their address to the General Court. Their petition is as follows: —

> To the Honorable the Senate and the Honorable House of Representatives of the Commonwealth of Massachusetts in General Court assembled:
>
> Humbly shows Thomas Cooke and Cornelius Marchant Junr that by the order of the Honorable Court of the General Sessions of the Peace holden at Tisbury within and for the County of Dukes County on the 26th day of February 1805 were appointed a committee to petition your Honours for the purpose to discontinue the October term which by Law is appointed to be holden at Tisbury aforesaid on the last Tuesday of October annually, and that the said Court be altered to the first Tuesday of November then to be holden at Edgartown within and for said County of Dukes County.
>
> Your Petitioners inform your Honours that they did accordingly prefer a Petition to the General Court at the next session which was committed but not reported, and the Papers since not to be found.
>
> We therefore Pray your Honours that the October term be discontinued and in future to be holden at Edgartown as herein set forth; and in duty bound shall ever pray.
>
> Edgartown January 6th, 1807
>
> THO. COOKE
> COR. MARCHANT Ju'r

This petition was referred to a committee of three, Messrs. Spooner of Plymouth, Whitman of Barnstable, and Sprague of Duxbury, who reported "as their opinion that the Petitioners

[1]Edgartown Records, II, 130.

serve the Town Clerks of the several Towns of Edgartown Chilmark and Tisbury 40 days before the 2nd of Wednesday next session of the Court."[1] Meanwhile, before this could take effect, the people of the two towns were busy, each in its own way, to promote its interest. On April 6, 1807, Edgartown voted that "the Court of Common Pleas & General Sessions" should in the future be held at Edgartown.[2] On the same day the voters of Tisbury were considering the same weighty matter in town meeting assembled, called together

to see if the Town will agree to Remonstrate against the Petition of Thomas Cooke & Cornelius Merchants Esqr a Committe appointed by the Honourable Court of general sessions of this county, to Petetion the General Court of the Commonwealth of Massachusetts to all the Term of P. Court now holden in Tisbury on the last Tuesday of october and ordain that that the same should be holden at Edgartown, The Freeholders &c being assembled they did then proceed to the choice of a Moderator when John Davis was chosen, then proceeded to choose a Committe when the select men of the Town Vizt.

Ezekiel Luce
John Davis
Thos. Dunham
} were chosen a committe to report at the Representative meeting.[3]

The two latter named selectmen produced the following document which was adopted by the town as its protest: —

To the Honourable the Senate and House of Representatives of the commonwealth of Massachusetts in General Court assembled

The Remonstrance of your petitioners Inhabitants of the Town of Tisbury in the County of Dukes County, Humbly [sheweth] that at a legal meeting warned for that purpose in the Town of Tisbury on the sixth day of April A. D. 1807. And continued by adjournment to the fourth day May following, the Inhabitants beg leave to Remonstrate against the petition of Cornelius Marchant and others of the Honourable Justices of the court of common pleas & General Sessions of the Peace for the county aforesaid in Removing said Courts from the Town of Tisbury to the Town of Edgartown, which deprives the people of the Sd Town of Tisbury of a Priveledge which we think belongs to us the Remonstrants, Said Town being the Central Town in the County, for one session is holden at Edgarton and to remove the other to the Town of Edgartown will be laying a burden on the people of the Town of Tisbury, for most of the Inhabitants live at a distance of nearly Ten miles from the Court house at Edgartown and wee shall be under many Inconveniencys to attend court twice a year at Edgartown, if our Honourable Court had Petitioned to hold but one session a year it would have lessened our expences (as lately we have had more Justices in the Commission of peace than at

[1]Mass. Archives.
[2]Edgartown Records, II, 139.
[3]Tisbury Records, 333.

any former period since the Constitution was framed, and we Should not complain for our county is very small, not larger than many Towns in this Commonwealth, but to remove the other sessions and to hold both at Edgartown will enhance our expences and Travail, so under the existing circumstances that we feel confident that your Honours will not permit the court to be altered from Tisbury to Edgartown. And we beg leave to refer your Honours for the foregoing statement, to the map the census of the County of Dukes County, and the Tax bill, Wherefore your Remonstrants Humbly pray and expect that your Honourable body will not remove said court from Tisbury to Edgartown where it is now held, and your Remonstrants as in Duty will ever pray,

THOMAS DUNHAM } Committee appointed
JOHN DAVIS } by the Town[1].

Hearings were held on the petition and remonstrance, but no change was recommended to the Legislature.

By the statutes of the Commonwealth, as existing June 1, 1807, the Courts of Common Pleas and Sessions were holden at Edgartown on the third Tuesday of May, and at Tisbury on the last Tuesday of October annually. On the 21st of June, 1811, a law was passed establishing six jurisdictions of circuit courts, excepting Dukes and Nantucket Counties, and it was provided that sessions of the courts should be held as then regulated by existing statutes. This left the former situation untouched in this county, but on June 13, 1814, these two counties were annexed to the so-called Southern Circuit, and by section three of that act "all acts and parts of acts establishing Courts of Common Pleas within and for the counties of Nantucket and Dukes County" were repealed, and it was further provided that the sessions of the courts should be held on the last Mondays of May and September at Edgartown, for this county. On Feb. 20, 1819, these two counties were again excepted in an act to establish courts of sessions in the Commonwealth. Out of all this confusion, and while the succeeding changes were following each other in unusual rapidity, Tisbury lost its semi-annual session, perhaps by intent and possibly by accident, but if any watchful representative from Edgartown was doing his duty at that time, the omission may not have been so accidental or innocent as might seem. It is evident that great confusion existed in the judicial system of the Commonwealth at that period, to judge from the frequent acts and repeals of acts, but it was a fixed belief of the people of Tisbury that the court had been stolen from them, by underhanded means, if we may trust the traditions of this controversy.

[1]Tisbury Records, 334. The court records show the last session of the court as holden at Tisbury in October, 1807.

It would be interesting to know the inside history of this phase of the long struggle, but perhaps it has never been handed down to posterity.

It took four acts, finally, in 1826, February, 1827, and June, 1827, and in 1828, before the tangle was straightened out as far as the holding of court at Edgartown was concerned, and in this last act Edgartown was made the county seat, "all laws to the contrary notwithstanding." Matters remained in abeyance for the next thirty years, when the county buildings at Edgartown, built from 1803 to 1825, the court house and jail, were in a dilapidated state, and the question of renewal was agitated by the taxpayers of the county. This was always a ticklish time for the fortunes of Edgartown, and agitation again filled the air for a change of the shire town.

The old court house became unfit for occupancy twenty years after the removal in 1781, and in 1803 upon representation of this subject the Justices appointed Thomas Cooke, Benjamin Allen, and Zebulon Allen a committee to consider and report upon the cost of a new building. The sum of five hundred dollars was reported as necessary for the purpose, which the Court approved, and ordered the same committee to "fix upon a suitable lot for the same, and commissioned William Jernegan to sell the old building and procure materials to erect a new one, (36 by 26) on land belonging to James Coffin. This gentleman for "Good will and Regard" for the people of Dukes County donated on Nov. 18, 1803, the tract of land on Main Street on which the present Court House now stands. The Court allowed the sum of $614.31 to William Jernegan for the cost of the new building in February, 1808, which would indicate its completion about that time. In the previous November, John Davis, Esq., had been appointed agent "to sell and Dispose of the Court House in Tisbury with the Land Belonging to said Court House at Private sale to the Best advantage."

In August, 1857, James Gray, of Tisbury, with others petitioned the selectmen to call a meeting of the voters, to see what action should be taken in the matter of repairing the old county building at Edgartown, and another fight for the capture of the shire town was inaugurated. The meeting was called for the 17th of August, and Thomas Bradley and James Gray were made agents of the town "in relation to County Buildings and having Tisbury to be made the shire Town." Meanwhile, petitions were circulated through the three towns

praying that the change be made as indicated. The following is a copy of the petition: —

> To the Honourable Senate and House of Representatives of Massachusetts, in General Court assembled:
>
> The undersigned, legal voters of the town of Tisbury (Edgartown and Chilmark), respectfully represent, that under the existing laws the public buildings and Courts of the County of Dukes County are in Edgartown, at the extreme end of the County, causing great inconvenience to the largest portion of the inhabitants of the County, and that the County buildings now standing in Edgartown, have become old and very unsuitable; new buildings must soon be erected, and the cost of changing the shiretown will be no additional expense to the county.
>
> Your petitioners further represent, that Tisbury is the center town of the three towns comprising the County, and that a far greater portion of the inhabitants of the County, and others having business in the Courts and with the records of the County, would have easier access to them if the County buildings were placed in Tisbury.
>
> In view of the above statement of facts, your petitioners respectfully but earnestly request that an Act of your body may be passed making Tisbury the shire town of the County of Dukes County and that the County building be located and courts held in that part of Tisbury called Homes Hole.[1]

The three petitions were identical in language and were signed by Charles Bradley and 301 others in Tisbury, Charles Kidder and 28 others in Edgartown, and David L. Adams and 100 others in Chilmark, a total of 432 voters in the entire county. This time Homes Hole was the candidate for the honors.

The county commissioners, three in number, were divided, the majority favoring removal to Tisbury, and the movement was gaining in favor with the continued discussion. The Supreme Court was appealed to by the office-holding element of Edgartown, and a Writ of Mandamus was obtained, directing the county commissioners to build a suitable court house and other county buildings, and there was no other alternative but to proceed upon that basis. Specifications and proposals were issued and the contract for the new, and present, county building was let on March 24, 1858, and work was at once begun on the new structures. Meanwhile, the petition of the taxpayers were making unsatisfactory progress, and the upshot of the agitation was that the petitioners got the fatal "leave to withdraw." They were too late in their campaign, as the legislature was faced with the mandamus of the court, and felt it could not, or should not, interfere.

[1]Tisbury Records, 732-4.

Nearly a generation grew up, before another similar condition presented itself to the people, the need of expensive repairs on the court house to make it fit for the uses of courts and the proper transaction of business. Again the ticklish period for Edgartown arrived, and the other towns, practised in this method of attack, began another campaign to have the old buildings abandoned, and the new ones erected at Vineyard Haven. A site was offered for it in that village, and all the towns joined Tisbury in the petition for a change of the shire town. Committees representing each town besieged the General Court in the early spring of 1896, and the fight waxed hot and acrimonious. Tisbury having one of its citizens representing the Cape District in the Senate, was able to carry that body for the bill, but the measure failed in the House. This was largely due, it is thought, to the heroic measures of Edgartown to save its long primacy. The town unanimously voted to pay for the entire cost of the repairs and improvements to the county buildings, and a special bill to authorize her to do this was introduced into the midst of the contention, and at her own expense the day was saved for the old shire town. The General Court passed an enabling act to allow taxation for this purpose, and the contemplated additions and improvements were honorably completed by her in 1897, providing a commodious building containing besides the court rooms, jury rooms, the several county offices, vaults for the preservation of records, a fine library room for the reception of law books for the use of the officers of the courts and the bar. Thus again the ghost was laid, and peace has happily settled down upon the ancient and picturesque shire town. Will another generation witness the regular contest when these buildings shall have grown into the need of renewal?

The following amusing tradition is related in connection with the voting of the towns, probably in 1807, on the question of a removal of the county seat. Extraordinary means were taken to get out a full vote in Edgartown, and the sailing of ships was delayed for weeks so that their crews might vote, and on the day of the town meeting, it was found that it was a close contest between the two factions. Some one suggested that there were several voters who were unfortunately deprived of their liberty, and were languishing in the town gaol opposite, and if the jailer would kindly allow them to step across the street and permit them to vote, it would consume but a few minutes of the time the prisoners owed to the county. The

jailer did not feel that he had the right to allow a general jail delivery, even for such a worthy object, though it might save the day for Edgartown. It was then proposed that the ballot box be carried over to the gentlemen who were incarcerated, and thus give them the privilege of freemen. The point of order was raised that all ballots must be cast in open meeting, and in the presence of the election officials. Astute minds found a way out of this awkward dilemma, and a motion was made and carried that the meeting adjourn to the jail, where the ballot box was passed along the door of each prisoner's compartment, and the worthy voters reached through the bars and deposited their ballots.

THE COUNTY JAIL.

Under the obolescent form of spelling this word gaol and goal, there are a sufficient number of references in the records to the early existence of a place for the detention of criminals to enable us to learn of its origin and history. What is probably the first allusion to it may be found in the following extract from the records of the General Court: —

> It is ordered by the Court in case there be not a sufficient prison built in Edgartown, on Martha's Vineyard within three months after the date hereof, they shall pay a fine of ten pounds.[1]

This was passed on Sept. 21, 1686, and may have resulted in the erection or purchase of a building for the desired purpose. Possibly the payment of the fine was deemed the lesser burden, as it will appear from a later court order that the county was without a "gaol" in March, 1699. The justices passed the following decree at that term of court: —

> Ordered, that whereas grate dammage hath been sustained in this County and greveance to his Majesties Subjects, for defect of a common Goall, that Matthew Mayhew and Benjamin Skiffe Esqrs be desired to agree and covenant for the building of a Common goall to be erected att Edgartown, and that on their information, a county rate be made for payment thereof.[2]

It is probable that this action resulted in the building of a "Common goall" for Dukes County, but the location of it is not known. A guess may be hazarded that it was located on the common land of the town, though this is scarcely definite

[1] Nantucket Records, II, 38.
[2] Dukes County Court Records, Vol. I.

enough to provoke dissent. The building then erected probably lasted upwards of forty years, until its decayed condition once more made the "common goall" a subject of judicial action. In 1743 John Norton, sheriff of the county, made the following representations to the justices about the dilapidated state of the building: —

> To the honourable the Justices of the Court of General Sessions of the Peace for the County of Dukes County, now sitting on the first Tusday of March 1743:
>
> The Petission of John Norton Sheriff of the County of Dukes County Humbly sheweth that whereas I am Sheriff of sd County that I am In duty Bound to Lett your honours Know that I am of the opinion that there is Not a sifficient Prison or Goal In said County, for I am obliged to Put Indain & Inglish Criminells and Debtors and men and women all together and itt is so Rotten that itt is almost Redy to fall down.
>
> I therefore Humbly Desire that your Honours will Take itt Into your wise Consideration and order that there may Be a sufficient and Lawfull Goal or Prison Built as soon as may Be that so the County may not Be Lyable to any Cost, Charge or Damage In Any Respect for want thereof: which is what is offerred from your Humble Servant to Comand.
>
> JOHN NORTON.[1]

The reference to "Debtors" in this document will recall to mind the practice at that time, under legal statutes, to imprison persons for debt, unless released by an oath of poverty, known as the "Poor Debtor's oath." The justices took official cognizance of the "Rotten" condition of the jail, and passed the following order in March, 1743: —

> Ordered in Court that there be a Prison built in s'd County in the year 1744 of 24 foot long & 12 foot wide & 7 foot stud, well built at the Countys charge & that in order thereunto John Norton Esq to bargain for the same with a Workman to do it or to Enquire & Report to the adjournment of this Court whereabouts the Cost will be in order that money may be raised to Defrey the same.[2]

According to a contemporary document, dated 1762, this jail had been "lately repaired," and as at that date Tisbury became joint proprietor of the county seat, it is probable that a second building was erected in that town to accommodate prisoners. In 1790 a number of citizens of the county petitioned the General Court that the county be exempted from the necessity of maintaining two jails, and in answer to this, in view of the need of a new jail, the justices of the county

[1] Athearn Mss. Library of Congress.

[2] Dukes County Court Records.

were impowered to determine the place where the new building should be erected.[1] They decided that "sd Goal be set in Tisbury near the Court House in the land of Mr. Barnard Case adjoining the Northward corner of his orchard facing the Road passing Northward from the sd Court House."

On the survey of 1795 a "gaol" is shown at West Tisbury, but none at Edgartown, which would indicate the final passing of the one in the latter-named town. When the courts were finally restored to Edgartown about 1825, as previously related, a new jail and a keeper's house were erected, adjoining the court house on Main street, and were occupied as such till about 1874, when they were sold to private parties. The present jail, a two-story wooden building, on the road from Edgartown to Oak Bluffs, was begun in 1873 and completed the next year.

SEAL OF THE COUNTY OF DUKES COUNTY.

In the N. E. Genealogical Register, Vol. XXXVII, 349, appears an article by Abner C. Goodell, Esq., with the title "Provincial Seals in Massachusetts," representing the result of the researches of this gentleman respecting the use of official seals in the various counties of the Commonwealth. In discussing the seals of the county of Dukes County, he uses the following language: "In Dukes County I find occasionally used as a seal of the Probate Court an intricate monogram, the faint and imperfect impressions of which I have been unable to decipher. In 1715 the initials B. S. occur, being evidently those of Benjamin Skiffe, who was then Judge of Probate. Later I find a mitre sometimes used, and sometimes two keys crossed saltierwise among the miscellaneous devices appearing upon the papers of the Probate Court; but no evidence that a seal was specially adopted in any of the courts." In a note he suggests that the monogram referred to was a double scroll representing the initials J. A., which were the initials of Jabez Athearn, for a long time clerk of the courts.

The author believes he has discovered the ancient official seal of the county of Dukes County as originally adopted a few years after the settlement of the island of Martha's Vine-

[1] A whipping-post was in use in Edgartown during the eighteenth century, and frequent references to it occur. There was also a pair of public stocks for various offenders, persons who neglected attendance on church worship or other breaches of the laws of the time. Usually it was an alternate punishment if the fine remained unpaid.

yard. In Edgartown records, under date of Jan. 22, 1655, appears the following entry: "The common seale of this place shall be a bunch of grapes." The entry above quoted respecting the seal undoubtedly applied to the entire island, the "bunch of grapes" being an allusion to the name of Martha's Vineyard, and not to Great Harbor, which was then the name of Edgartown.

While on duty in Washington, the author had an opportunity of consulting a large volume of manuscripts in the custody of the Congressional Library, relating to legal matters upon the Vineyard in the eighteenth century. These manuscripts, for purposes of reference in this work have been designated as "Athearn Mss.," because they are undoubtedly the original drafts of legal documents and other kindred papers prepared by James and Jabez Athearn in their official capacities as Justices of the Peace and Clerk of the Courts on Martha's Vineyard, beginning about 1720 and covering a period of about twenty-five years. Many of these documents are originals, having signatures and seals, and upon a number of these documents issued by Jabez Athearn as clerk, the author found a curious seal, a representation of which is herewith given. The author took a number of rubbings from them to show the design, and with the aid of a glass copied the design. An examination of the seal, as shown by the engraving herewith, shows that it was probably a rude cutting of the seal adopted in 1655 —"A bunch of grapes." The earliest representation of this seal in the Athearn Mss. is 1722, and from this the drawing was made.

EARLY SEAL OF MARTHA'S VINEYARD, 1655.
FROM THE ATHEARN MSS.

CHAPTER XXI.

Military History, 1645–1775.

THE COLONIAL WARS.

The relations which the Vineyard bore to the various conflicts in which New York, Massachusetts, and the United States have been engaged from the first settlement, with the Indians, the French, the British, and our Civil war, will be considered from the standpoint of the island as a whole, to avoid reduplication in the narration of events in the separate histories of each town. In all the wars which have occurred in the two and a half centuries elapsed since the first settlement, the several towns have been represented among the troops despatched to the front by the colonial, provincial, or national authorities, and it is impracticable to assign the individual credits belonging to each. For example, the military companies of Tisbury and Chilmark were united under one organization for many years, and at other times the military command has been combined for the whole island. Soldiers from one town would enlist in another, and the naval or privateering operations during the Revolution comprised seamen taken from all three settlements. For this reason the subject of the external military history of the Vineyard will be treated as a unit. The internal affairs of each town as exemplified in the local militia, during times of peace, as a part of the social annals of each town, will be told separately under their respective heads. In order, therefore, to properly understand the composition of the first military organizations, it will be interesting to make a short study of the Puritan militia system, which will serve as a description of the developments of it in each town.

THE PURITAN MILITIA.

The laws and customs of the colony of Massachusetts Bay, from which most of our settlers came, doubtless furnished the basis upon which the miniature army on the Vineyard was recruited, and in the absence of any general statutes on the subject, enacted here, we shall rely on those adopted by the General Court as the model for the organization.

Every male between the ages of sixteen and sixty, able to bear arms, composed the militia force, but like every law, this had its exceptions. Deference was paid to social conditions, and a veneration for the great and the good resulted in exemptions of magistrates, schoolmasters, chirurgeons, clergymen, and another class of artisans necessary for the public welfare — millers, herdsmen, masters and crews of vessels in the fishing seasons.

The unit of the military organization was the train band, the officers of which were a captain or leader, ensign, and a company clerk. The honor of an office in the militia was much esteemed. John Hull, treasurer of the colony, a thriving merchant of Boston, was chosen to be a corporal in 1648, and recorded in his diary his praises to God for giving him "acceptance and favor in the eyes of His people, and as a fruit thereof advancement beyond his deserts."[1]

The militia officers were privileged characters in all the walks of life, and at a time when the colonists were given to the vanities of extravagant apparel they and their families were declared to be exempted from the laws which were directed against excess in dress. The arms of the militia were muskets and pikes, which were supplied by the soldier himself, as his contribution to the general welfare of society.[2]

Of the manual of arms we know but little, and that would be impossible to explain, except at length, without the aid of illustrations. It will be sufficient to state that the arms were carried in the left hand, and the manual of firing was complicated by the use of the flint and match. For a time there was no music but the drum, each company having two, the drummers being compelled to serve under a penalty. Gradually, this monotonous tattoo was supplemented by the fife and bugle.

We now come to the great Puritan holiday, when the stern and dignified pilgrim unbent his rigid mien and sated his natural desire for display in the glories of training day. Here, gathered upon the town common, was the yeomanry of the village, with polished fire-arm, glittering corselets, and savage halberds. What a sight to thrill the incarcerated sensibilities

[1]Archæologia Americana, 145.

[2]The prices of arms and equipments varied considerably, according to quality. In 1633 corselet and pike were rated at one pound ten shillings, and in 1680 a gun and loading staff was worth one pound and fifteen shillings. This was old tenor, and cannot be accurately computed now, although in general terms it may be stated to be four or five times greater value than our present currency.

of the fair maidens of that extremely proper century, when "light conversation" between the sexes was prohibited by statute! It was a day of finery and bravery carefully sandwiched between piety and pies. Beginning and ending with prayer the interval was filled with drills, sham battles, and inspections. The noon hours were devoted to attacks on the larder, bountifully supplied with tarts and cakes from the tempting cupboards of Vineyard housewives. The training day lingered in the affections of the people for more than two centuries, and many of our older citizens of the New England States can recall the dying brilliancy of the general muster of the militia. The compulsory train bands had perished by default, and the volunteer rifle corps, taking their places, merged the "fower dayes evry yeare" into one grand encampment and muster of the heroic spirits of the time.

KING PHILIP'S WAR.

The isolation of the island, and the satisfactory relations established between the whites and the natives, all made for the maintenance of peace between the rival races. For a generation the settlers on the Vineyard, under the direction of the Mayhews, had dealt fairly with the Indians in land matters, bought their "rights," and paid them for work and material in trading. There was not an ideal relationship maintained, as the whites continued to regard the aborigine as a "heathen" and assumed the patriarchal attitude towards the red man in many ways. This was shown in the system of bondage adopted to liquidate indebtedness, as told elsewhere, whereby limited slavery was accomplished under forms of law. Although the island Indians were subject to the "kingship" of Metacomet, of Philip, of Pokanoket, Rhode Island, it is evident from contemporaneous writings that they did not continue entirely under his influence when he began his war against the English upon the mainland.

The Indians here were encouraged to adopt the custom of military training on the English plan, and before 1675 Japheth Hannit of Chilmark was made "Captain over a Company of his own Nation." It is clear from allusions to this that they were under regular control, and when the war broke out, it became a subject of some concern to others. The people of Nantucket reported it to the Governor of New York, in which "they pretend an ill consequence may arrise upon the

Indyans Trayning in Armes on Marthas Vineyard."[1] But while it was undoubtedly a hazardous experiment, it caused no ultimate harm. The captain of their company was an ally of the governor. "In the time of that War, which began in the Year 1675," says Experience Mayhew, "and was commonly call'd *Phillip's War*, good *Japheth* was very serviceable to both those of his own *Nation* and *ours* on this Island; for being firmly set, if possible, to maintain and preserve *Peace* betwixt the *English* and *Indians* here; and being an *Indian* captain, as has already been said, he was imployed by the *English* to observe and report how things went among the *Indians*."[2] As a precautionary measure the governor of New York, in June, 1675, dispatched ammunition and arms to the Vineyard, with instructions how to manage the existing situation.[3] At a subsequent meeting of the council in September, it was voted to send "a Great Gun" to the Vineyard and "the Proclamation concerning the Indyans of keeping Watches erecting Block Houses &c." This gun was sent in a sloop, which also carried one barrel of powder, fifteen muskets and four skeins of match for the use of the train band.[4] The General Court of the island in the next month passed the following laws bearing on the subject: —

Ordered That every housholder have in his house to everie person able to bear armes under his charge one pound of powder and four pounds of shott or Bullets, and every single person that shall not provide himself with powder and shott as aforesaid within one week after warning given him by the officer or Lieutenant or shall be found without shall be fined 5s for the first default 10s the second and so increasing as his default shall be: and shall keep a sufficient gunne well fixed: and it is hereby ordered That the Lieutenant shall have power to take all fines which shall be due By the Breach of this Order & dispose them according to order. And that all persons may be furnished as aforesaid it is here by ordered That no person who hath powder and shott more than thrice as much as he is Bound to keep by law shall refuse to deliver to each Inglish man belonging to this Iland who shall demand the same 2s, 6d per pound for powder and 5d per pound shott in mony wheat or feathers.

Ordered That no persons presume to sell barter Give directly or Indirectly furnish aney man or persons whatsoever with any quantitie or quantities whatsoever of powder or shott without liberty and licenc first obtained from under the hands of the Govourner and of his Assistants: that they may have the same to shew when they may be caled to give an

[1]N. Y. Col. Mss. (Council Minutes), II, (2), p. 51.
[2]Indian Converts, 46.
[3]N. Y. Col. Documents, III, 254.
[4]N. Y. Col. Mss. (Council Minutes), II, (2), p. 51.

account what they have done with such powder or shott they hadd in their custodie: uppon penaltie of paying for every charge so disposed of without licence the full and just summe of five poundes to the treasurie.[1]

It was further ordered that the lieutenant, "with the sargent, shall appoint dayes for exercising the companie in armes, and any person who shall not make appearance at time appointed shall pay 12d, and if shal not appear during the day to serve shall pay 3s. to the companie." [2]

The war was not a long one, though a terrible one while it lasted. Beginning in June, 1675, it was ended on Aug. 12, 1676, when the great son of Massasoit fell at Mount Hope dead from a shot leveled at him by a soldier under Benjamin Church's command. It caused no disturbance whatever at the Vineyard. Experience Mayhew attributed this happy condition to Japheth Hannit. "To his Faithfulness in the Discharge of this Trust," he says, "I conceive that the Preservation of the Peace of our Island was very much owing, when the People of the Main were all in *War* and *Blood*." [3]

Thus passed the first war, which was but the forerunner of a long series of conflicts between the natives and their allies, the French of Canada, lasting into the middle of the next century. As stated before, the distance of the island from the scenes of these campaigns gave but little opportunity for the men of the Vineyard to develop their taste for the glories of warfare. Until 1692, the authorities of New York had jurisdiction over such affairs, and they had got along better with the Indians than the governments of Massachusetts, and it was not till the second Indian war, beginning in 1690, that the former colony was called upon to defend her frontier settlements against the combined strength of the allied forces. Meanwhile the local militia organization was kept up, and on June 15, 1684, Matthew Mayhew was commissioned as captain of the company at Martha's Vineyard, which is presumed embraced all the towns on the island.[4] Situated upon the coast, the Vineyard was frequently the object of attack from French cruisers sent out from Canada to commit depredation on the commerce of the English settlements, and to inflict damage upon their sea-shore villages.

[1]Dukes County Deeds, I, 4.
[2]Ibid.
[3]Indian Converts, 46.
[4]N. Y. Col. Mss., Vol. XXXIII.

FRENCH AND INDIAN WARS.

On Oct. 20, 1690, Lieutenant-Governor Leisler wrote to the Earl of Shrewsbury that "a French Barq Songo and 2 sloops crusing near Long Island, making some spoil on Martins Vineyard, Nantuckett and Block Island Alarming the Inhabitants, having no ports of force."[1] Rumors of this sally of the enemy reached the neighboring colonies to the south with the usual exaggeration of such tales. "Report here from Pensilvania," writes a Maryland gentleman, "says that seven French shipps of Warr have on Martins Vineyard and Block Island putt all to fire and sword without mercy or distinction."[2] However, some of these dangers were real. The coast was infested with these sea marauders, and the only defence against them was a sort of breastwork, probably mounting the "great gun" sent thither during King Philip's war. On Aug. 20, 1691, Andrew Newcomb was reported as "Commander of the fortification: who had such number of men as occasionally were ordered by the Chief Magistrate."[3] It is not known where this "fort" was located, but, considering the short range of guns in those days, it was probably set on Pease's Point to defend the village. The expedition to Quebec, in 1690, being a Massachusetts affair, did not concern the Vineyard, and no soldiers from the island were attached to this disastrous military operation under Phips. One soldier, who later came to reside here, Jonathan Lambert, was credited with service in it, and received the reward given to those who participated. At the time he was a resident of the Cape. The last connection the Vineyard had with the war at this period, when under the jurisdiction of New York, was to contribute to the defense of Albany, the object of assault by the French and Indians.[4] By the charter of Oct. 7, 1691, the affairs of the Vineyard from that date, belong to the history of Massachusetts, but it was not for many months that it was known by the parties involved in the change. It made no difference with the activities of the fleet of war vessels constantly appearing in the sound. A contemporary document describes the annoyances to which the island was subjected. The writer tells of the "Continuall Charge not only for securing of themselves but mainey times

[1]N. Y. Col. Documents, III, 752.
[2]Maryland Archives, VIII, 199.
[3]N. Y. Col. Mss., XXXVII, 230.
[4]N. Y. Col. Documents, IV, 2.

for succor and defence of such shipping from most partes having commerce and trade here," and that they had not only armed themselves, but the Indians, "supplying them with ammunition and provisions while the enemy hath been on the coast." He said that "all such charges hath since that tim been wholly on the inhabitants to the value of many hundred pounds and often more for securing the shipping laden with provisions and other shipping bound to boston & adjacent towns, it being beneath both an English and a Cristian spirit to suffer the takeing of such vessels when it might be by us hindred, beside the often charge of sendin botes to inform vessls coming in from sea of the enemies being on this coast."[1] It will thus be seen that the Vineyard was a centre of maritime activity on the part of the French. Nantucket suffered in the same way during this period. But being now nearer the home government better protection was soon obtained.

Immediately upon his arrival as governor, Sir William took measures to defend the province from invasion by the French and Indians, who, encouraged by the failure of his expedition against Quebec in 1690, were renewing their incursions upon the out-lying settlements of Massachusetts. The two frigates, the *Sorlings* and the *Newport*, of the English Navy, detailed for constant duty on this coast, were not adapted to pursue small craft in shoal waters, and hence the project of fitting out an armed vessel of light draught for the protection of vessels in Vineyard Sound, was started by the governor and council as early as March 7, 1692–3. Five hundred pounds was voted for "building and fitting of a small vessel mounted with ten guns and a suitable number of oars." This act was passed Dec. 11, 1693, and by the first of June of the next year she was ready for service.[2]

Various expeditions "to the Eastward," meaning into the Province of Maine, or New Brunswick, were sent by the authorities of Massachusetts to assault the Indians and their allies in their haunts in the forest fastnesses of that region. It is not known that any men went from the Vineyard before 1700, but it was the custom to enlist "trusty" natives in the companies mustered for these campaigns, and we have the record of one Sam Quobiscum, alias Sam Nopye, "a Martin's

[1]Mass. Archives, LXX, 298.

[2]Acts and Resolves of Mass., VII, 14. The ostensible purpose of their act was the protection of commerce, but see the letter of Governor Phips to Governor Fletcher of New York, in Documentary History of N. Y., IV, 5, 6.

Vineyard Indian," who was under command of Jethro Church, also an Indian in Major Benjamin Church's regiment in 1696, on one of these expeditions.[1] It was a common practice in all the towns of the colony to employ Indians for this purpose. These continual expeditions caused great expense to the towns, and none felt it more than the Vineyard, for under New York their taxes were very light. At the General Court, holden in 1695, an act was passed " to provide means for the support of the government, for a vigorous persecution of the War against the French and Indian enemy and rebels," and for other purposes. A tax of £2333, 9s., and 3d. was levied upon the polls and estates. Upon Edgartown £41, Chilmark £21, 6s., 8d., Tisbury £21, 6s., 8d. The whole was to be paid on or before May 29, 1696.

Nothing of interest to local annals occurred for ten years in the military affairs of the colony. In May, 1707, twenty-three transports and whaleboats, convoyed by the *Deptford*, Captain Stuckley, and the galley *Province*, Captain Southack, made an unsuccessful attempt against Port Royal (now Annapolis), Nova Scotia. The land troops were under the command of Colonel John March. This was unsuccessful, and two years later another expedition against that place proved similarly disastrous. In the last one John Skiff, probably son of Nathaniel Skiff of Chilmark, was attached to the company of Captain Matthew Austin of the New Hampshire contingent.[2] On the 18th of September, 1710, however, a fleet of thirty-six vessels of war and transports, under the command of Captain Nicholson, sailed from Boston for a third attack on Port Royal, which place had been returned to France by treaty. The expedition arrived before the town on the 26th of September, and on the first of October the forts were carried by storm. In honor of the reigning Queen of England the name of the town was changed to Annapolis. In the last of these three expeditions Nicodemus Skuhwhannan, a Tisbury Indian, lost his life.[3] Flushed with victory, Nicholson went to England to urge further operations against the French, and as a result of his representations, a fleet of fifteen war vessels and forty transports, under the command of Vice-Admiral Walker, appeared in Boston harbor in June, 1711, where it took aboard about seven thousand troops, regulars and provincials, and on the

[1] 2 Maine Hist. Soc. Coll., V, 507-9.

[2] N. H. State Papers.

[3] Sewall Diary, II, 432; comp. Indian Converts, 103.

last of July cleared for Quebec. The loss of eight ships, with 884 men, in a fog, while ascending the St. Lawrence, caused the abandonment of the expedition, and the vessels of the navy made sail for England, while the colonial contingent steered away for Boston. This disaster plunged Massachusetts and the other provinces so deeply in debt, that for a generation they did not recover from the effects of it. In this unfortunate enterprise one of our Chilmark youth, Nathan, probably son of Nathaniel Skiff, "went out as Serjeant under Maj. Robertson, and being in his return taken sick, which Sickness was so Greavious, that he got no further whomeward than Dorchester before he Lay wholy By it and of the same sickness thare Dyed."[1] It is not known that there were any other Vineyard soldiers connected with the Port Royal campaigns, or the fruitless expedition to Quebec.

In 1740 an expedition against the Spanish West Indies was organized, under Admiral Edward Vernon, to which Massachusetts contributed five hundred men, and received back not more than fifty, the remainder having perished of tropical diseases. One company went from Plymouth county, but it is not known that any soldiers went from this island.

THE LOUISBURG EXPEDITION.

We now come to the great campaign in which New England valor found opportunity to display itself, under talented leadership, and the glory of it was celebrated in song and story for generations — the siege of Louisburg, Cape Breton. An old narrative poem thus begins the account: —

"Come all New England galant Lads
And Lend to me an ear
And of your Brthern mighty acts
I will in short declar
brave Peprell with three thousand men
perhaps some hundreds more
did Land the very first of May
Upon Cape Briton Shore."

In a fleet of fourteen vessels of war and nearly an hundred transports, the troops commanded by Colonel William Pep-

[1] In the Dorchester burying ground is a stone erected to Nathan Sriffe(sic) who "Died Oct. the 17, 1711, in the 20th year of his age," probably erected by his uncle Benjamin, whose petition for his pay as a soldier, after his death, is among the Massachusetts Archives.

perrell of Kittery, Me., embarked for the rendezvous at Cape Canso, Nova Scotia, under the charge of Captain Edward Tyng, as commodore of the sea forces. At the rendezvous the expedition was joined by an auxiliary force, detailed from the royal navy, consisting of six frigates and five ships. The combined fleet arrived before Louisburg on the last day of April, 1745, having been detained by ice, and immediately began the investment of the place. It was the modern fortress of that region, and for a quarter of a century the French had been strengthening it until at this time it was called the second Dunkirk. It was garrisoned by sixteen hundred men, and armed with one hundred and one cannon, seventy-six swivels and six mortar, and the local conditions afforded such a natural aid to the artificial defenses that it was assumed it could be held by two hundred men against five thousand. Being without siege guns the provincials supplied this deficiency by capturing an outwork, called the grand battery, and when this was accomplished the investment was completed without bloodshed. For six weeks the besiegers hammered away at the fortress, without interruption, and on June 15, when the French commander learned of the capture of the long-expected relief ship *Vigilant*, of sixty-four guns, a flag of truce was sent out. On the 17th the fortress, with six hundred regulars and thirteen hundred volunteers, was surrendered, and the victorious Pepperrell and his raw New England troops marched in. Another verse of the ballad above quoted describes the joy of the besieged at their deliverance: —

> "The gentelmen and Lades tou
> They did carress our men
> For having them delivered
> From worse than Lawyer's den."

The return of the troops to Boston, with the report of the fall of the last menace of the French to New England, was the signal for the most extravagant demonstrations of satisfaction. Pepperrell was knighted by the king, and thus became the first baronet of New England birth, while one of the captains of the fleet was commissioned with that rank in the royal navy. This combined campaign of the troops from New England, and the naval forces of England marked the high-water mark of the relations between the home government and the colonists. How many Vineyard men took part in this successful campaign is not known, owing to the absence of a

complete set of muster rolls in the state archives [1] The name of Sergeant Joseph Luce has been found among those published, and there occur the names of Lieutenant Peter West and Thomas West, all Tisbury names, doubtless belonging to our island. According to tradition, young Peter Pease (afterwards the successful whaler), at the age of thirteen, was a cabin boy in the fleet which accompanied Pepperrell to Louisburg.[2] That there were many more of our Vineyard men in this celebrated siege is probably true.[3]

The following years were not so full of activity. Sylvanus Luce of Tisbury died at Cape Breton, between 1746 and 1748, probably one of the garrison left at Louisburg after its surrender. In 1748 William Jernegan served as a soldier in one of the "Northern" campaigns. In his autobiography he says "at the age of 19 I was impressed to go into the Army to defend the inhabitants of the state of Maine against the Indian savage of the then wilderness, who was daily killing and sculping the people there, and when I was impressed, a number of others was impressed in the town, but for some reason or other causes were chiefly discharged. I then complained very hard to the commanding officer, saying, 'I had no father, no mother, brother or sister, nor any friend to intercede for me; for this cause will you force me into the army?' The officers reply to me was, 'You are the only person to go, for you have no one to cry for you.' (O, cruel sentence!) So I went into the army, and through the goodness of God, returned home the year following."

In 1748 the fortress of Louisburg was ceded back to France by England under a general treaty of peace, and ten years later the work of Pepperrell had to be done all over again. Thus matters went on for several years, without open conflict between the two great rivals for the colonial supremacy of this continent. The struggle could not be longer delayed. Every outbreak in Europe was a cause for some reprisal on this side of the Atlantic by one or the other of the belligerents. There was "fight" in the air. To the Puritans of New England

[1]The Society of Colonial Wars, in the Year Book of 1895, published a roster of officers, found in London. The N. E. Historic-Genealogical Register for 1870, printed some fragmentary rolls. The Mass. Hist. Society has published a number of the Pepperrell papers.

[2]Providence Journal, July 20, 1826.

[3]There was a Captain Mayhew, commander of the sloop *Union*, attached to the fleet of New England vessels taking part in this campaign. This is a name known only on the Vineyard at this period, and it undoubtedly belongs to one of our island men, but it is not possible to identify him. (Mass. Hist. Soc. Proceedings, 2d series, XI, 442.)

the Frenchman with his "Popish" religion was little better, if any, than his "heathen" ally, the Indian, and the average Yankee desired to drive both of them from the haunts of men on this continent. The return of Louisburg to the French did not please the people here, and they remembered that Quebec still sat in unconquered grandeur on the St. Lawrence, a monument to numberless failures of their troops. They began to gird themselves for the final assault all along the line. In the fall of 1755, Tisbury looked after the stock of ammunition, and passed the following vote: —

Also at sd Meeting it was Put to Vote whether or no the sum of £6—13—4d Should be Raised by way of Rate to Defrey the Charges of the selectmen of sd Town for Procuring a Town Stock of Powder and other nesesary, as the Law Directs that Towns be furnished with & it Passed in the affermitive.

THE CROWN POINT CAMPAIGN.

At this time the militia of the Vineyard was better organized than ever before, under the colonelcy of Zaccheus Mayhew of Chilmark as the ranking officer, John Norton of Edgartown as lieutenant-colonel, Gershom Cathcart of Tisbury as captain, of the combined company of foot for Tisbury and Chilmark. The martial spirit was dominant throughout the island, as it was elsewhere in New England, stimulated by the successes of recent years, and the conviction that one great task yet confronted Protestant institutions, — the expulsion of France from power in North America. This was no dream of enthusiasts, but the sober purpose of men as religiously zealous as were their opponents. France was constantly encroaching on the northern frontier, and had already established her outposts on the shores of Lake Champlain. Her vessels were continually ranging up and down the coast in a hostile attitude. In the fall of 1755, it was reported that "a vessel with Frenchmen on board that had lately clear'd out from a port in New England for the West Indies has been in divers harbours at or near Marthas Vineyard with intent, as is suspected, to procure provisions for the French inhabitants at Louisburgh."[1] Doubtless every act of the French was under suspicion. They were led by an able officer, Louis Joseph Montcalm, just appointed commander of the forces in Canada. The English army was directed by General James Abercrombie, a Scotch-

[1]Acts and Resolves, Province of Mass. Bay, III, 884, Nov. 5, 1755.

man, who determined upon a campaign directed against the enemy in his own territory, at Crown Point, New York, between Lakes George and Champlain. Acting in conjunction with the governor of Massachusetts, a call was issued for levies, from the local militia in the several counties. Brigadier John Winslow of the provincial forces, accordingly sent the following letter to Colonel Mayhew, directing him to prepare his contingent for immediate service: —

Boston, April 15, 1756.

Sir

His Excellency Governor Shirley having Directed me to require an officer Commissioned for Crown Point Expedition to attend at the Impres on the 22d inst and to take such Persons as are Fit for that service under his care and Conduct them to the Place of Rendezvous,

In obedience to Those orders I have Directed Capt Peter West of Colo Thachers Regiment to repair to your District and to Take under his Command both volunteers and Impresses men and march them to this Place by the fourth Day of May next that they may Receive their arms and Blankets. Am with regards your very Humble servant

JOHN WINSLOW.[1]

The colonel set to work at once to accomplish the order, and after a month's time despatched the following reply, showing the difficulties he had met with in the performance of his duty: —

Chillmarck May the 15, 1756.

May it pleas your Excellency:

Imediately upon the Receipt of your warrant I caused the Enlistments of souldiers In the severall companies within my Regiment for the present expidition against Crown Point to be returned to me which appeared to be but five, viz four out of Capt Cathcarts Company in Tisbury & one of my Company in Chillmarck, to which number I added forty & then apportioned the whole upon the several Companies according to the number of souldiers they severally contained & ordered Col Norton to rais twenty men out of his company in Edgartown & to Capt Cathcart to rais Eleven out of his company in Tisbury & ordered nine to be raised out of Chillmarck Company which with the five before enlisted would have compleated the number sent for & although I have done the utmost of my Power I have yet one man from Edgartown which is their whole proportion makes but eighteen in the whole which I have delivered to Capt Peter West as I was directed.

I am with due Regard your Excellencys
Most Humble Servt

ZACK. MAYHEW.[2]

It will be noticed that Captain West was already attached to the regiment of another colonel, on the mainland, a circum-

[1]Mass. Archives, XCIV, 148.

[2]Ibid., 228.

stance which makes it difficult to follow always the military history of the Vineyard soldiers. The same condition existed during the Revolutionary war, when a large number enlisted from towns on the cape and in Plymouth county to swell other town quotas. In a letter dated two months later, Colonel Mayhew gives us further particulars of his difficulties, ascribing the blame to the absence of available men, in general, and to the apathy of Edgartown in particular. The following is his letter: —

Marthas Vineyard, July 5th 1756.

May it pleas your Honour

Upon the receipt of a warrant Isued from His Excellency Will'm Shirley Esq., Capt General & Comander in Chief &c., I imediately as therein Directed sent for Enlistments of souldiers in the several Companies within my Regiment for the present Expedition against Crown Point to be returned to me & found them to contain five in all one out of Chillmarck Company & four out of Tisbury to which number I added forty & then proportioned the sum total amongst the several companies according to the numbers of the souldiers they formerly contained & then Lessened the proportion of each Company by the number that had Enlisted out of it & then Imediately sent a warrant to Colo John Norton requiring him to Impres twenty men & to Capt Gershom Cathcart for Eleven men out of his Company in Tisbury & nine out of my Company in Chillmark which nine I procured & received of Capt Cathcart eight & of Colo Norton but one, which eighteen men I delivered to Capt Peter West as I was ordered all which I gave yr Honour an account of before but am Informed that My Letter miscarried although I sent it (as I thought), by a safe hand the Reverend Mr . . . . And upon receipt of your Honnours warrant of the 24th of May last I Imediately sent warrants to Col Norton and Capt Cathcart Requiring the number of them that was wanting to Compleat the number first sent for & to make Returns to me as soon as Posable that I mought send the men as I am Directed but I have had no return from them as yet but am informed they have had pres warrants out ever since but can by no means procure them men. There being so many in the Coste service & at sea upon the whailing desine & so in that have bin imprest have paid their fine & so having to the utmost of my endeavor to procure the men sent for I now dispare of procuring of them untill such time as our men com back from sea. I am with Due Regard

Your Honrs

Most Humble Servt

ZACCHEUS MAYHEW.[1]

As stated by him, he had been able to get together eighteen men, ten of whom were Indians, and the following pay roll gives us the names of the men who marched from the Vineyard the first week in May, 1755, to the rendezvous at Boston:—

[1]Mass. Archives, XCIV, 265.

[MASS. ARCHIVES XCIV, 304]

MUSTER ROLL OF CAPT. PETER WEST'S COMPANY 1756

COL. MAYHEW'S REGIMENT.

NAMES	AGE	BORN	LAST PLACE OF ABODE	OCCUPATION	INLISTED	EMPRESSED	HIRED
Peter West, Capt. . . .	38	Tisbury	Dukes	Mariner			
Jeremiah Mayhew, Lieut.	51	Chilmark	Dukes	Yeoman			
Israel Butler, Clerk . .	59	Edgartown	Dukes	Weaver			
James Helman	23	Chilmark	Dukes	Yeoman	Inlisted		
Joseph Ray	21	Chatham	Dukes	Seaman	Inlisted		
Thomas Burgess . . .	42	Chilmark	Dukes	Weaver		Empressed	
Daniel Norton	24	Falmouth	Dukes	Laborer		Empressed	
John Daggett	22	Edgartown	Dukes	Laborer	Inlisted		
Jeams Butler	19	Barnstable	Dukes	Laborer			Hired
William Armstrong . . and (8 Indians)	28	Dublin, Ire.	Dukes	Weaver		Empressed	

This was the second expedition to Crown Point, the first having been undertaken the previous year under General Sir William Johnson, and had been unsuccessful. A battle was fought on Sept. 8, 1755, at Lake George, which "Fild the Cuntry with So Much Discorce," writes a diarist of the period, because of its disastrous results. The success of our arms had not been all that could have been wished. Braddock had been defeated on the Monongahela, and when the spring of 1756 opened the present expedition was started to retrieve the fallen fortunes of British armies. This campaign in its turn proved fruitless. The Marquis de Montcalm began his American career by destroying the English forts at Oswego. The Earl of London also came over this year to take charge of the war for the English, but he did nothing effective. The home government sent out reinforcements frequently, yet the men generally accomplished but little practically. "I dread to hear from America," exclaimed Pitt, as the news of disasters followed in these years. The raw levies marched back wearily, through the November snows, many of them pock-marked from the epidemic of small-pox, which invalided scores, and the French still held their positions of vantage. In the following year, nothing daunted by previous failures another assault on the intrenched camps of the soldiers of France was projected, and the following soldiers are credited to the Vineyard early in 1757: —

[Mass. Archives, XCV, 172.]

Pay Roll of CAPT. PETER WEST'S Company.

Boston February 14, 1757.

Peter West	Captain	Tisbury
Robert Manter	Lieutenant	Tisbury
Jeremiah Mayhew	Lieutenant	Tisbury
James Hilman	Sergeant	Chilmark
Thomas Burges	Sergeant	Chilmark
Joseph Ray	Sergeant	Tisbury
Israel Butler	Clerk	Tisbury
David Chapman	Private	Chilmark
John Daggett	Corporal	Tisbury
Isaac Lewis	Corporal	Tisbury
Daniel Norton	Corporal	Chilmark
Edward Crowell	Corporal	Chilmark
Wm. Armstrong	Drummer	Chilmark
James Butler	Private	Chilmark
James Bunker	Private	Chilmark

[Mass. Archives, XCVI, 16.]

Pay Roll of CAPT. PETER WEST'S Company, 1757.

February 12, to Octo. 21.

Peter West	Captain	Tisbury
Michael Dormont,	2d Lieutenant	Tisbury
Robert Manter	Sergeant	Tisbury
John Daggett	Corporal	Tisbury
Daniel Butler	Private	Tisbury
James Bunker	Private	Chilmark
Daniel Luke	Private	Tisbury
John Luke	Private	Tisbury

In the campaign of 1757 the English troops garrisoned at Fort Edward were attacked on July 6, and it is probable that during the fighting at this place the Vineyard company, under the command of Captain West, took part in the defence of the frontier stronghold against the assaults of the soldiers of France. A contemporary picture of life at home at this time during these hostilities, is afforded in a letter written by Solomon Athearn to his son-in-law, John Pope, then living in Lebanon, Conn.

Dear Children: —

After my immovable regards to you & your little daughters these may inform you I am in parfect health blessed be God: your brothers & sisters are all well: saving Hanna who was delivered in child bed four days ago, of a desirable son but I hope will be raised up again. I have nothing to right but wars & rumors of wars & great broils (?) . . . . Lydia remains . . . . & no help to her . . . . Tisbury is in an unsettled order & we know not when 'twill be better: It is a time of health in general here. Ant Skiff is yet alive and remains in same state of body as in years past. I remain (in) single life and know not if ever (it) will be otherwise: children and grandchildren looking to me for my helpe continually: I greatly desire to see you but know not the time when: Taxes are very (hard) because money is very scarce. Our men are called into the war & many are taken by war; the sword of the wild men is against us; but our hope is in God.

May the God of peace be with you & carry you thru all your afflictions is the prayer of your affectionate Father till Death.

SOLOMON ATHAN.

Tisbury on Marthas Vineyard, Sept 27th 1757

Early in the spring of 1758, another campaign was inaugurated under the leadership of General James Abercrombie, with the same objects in view, and the same points to be attacked. The following soldiers were credited to our island contingent: —

[Mass. Archives, XCVI, 18.]

Pay Roll of CAPTAIN PETER WEST'S Company,

March 17, 1758.

Peter West	Captain	Tisbury
Michael Dormont,	2d Lieutenant	Tisbury
Robert Manter	Ensign	Tisbury
John Daggett	Corporal	Tisbury
Daniel Butler	Private	Tisbury
James Bunker	Private	Tisbury
Daniel Luke	Private	Tisbury
John Luke	Private	Tisbury

It will be noted that all are given as residents of Tisbury.[1] The campaign of 1758 was in two parts — Amherst captured Louisburg, July 27, while Abercrombie directed his operations against the fort at Ticonderoga, called Carillon by the French. The army under General Abercrombie made a combined attack on July 8, but the defenders successfully withstood it, and it remained in their hands for another year. Among those who took part in this expedition, not named in the muster rolls, was Barachiah Bassett of Chilmark. Doubtless there were a number of others as the rolls are of one company only. Robert Manter got his promotion through the death of the lieutenant of his company, but failed to secure the pay of his new rank. He thereupon preferred the following petition to the General Court: —

He recites that he was in the service of the province as sergeant under the command of Captain Peter West in the regiment commanded by Col. Joseph Frye, "and in the month of July last The Twentyeth Day Michael Dormet our Lieut was kill'd by the Enemy and on the 18th Day of August following by Regimentall orders" he was appointed "Ensigne in s'd Company but has never received the pay of his rank." This petition was dated on March 13, and granted on the 18th of the same month. The town of Tisbury reimbursed him for poll taxes that year as he "was in service in the Quality of a Left in the Crown Point Expedition."

As a curious picture of the time, the experience of Barachiah Bassett, on his way home from this campaign, related

[1]In a list of soldiers supposed to belong to a company under Major Richard Godfrey, of Col. Timothy Ruggles' regiment at Lake George, this year, are the names of Ep(hrai)m Pease, Barnabas Allen, and Ezra Allen, but it is not known that they were the Vineyard men of those names. (G. R., LVIII, 142.)

by himself, is here inserted to show how much the idea of paternalism was a part of the life of the colonists: —

> To his Excellency Thomas Pownall Esq. Capt Gener'll & Governour in Chief in and over his Majesties Province of the Massachusetts Bay in New England.

The Humble Petition of Barachia Bassett of Chilmark on Marthas Vineyard sheweth that your Petitioner in the year past [1758] was in the Expedition under the Command of his Excellency General Abercromby and your petitioner hopes he was not an unprofitable Soldier, but so it happened that your Petitioner in his return home from the army having with others Hired a Vessel at Albany to Return home was obliged to Take into s'd Vessel a man then Indisposed and who it afterward proved had the Small pox and by Taking s'd man into s'd Vessel your Petitioner unhappily Took the Small pox whereby your Petitioner beside undergoing much Pain danger & loss of Time has been out much charge and cost an account where of your Petitioner hath herewith Exhibbited. Now your Petitioner prays that your Excellency and Honours would consider of your Petitioners case and order him pay for such expenses as he has been out in his sickness out of the Treasury or other wise to relieve your Petitioner as you shall in your great Wisdom think fit and your Petitioner as in Duty bound shall ever pray.

BAR'IAH BASSETT.[1]

Among the soldiers engaged in other expeditions to Canada in 1758, from the Vineyard, were John Megee, Jr., and William Armstrong of Chilmark, James Butler and Shubael Harding of Tisbury, John Holley and Ansel Norton of Edgartown. It is not known where they served — possibly under General Amherst.

THE SIEGE OF QUEBEC.

The year 1759 opened with the conditions remaining in favor of the French, who, under Montcalm, had held all their outposts. It was to be a year pregnant with results. The British armies had been placed in the command of General James Wolfe, a young and frail soldier, a subordinate under Amherst at Louisburg, who undertook the task which had staggered his predecessors, while high on the rock of Cape Diamond the citadel of Quebec towered proudly under white banners of New France. On the Vineyard the system of impressment for the campaign was continued, and the following roll shows the soldiers in Colonel Mayhew's regiment in the spring of that year: —

[1]Mass. Archives, LXXVIII, 231. Petition dated March 3, 1759.

[Mass. Archives, XCVII, 140.]

Muster Roll of COLONEL ZACCHEUS MAYHEW'S Regiment, April 13, 1759.

John Megee, Jr.	20	Chilmark
Benjamin Skiffe, Jr.	22	Chilmark
Hillard Mayhew	17	Chilmark
William Armstrong	30	Chilmark
Silvanus Pease	30	Chilmark
Jeremiah Manter	28	Tisbury
Bethuell Luce	18	Tisbury
Timothy Luce	55	Tisbury
Abijah Luce	21	Tisbury
James Butler	21	Tisbury
William Weeks	18	Tisbury
Shubael Harden	37	Tisbury
Gershom Dunham	23	Tisbury
Samuel Chase	25	Tisbury
Peter Whelden	26	Edgartown
John Holley	42	Edgartown
Jonathan Pease	52	Edgartown
Samuel Steward	30	Edgartown
Ansel Norton	21	Edgartown
Robert Hamit	21	Edgartown
William Bridge	57	Edgartown
Thomas Norris	29	Edgartown
Cornelius Ripley	23	Edgartown

The campaign in New York was under the leadership of the victorious Amherst, who besieged the French at Ticonderoga, no longer under Montcalm's military skill, and on July 27, he surprised the defenders and captured that celebrated stronghold. Meanwhile General Wolfe, on July 31, delivered an attack on the Gibraltar of America, the fortress of Quebec, defended by Montcalm, who had transferred his post thither, and the youthful British general suffered defeat, but he had found his quarry, and he was not daunted by this reverse. It is not known whether any men from the Vineyard were in this last and glorious campaign, at the final scenes at Quebec. The following letter shows what was done here in providing our quota of men: —

Chilmarck April the 15, 1759.

Sir

I have in obedience to the Law & his Excellencys warant & Direction to me given don the utmost of My Indeavor to procure the men sent for yet when the Day appointed for Mustering the Men com som of the men re-

turned by the officers appeared infirm & in no maner abel in body for the service which I could not except of so that there is yet nine men more wanting to complet the number sent for viz seven out of Colo Nortons Company in Edgartown & two out of Capt Cathcarts Company in Tisbury & whereas there was the names of som men returned to me by Colo Norton which did not appear I therefore Imediately sent him Expres order to serve those who had Deserted & to Complet the Number assigned him.

I also ordered Capt Cathcart to procure two men to complet the number assigned him & I hope they will be procured but I fear Not soon anuffe to go with the Rest for Capt Mayhew I hear designes to March tomorrow with the men he has already received.

There is one man viz ben toby who was Inlisted by Capt Cathcart & past muster & has received his bounty of Me but Col James Otis Demanding of him as belonging to his Regiment under his Command therefore I directed Capt Cathcart to procure a Man in his room otherwise Capt Cathcart would have wanted but one man to Compleat the number assigned him to rais.

We are under a grate Disadvantage heer by Reason the most of our old able bodied Efective men ware gon to sea before the Order came to warn the training.

I am sir
Your humble servant
ZACH. MAYHEW

To Col Willm Brattle
Assistant Governour.[1]

As usual there were men from the island who enlisted elsewhere this year. In the roll of Massachusetts soldiers landed at Halifax on May 11, 1759, occurs the name of Corporal John Daggett of the Vineyard, in Captain Josiah Thacher's company, of Col. John Thomas' regiment, and doubtless this is but one of a number similarly attached to other companies.

It is not known, as above stated, that any troops from the Vineyard were in the army of Wolfe before Quebec.[2] The only company that went from here, whose rolls have been preserved, did garrison duty at Annapolis Royal, in Colonel Hoar's detachment. The captain was Jeremiah Mayhew of Chilmark, and the muster roll of his soldiers shows the following names of Vineyard men, in addition to a number of Indians: —

[1]Mass. Archives, LXXVIII, 440.

[2]It is a matter of common knowledge that soldiers who fought in these wars are credited by descendants with service "at Quebec," usually under Wolfe, as his victory closed the long campaigns of several years, and "Quebec" gave the name to the general struggle in that sense. Similarly, soldiers of the Revolution are said to have been in Washington's "Body Guard," irrespective of any evidence showing in what capacity they served.

[Mass. Archives, XCVII, 277.]

Pay Roll of CAPT. JEREMIAH MAYHEW'S Company.

March–November, 1759

John Mege	Ensign	Chilmark
[1]Jeremiah Manter	Sergeant	Tisbury
Hillyard Mayhew	Sergeant	Chilmark
Benjamin Skiffe	Corporal	Chilmark
Gershom Dunham	Corporal	Tisbury
Abijah Luce	Corporal	Tisbury
Ansel Norton	Private	Edgartown
Bethuel Luce	Private	Tisbury
Cornelius Ripley	Private	Edgartown
Charles Parker	Private	Edgartown
James Butler	Private	Tisbury
Robert Hamit	Private	Tisbury

On the night of September 12, Wolfe's army crossed the St. Lawrence several miles above the city of Quebec, and on the morning of the next day were drawn up in battle formation on the Plains of Abraham. Montcalm committed the error of leaving his fortress to give battle. In the fortunes of the struggle between the contending forces both of the gallant commanders fell, mortally wounded, and the demoralized troops of the defender of the fortress were put to rout, and Quebec fell before the victorious charges of the British ranks. With the fall of Montcalm and Quebec fell the French power in North America, except in the distant and almost unknown regions of the territory of Louisiana. In this definite result the men from Martha's Vineyard contributed their share of blood and treasure in battle, sickness, and death. Perhaps the finest figure during this long series of campaigns to gain the mastery over the French was that of Captain Peter West of Tisbury. He was the fifth son of Abner and Joan (Look) West, born at Homes Hole, July 21, 1718, and as he grew to

[1]The Humble Petition of Jeremiah Manter of Tisbury, in Dukes County, sheweth That your Petitioner Did Enlist himself in to the Province service in April in the year 1759 under the Command of Capt Jeremiah Mayhew & Did Duty as a Sergt att the Garrison att Annopolis Royal In Coll Hoars Detachment And there Continued in the Service of the Province Untill the 26th Day of February last when he was Dismissed But did not Receive the Bounty granted by the Government for the Soldiers before he came home & upon application to the Treasurer was Informed That The Grant made for that Garrison was all sent Down For them before he came away: Now your Petitioner Prays That This Honourable Court will Take the Above Petition into consideration & order him the Bounty by Law Granted And your Petitioner as in Duty Bound shall Ever Pray

Tisbury December 1760. (Mass. Archives, LXXIX, 299.)

This Petition was granted April 8th, 1761. £10. 0. 0.

manhood, he is described as possessed of a splendid physique and became an ideal officer of dauntless courage. It is probable that he was a soldier in the Louisburg campaign of 1745, but we first know of his military service of a certainty in 1755, when he was attached to a regiment raised on the mainland for the early campaigns in this long struggle. His services were mostly in the New York expeditions, Crown Point and Ticonderoga, but his fortune was not to die in battle, where his military valor would have led him. He fell a victim to the scourge of smallpox at Fort Edward, near Lake George, Oct. 3, 1757, at which time he was acting major of the regiment.[1] He left a widow and seven children, of whom the son, Jeruel, followed in the father's footsteps and fought in the Revolutionary war. Captain West married, Dec. 16, 1740, Mrs. Elizabeth, widow of Thomas Chase, and daughter of Jabez and Katherine (Belcher) Athearn.

Jeremiah Mayhew, captain of another company, was the youngest son of John and Mehitable (Higgins) Mayhew of Chilmark, and was born in 1705. He married Deborah, daughter of John and Hannah (Pease) Smith, by whom he had nine children; and a second wife, in his old age, Fear Hillman, by whom he had a daughter, named after her mother. He died June 14, 1790.

Barachiah Bassett, another officer, was likewise a Chilmark man, the son of William and Anna (Mayhew) Bassett, born in 1732. He married after the war Mercy Bourne, and left three daughters. He served as colonel in the Revolutionary war, and died June 13, 1813.

John Megee was a resident of Chilmark, and followed the occupation of weaver. His brother Thomas was a tailor, and had resided there from 1725, having married in the town. Probably they were Scotch-Irish emigrants.

MISCELLANEOUS SERVICE IN CANADIAN GARRISONS.

From this time the principal military service to be performed by the provinces was in garrison duty at the various forts captured from the French, and to form the outposts in the territory lately held by them. This was principally in Nova Scotia and the other eastern provinces. In 1760, with a captain's commission, Barachiah Bassett left the Vineyard

[1]Vineyard Gazette, April 1, 1853. This is the only definite statement of the place of his death, but there is some doubt of its accuracy, in the matter of date.

with five men, and Lieutenant John Megee with thirty-three more, for Nova Scotia.[1] The muster rolls of Captain Bassett's men show the names of Ebenezer Daggett, Silvanus Hamlin, and Abijah Luce of Edgartown; Jeremiah Mayhew and Edward Davis of Chilmark, in March of that year, at Lunenburg, N. S. The rest of his men were recruited from other towns in the province. In May he had besides these Timothy Luce, Zaccheus Luce, and Peter Tobey, all Tisbury names.[2] The roll of the company under the command of Megee is not known to be in existence. One other soldier is known, George Look, son of Thomas, who "Died in the Army" this year, aged about twenty-one years.[3] The following soldiers also participated in the military operations of the army this year: —

[Mass. Archives, XCVII, 279.]

Pay Roll of CAPT. JEREMIAH MAYHEW'S Company.[1]

Annapolis Royal, N. S.

25 Apr. 1760

Jonathan Pease	Private	Edgartown
James Horn [4]	Private	Edgartown
John Holley	Private	Edgartown
Peter Whelden	Private	Edgartown
Sylvanus Pease	Private	Tisbury
Samuel Chase	Private	Tisbury
Shubael Harden	Private	Tisbury
Timothy Luce	Private	Tisbury
Thomas Norris	Private	Edgartown
William Armstrong	Private	Chilmark
William Weeks	Private	Tisbury
William Bridge	Private	Edgartown [5]

The death, on Jan. 3, 1760, of Colonel Zaccheus Mayhew of Chilmark, removed the commanding officer of the Vineyard militia forces. He had been for many years an active agent in promoting this branch of the citizen's duties to his country,

[1] "Elisha West ferryman from Marthas Vineyard to the Main Land Humbly sheweth that he in the month of April A. D. 1760 he Transported 33 solgers in the province service under the command of Left John Magee over to the main Land with out any pay also in May following five more under Capt Bariciah Baset and in June 1761 I tranceported 14 more under said John Magee: the Lawful farage is Seven Pounds ten shillings lawful money and I am not paid any more than £2, 8, 6." (Mass. Archives, LXXX, 10.)

[2] Mass. Archives, XCVII, 286; XCVIII, 63, 142, 286, 474.

[3] Tisbury Church Records.

[4] This soldier died.

[5] Elisha West put in a bill for ferriage of 38 men in 1760, month of April.

having been a captain as early as 1718, and probably before that date. Accordingly, Governor Bernard reorganized the local troops in August, 1761, with the following roster of officers: —[1]

John Newman, Colonel and Captain of the 1st Company of Edgartown.

Cornelius Bassett, Lieutenant Colonel and Captain of the 1st Company of Foot in Chilmark.

Benjamin Manter, Major of the Regiment, and Captain of Foot in Tisbury (Peter Norton subsequently qualified for this place.)

Samuel Smith, Junior, Adjutant of the Regiment.

The company officers were as follows: —

EDGARTOWN.

Solomon Norton, Captain Lieutenant; Daniel Coffin, 2nd Lieutenant; Daniel Vinson, Ensign, of the first company.

Peter Norton, Captain; Elijah Butler, Lieutenant; Malatiah Davis, Ensign, of the second company.

CHILMARK.

Samuel Mayhew, First Lieutenant; Uriah Tilton, Second Lieutenant; Mayhew Adams, Ensign, of the first Company.

Robert Hatch, Captain; Lemuel Weeks, Lieutenant; Zephaniah Robinson, Ensign of the second company.

TISBURY.

Benjamin Allen, First Lieutenant; Stephen Luce, Second Lieutenant; Josiah Hancock, Ensign.

INDIAN COMPANIES.

Edgartown: Enoch Coffin, Jr., Captain; Elijah Smith, Lieutenant; Richard Coffin, Ensign.

Tisbury: Eliakin Norton, Captain; Thomas Allen, Lieutenant; Bernard Case, Ensign.

Chilmark: Adonijah Mayhew, Captain; Lemuel Butler, Lieutenant; Thomas Daggett, Ensign.

It will be noted that the colonel of the regiment was the Rev. John Newman, pastor of the church at Edgartown, who thus combined the militant with the spiritual calling. There was evidence during his pastorate that he was of a "worldly" disposition, given to travel and amusement.

The year 1762 gave us the disastrous Habana expedition, resulting in its capture from the Spanish, but at an enormous cost of lives from tropical diseases. It is not known that any

[1]Mass. Archives, XCIX, 24-5.

men from the Vineyard took part in this expedition, but many from New England manned the attacking fleet and formed the land forces. The following named soldiers from the island saw service during this year: —

[Mass. Archives, XCIX, 130.]

Pay Roll of CAPT. BARACHIAH BASSETT'S Company

April, 1761, to Jan. 8, 1762.

John McGee	Chilmark	James Skiff	Chilmark
Fortunatus Bassett	Chilmark	Nathaniel Clarke	Chilmark
Brod'k Dillingham	Chilmark	Robert Hamit	Chilmark
Anthony Allen	Chilmark	Cornelius Hilman	Chilmark

[Mass. Archives, XCIX, 128.]

Pay Roll of CAPT. BARACHIAH BASSETT'S Company.[1]

July 1 to Dec. 8, 1762.

Timothy Norton	Edgartown	Prince Skiff	Chilmark
Peter Whelden	Chilmark	Peter Weeks,	Chilmark
Peter West	Tisbury		

It is supposed that these men were doing garrison duty at Annapolis or Louisburg, as there was no active campaign in progress at this time, except the Habana expedition above referred to. On Dec. 1, 1762, three Indian companies, attached to the Dukes County militia, had the following named officers: —

Adonijah Mayhew, Captain; Lemuel Butler, Lieutenant; and Thomas Daggett, Ensign, of the company in Chilmark. David Butler, Captain; Noah Look, Lieutenant; and William Foster, Ensign, of the company in Tisbury. Noah Look had succeeded Thomas Waldron as Lieutenant.[2]

Among those of Vineyard birth who engaged in these wars, while attached to regiments raised elsewhere, was Nathan Smith of Tisbury. He served as ensign in the company commanded by Captain Josiah Thacher, of Colonel Doty's regiment, from March 13 to Nov. 29, 1758. This service was probably in the Maritime Provinces, but there is a family tradition that he was at the siege of Quebec[3] the following

[1]On the back of this roll is the account of Captain Bassett for the ferriage of 11 men from the Vineyard to the mainland, £1-13s and 9 men from the mainland to the Vineyard, £1-7s.

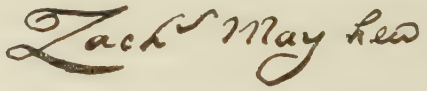
[2]Mass. Archives, XCIX, 25.

[3]Ibid, XCVI, 433. The muster rolls do not furnish any evidence of service in 1759, the year of the siege.

year. It was the beginning of a distinguished military career which will be followed during the succeeding war of the Revolution.

In addition to those listed in the companies above specified, raised here, a considerable number of men from the Vineyard served in regiments raised for service in these wars under the command of officers from the Cape and other parts of the mainland. Altogether there are seventy soldiers credited to our island in the campaigns from 1756 to 1762, and some of them served throughout the series of expeditions during those years. The following is a tabulated record of such soldiers of Vineyard birth who performed army service, with such particulars as have come to the notice of the author.

NAME	Res.	Company	Regiment	Year	REMARKS
Harden, Shubael	Tis.	Thacher	Doty	1758	Billeting Roll
" "	Chil.	"	"	1758	Muster Roll
" "	"	"	"	1759	Billeting Roll
Luce, Jabez	Tis.	"	"	1758	Muster & B'l't'g Rolls
" Paul	"	"	"	1758	" " "
" Zacheus	"	Fuller	Thacher	1755	Crown Pt. Expedition
" "	"	Knowles	Doty	1758	Muster Roll
Norton, Ansel	Edg.	Thacher	"	1758	" "
" "	"	Snow		1760	Service in Nova Scotia
Brewer, Peter	M. V.	Thacher		1758	Muster Roll
Chase, Benjamin	Tis.	"		1758	" "
Covell, Matthew	Edg.	"		1758	" "
Norton, Elislea	"	"		1758	" "
Lumbert, Gideon	Tis.	"		1758	" "
Norton, Sylvester	Chmk.	"		1758	" "
Neal, Thomas	Edg.			1759	" "



SIGNATURE OF COL. ZACHEUS MAYHEW.

IN COMMAND OF THE MILITARY FORCES OF THE VINEYARD DURING THE FRENCH AND INDIAN WARS, 1755–1760.

CHAPTER XXII.

The Vineyard in the Revolution, 1774–1778.

It is an academic question whether the Revolution of the British American colonies was inevitable. It is held by some that from the first the emigration of the scores of thousands from England, after the embarkation of the "Pilgrim Fathers" was not only a separatist movement, ecclesiastically considered, but that it contained in it the germs of political dissolution. For an hundred years the struggling colonies were under the most attenuated control from the home government, and were practically self-governing peoples, owning a fealty to the crown of England, which was of advantage to them in their days of weakness. The colonies were generally loyal and proud to be a part of the British Empire. Never was this more conspicuously shown than in the campaign of 1745 at Louisburg, when the provincial troops under Sir William Pepperrell fought side by side with the British tars from Admiral Warren's fleet, and captured that great French stronghold. This was under the ministerial guidance of that great statesman, Sir Robert Walpole, whose policy had been to encourage the participation of the colonists in imperial affairs, and to stimulate their loyalty, and it designated the high water mark in the cordial relations of the home government and the kin "beyond sea." His death made a vacancy which was successively filled with little men, and for twenty years the colonial policy of the various ministries was a series of blunders that almost amounted to crimes. "If the second-rate men who governed England at this time," says one of the recent historians of the Revolution, a distinguished son of this Commonwealth, "had held to the maxim of their great predecessor, Sir Robert Walpole, *quieta non movere*, and like him had let the colonists carefully alone; or if they had been ruled by the genius of Pitt and had called upon the colonies as part of the empire to share in its glories and add to its greatness, there would have been no American Revolution. But they insisted on meddling, and so the trouble began with the abandonment of Walpole's policy. They added to this blunder by abusing and sneering at the colonists, instead of appealing, like Pitt, to their loyalty and patriotism. Even then, after all their mistakes, they might still have saved the

situation which they had themselves created. A few concessions, a return to the old policies, and all would have been well. They made every concession finally, but each one came just too late."[1] The "Resolves" of our County Congress, called together for the purpose of formulating the grievances of the people in 1775, expressly emphasizes this. In reviewing the relations which existed between the crown and the colonies from the earliest settlement of the island, they speak of "that happy union Love and Harmony which formerly Subsisted between them by a Relation of those Liberties Priviledges & Imunities to these Colonies and to this Province in Particular which they enjoyed till about the year 1763," which, it will be remembered, was just prior to the hated Stamp Act.[2]

It is probably true that the colonies were the least-governed and the freest part of the British dominions, and for that very reason were the quickest to feel and to resent any change which seemed to forebode a deprivation of their traditional "rights." But we may wonder if some of their grievances were not fanciful or ill conceived. The cry of "No taxation without Representation" was good for a campaign motto, but one might well ask why should not the colonies be taxed for the support of the general government from which they derived military and naval protection? True no representation in Parliament was accorded to them, but in England itself there were dozens of large towns and countless smaller communities equally without the privilege of electing members to that body. It was a day of inequality in that respect, when the "pocket borough" system permitted hamlets to return several members and large cities like London and Edinburgh to choose a few, not in numerical or other proportion to their size and importance. This is not the place to discuss the causes or dissect the motives of the actors in the great preliminary events leading up to the struggle for independence. During this period the people of the Vineyard sustained a reputation for equal loyalty to the crown and shared similar resentments against its agents in the varying treatments to which the colonists of Massachusetts were subjected. The narrative of their participation from the beginning will show this trait of loyalty outraged, and driven to acts of revolution. Like all insular people they were essentially lovers of freedom

[1]Lodge, "Story of the Revolution," 13–14.

[2]Tisbury Records, 210.

under constitutional prerogative, and for no trivial reason were they brought to sever the ancient ties which bound them as subjects to the throne of England.

The events leading up to the final acts of resistance had no immediate effect upon the Vineyard beyond other communities, and it will not be necessary to say more than that, in common with their countrymen elsewhere, they shared the sentiments of the people in their opposition to arbitrary government, and were ready to support them in any measures that would be adopted by the representatives of the people. Beginning with the Writs of Assistance Act in 1761; the Stamp Act in 1765; the Tax Bill of 1767, followed by the Boston Massacre in 1770; the Boston Tea Party in 1773 and the Boston Port Bill of 1774, causes and effects moved forward in ever increasing rapidity, while a stupid ministry failed to diagnose the disease correctly, and applied drastic treatment when correctives and alteratives should have been administered. These conditions precipitated the union of the colonies and paved the way for a general congress of delegates from each province to discuss means for the redress of their grievances. Thus the first step was taken, and on Sept. 5, 1774, earnest and brave men from every colony assembled at the City Tavern, Philadelphia, by previous agreement, and marched thence to Carpenter's Hall, to exchange views upon the situation. For seven weeks they deliberated, these strong men, and unanimously decided what they expected from the king, and what they intended to do if he should be deaf to their appeals. They adopted a declaration of rights, an address to the people of Great Britain, drawn by John Jay, and an address to the king, written by John Dickinson. These were the academic results of the Congress, but the practical measures adopted were of immense importance. They signed agreements to neither import nor export any article, rice excepted, in trade with England, and appointed a second Congress to hear and decide upon the answer which should be received. After passing a vote sustaining Massachusetts in her attitude, the Continental Congress, on Oct. 26, adjourned. Every community, as soon as the reports of the Congress reached it, was aflame with patriotic zeal to support the measures recommended. It is probable that during the sessions of the Congress that reports of its doings were disseminated by messengers, and the temper of the convention indicated from time to time.

THE VINEYARD JOINS THE MOVEMENT.

Certain it is that the Vineyard people were astir before it adjourned, to arrange for a local ratification of the principles enunciated, and to adopt the measures recommended. The men of Tisbury met in town meeting at the Court House on October 19,

in Order to Chuse a Committee for the Town of Tisbuary to Correspond with the Committee of Each Town in Dukes County and the Committees of our Province And at Said Meeting Mr. Joseph Allen was chosen Moderator And then it was put to Vote to See wheather James Athearn Esqr Shobal Cottle Esqr Mr Benjamin Allen Mr Abijah Athearn & Mr Benjamin Burges Should be the Said Committee & the Vote passed in the Affirmative And Then the Above Said Committee was Impowred by a Vote to meet the Committees of the Other Towns in Dukes County to Sit in A County Congress to form Such resolves and doe Such things as they in their wisdom Shall think propper to be done Reletive to our Publick affairs.[1]

At an adjourned meeting Elisha West was added to this committee. Chilmark held a meeting on the 20th, with Zachariah Mayhew as moderator. "Then was chosen," the records say, "Joseph Mayhew Esq., Jonathan Allen Esq., Cornelius Bassett Esq., Uriah Tilton & James Allen Jr. Committee men to join with any committes that are or may be chosen by the other Towns in said County to Consult what measures may be expedient to be dane into by this County in the Present unhappy State of the Publick affairs of this Province."[2] Edgartown was already in line. She had sent Thomas Cooke as her representative to the General Court called to meet at Salem, on October 5, and also to attend the Provincial Congress at Concord in the following week.

THE COUNTY CONGRESS ADOPTS RESOLUTIONS.

The County Congress was called to meet in the Court House at Tisbury on November 9 following, by which time the news of the proceedings of the Continental Congress had reached the Vineyard. It was a solemn occasion for these plain, high-minded lovers of liberty — farmers, sea-faring men — to come together for the purpose of considering their relations with their sovereign, whom they had grown to distrust, and whose acts demanded strong protests and perhaps

[1]Tisbury Records, 205.
[2]Chilmark Records, 154.

active resistance. It meant the parting of the ways, and it was with no zeal that they rushed into this position; rather did they feel that they were driven into it, and met as freemen to demand a restoration of their ancient privileges, gradually infringed by successive encroachments, by stubborn ministers of state. It is not known who presided over this County Congress during its deliberations, nor how long it was in session. We only know the recorded results, as left to us in a set of clear, calm, and firm resolves, and if George the Third could have sat down in his palace at Westminster and read them quietly and fairly, he would have seen that he was dealing with men terribly in earnest, but willing to respond to acts of grace at the hand of their sovereign. The Vineyard resolves breathed loyalty, with a protest that this sentiment was being crushed out of their spirits. They voiced "an Earnest desire of the relation of that happy union, Love and harmony which formerly Subsisted between them: and from a Sence of Our Duty to God, Our Country and our Selves and to future Generations of Brittish Americans as well as the present Wee have so freely Expressed Our Sentiments." No one could read the concluding paragraphs of the resolves without admiration for the sentiments uttered. But King George, a small-minded, honest man, of German birth, was trying to be an absolute monarch over a people whom he could not understand, and he considered such sentiments of resistance as coming from "rebels," and he blundered on, irrespective of the merits of the complaints constantly presented.

The resolves are herewith printed in full: —

At A Convention of the Committees of the Several Towns in the County of Dukes County in the Province of the Massachusetts Bay: Held by Adjornment at Tisbuary in Said County on the 9th of November 1774 The Said Committee after Serious Consideration of the unhappy State of the Province in general & of Said County in Particular; by means of Certain Acts of the British Parliment more especialy A Late Act Entituled an Act for the better Regulating the goverment of the province of the Massachusetts Bay: Resolved as follows That by the Emigration of Our Ancestors from great Brittain into the parts of America of which the Province of the Massachusetts Bay consists: When thare ware Uncultivated Regions Inhabited only by wild Beasts and Savages in human form: by their Establishing them selves here at their own great expence Submitting to and Enduring with most Remarkable fortitude and Patience the most grevious Toils and hardships. Amidst the greatest dangers: by the great cost and labour of the People of this province Clearing Incosing & Cultivating their Lands here (After a fair purchas hereof of the

Indian Propriators) And in Erecting Nessecary & Conveniant Buildings thereon: And by this Peoples Defending at A Vast Expence of their Blood and Treasure their Possesions and Properties thus Aquired.

The Territories Included within this Province which would Otherwise have belonged to no Prince or Princes but Indian Sachems; (or which would have been much worse for Great Brittain would have been Possessed by the Subjects of Some Rival European Prince or State) Are now with but verry Little if any Expence to the Crown or People of Brittain become a verey Valluable Part of the Dominions of the Brittish Monorch which from the first Peopeling thereof by his Subjects hath been Continually Increasing in vallue to the Vaste and growing Emolument of the Crown and People of the Mother country by A Great Increas of the Trade & commerce and Naval Powers.

2ly That therefore (to Say nothing) Concerning the Just Tittle of the ancient collony of the Massachusetts Bay: To the Libertys and Priveledges they at first enjoyed: by Virtue of A Royal Charter which was unjustly Vacated: and which they ware Unreasonally denied a Restoration off. The People of this Province were Antecedently to the Charter Granted then by King William & Queen Mary and Still are by A Right dearly aquired by their Predecessors and themselves Justly Intituled to at least all the Liberties Priveledges Franchises & Imunities as well as to any of the Lands Granted by Said Charter 3ly That the Late Act of Parliment Attempting an Alteration of our constitution and a violation of Our Charter (Without our being heard or even Cited to appear in defence thereof) is therefore Unconstitutional Unrighteous & Cruel Act or Power. Justly Alarming to us as being manifestly designed to wrest from us our most valluable & dearly bought rights which we have no ways forfited And threatning us with all the Wretchedness of Subjection to Arbitary & Despotick Goverment and A State of Abject Slavery: To Say nothing aboute the Impolicy of Said Act as being Detremental to the Mother countery

4ly. That therefore we will not Submit to. but to the utmost of our power in all Just and propper ways. Oppose the Execution of that Unjust and unconstitutional Act and do recomend the Same Resolute Opposition thereto to the People of this county

5ly That no Power or Authority in any ways derived from Said Act of Parliment ought to be Submitted to by any belonging to this County or to be in any way Owned to be Constitutionall: And that when any Man Shall Accept of an Appointment to any Civil Office here: in Conformity to Said Unconstitutionall act and Shall pretend to Exercise any Power or Authority by Virtue thereof he Ought to be in no ways Supported or countenanced therein but Ought to be considred and treated as one Acting by A pretended Outhority only And as an Enemy to his country

6ly That the before mentioned Charter of this Province and the Laws of the Province founded thereon are all of them Constitutionall good and Valid; anything contained in Said act of Parliment to the contrary notwithstanding

7ly That all civil officers in this county holding commissions by an Appointment agreable to Said charter are when Sworn as the Law Directs Legally & constitutionaly Authorized to act in their Respective

offices According to their Respective commissions and the Laws of this Province and Ought to be Supported in thus Acting, by the People of the County

8ly the Jurors Ought to be chosen and returned in this County in no other manner then According to the directions of the Laws of this Province with regard to grand & Pettit Jurors respectively

9ly That Town-meetings ought to be held in this county as hath been Usual according to the Directions of the Laws of this Province; And that All grants of Monney made: and all Votes passed in such Meetings agreeable to Said Laws Ought to be considered as good and binding the Said Meeting be Otherwise Called then the Aforesa'd act of Parliment directs, and all Persons who Shall avail themselves of that act in refusing to pay their Proportion of Monney thus granted will by the regard they Shew to that Oppressive act aid and abbet the Enemies of their Countery in Violating its Just rights Laws and Liberties,

10ly Wee advise the Constables Collectors & Other officers in this county who have or Shall have Monney in their Hands belonging to the Province that thay pay in the Same according to the direction Lately given them by the Provincial Congress or by A Constitutional house of Representatives

11ly With regard to non Importation non Consumption and non Exportation of goods wares and Merchandizes we Earnestly recommend to the People of this county a Strict Conformity of their Conduct & Practice to the Resolutions & Advice of the Late Grand American Congress

12thly And Finally With respect to the State of Embarrasment this Province is in by reason of the Late act of Parlement for altering our Constitution, we Earnestly Recomend it to the People of this County that they take no advantage of any Difficulties attending the Administration of Justice in the Present Unhappy State of our Publick Affairs: And that they Refrain themselves from all Violations and Mobbish Proceedings and from all Acts of unlawfull Outrages and Voiolences; and from every kind of Injustice and that they be carefull to render to all their dues: and behave themselves in a Quiet Peacable & Orderly manner Shewing A due regard to Every divine Precept And to the good and wholesom Laws of the Land

And with Respect to the Taxation of the American Colonists by Great Brittan Resolved First. That the People of this Province are not only by a Just national right; but also by the Express words of their Charter Intitaled to have and Injoy all the Liberties and Immunities of free and natural Subjects within any of his Majesty's Dominions to all Intents Constructions and Purposes whatsoever of which Imunities of free and natural Subjects this is most certainly one that no Tax be Imposed on them but with their own consent Given Personally or by their Representetives, 2ly That the brittish Parliment by Imposing Duties on commodities Imported here from Brittan for the Single purpose of Raising a revenue by Leveying upon us: Have Taxed us without our Consent given Either Personally or by our Representatives and have thereby assumed to themselves A Power to dispose of our Property at their Pleasure And have grosly violated one of our most Esential Natural as well as charter rights, 3ly That the Exercise of the Power of Tax-

ing us assumed by the Parliment of Great Brittan ought therefore to be Resolutely & Strenously Opposed by the People of this Province and by every free American Colonistis with respect to the Treatment of the People of Boston by the Blocking up of their Harbour and Sorounding them with an armed force, Resolved That by the Late Act of Parliment for blocking up the Harbour of the Capital of this Province and by the verey Rigourous and unjustifiable Execution thereof the People of that Town are Treated in a verey Oppresive and Cruel manner to the great hurt & Detriment not only of this whole Province but of the Other American Collonies also by Obstructing their Trade & Commerce: and that the People of that Distressed Town Ought to be Considerd by all the Friends of civil Liberty as Sufferers in a Cause Common to all Such: and as therefore Justly Intituled to all the Support & relief they are able to afford them: and as to the Late Proceedings with regard to Canada Resolved That the Extending the Limits of that Province and the Establishment of Arbitary Goverment as well as Popery therein Seems to Threaten the Other British Collonies on this Continent with a Like Subjection to the Despotism of A Frence mode of Goverment and that all the People of these Colonies ought therefore readily & Cheerfully to concur with the measures Adopted by their Delegates at the Late Grand American Congress in Order to bring in the Canadians to Unite with the Other British Colonists in Asserting their common Right and Tittle to all the Privilidges & Immunities of Free brittish Subjects

There are also beside those which we have taken Particular Notice off Divers other verey Injurious and Oppressive Measures with regard to these Collonies: Of Late Adopted and carrying on by the Brittish Ministry concerning which wee hope it will Suffice for us to Declare as wee are so happy as to agree in Sentiment with the Grand American Congress; with respect to these as well as other matters of Publick Grevviance So we are Determined to conform our Conduct to the resolutions which they have Published

With A Special aim at Serving our Constituents the People of the very Small and Poor (tho' Antient) County of Dukes County in their Remote and Obscure Situation; wee who are of the Committees of the Several Towns in that county have passed the before goeing Resolves, but wee have yet also herein Humbly Aimed at Contributing to the Service of Brittish Americans in General in their Contests for their Just Rights and Priviledges to whose Obtaining what they Claim wee Aprehend that their appearing by their Publick Exploit Declarations to agree in their Claims and to be alike Resolved and Persisting in them will be greatly conducive, and wee with the utmoste Sincerity declare that it is with hearty Loyalty to Our Sovereign Lord the King with an high Sence of the Power and dignity of the Brittish Parliment and Ministry and of the Reverence wee Owe them account hereof with Sincear affection and good will to the People of Great Brittan — with great grief and concern on account of the Present unhappy Variance and Strife between that Countery and her American Collonies an Earnest desire of the relation of that happy union Love and harmony formerly Subsisted between them; by A Relation of those Liberties Privilidges Imunities to these Colonies and to this Province in Particular which they Enjoyed till about the year 1763 and from a Sence of Our Duty to God, Our country and our Selves

and to future Generations of British Americans as well as the present: Wee have so freely Expressed Our Sentiments with respect to matters of so high Importance and of so Delicate a Nature as the Rights of the Brittish Collonists in America and the Conduct of those Towards them who are in highest Power in the Mother Countery

And that Great Brittain and her Colonies may be blessed with an happy Union and harmony between them and may respectively enjoy all their Just Rights and Priveledges and every Publick blessing to the end of time and that King George the third our most Rightfull Sovereign may Long and hapily boath for himself and his Subjects reign over the People of his widely Extended Empire: And that his Successors on the Brittish Throne to the Latest Posterity may be Protestants of his Illusterous Race And great good and happy Monarchs by & under whose wise mild and Righteous Goverment their Subjects Shall enjoy great Peace and hapiness is Our most Earnest Prayer to the Supreme ruler of the Universe to which we wish every Britton and Every Brittish American would Sincearly & Devoutly Say A Men [1]

These resolves were "unanimously" adopted by the towns, in meeting assembled, and Tisbury voted to spread them on its records, by which act they have been preserved to posterity as a memorial of the patriotism of the sires.[2] The die was now cast, and the result was in the hands of a higher power.

At their town meeting held to hear and act on these resolves, the voters of Edgartown took the following additional action to carry out the recommendations of the Continental Congress: —

Voted there be a committee of seven men in order to observe a strict conformity to the non-importation non-exportation & non-consumption association recommended by the late Grand American Congress.

Voted Mr. Nathan Smith, Benjamin Smith, William Jernegan, John Worth Esq., Mr. Elijah Butler, Mr. Thomas Cooke, Mr. Ebenezer Smith serve as the Committee for the purpose aforesaid.[3]

COMMITTEES OF SAFETY FORMED.

Thus the year ended, and the fateful one of 1775 opened. Tisbury began the new year by voting to send her taxes to the treasurer designated by the Provincial Congress, and elected Deacon Ransford Smith as her representative to that body

[1] Tisbury Records, 206–211.

[2] The acceptances were given on December 6, by Edgartown and Tisbury, but the Chilmark records have no further references to the subject, after the choice of the committee to attend the Congress. (Edgartown Records, 304; Tisbury Records, 206.)

[3] Edgartown Records, I, 304.

which was called to meet at Concord in March.[1] On March 7, Tisbury chose Hezekiah Luce, Timothy Lumbert, Isaiah Gray, Peter West, and Samuel Daggett "for a committee of Inspection to See that the Continental & Provincial Congress be adheard to." Similar action was taken by Chilmark on May 25, when it was voted "that there be A Comity of Corespondence Consistin of three Persons," and Uriah Tilton, Deacon James Allen, and Nathaniel Bassett were chosen for these duties, thus completing the quotas of the three towns in these local committees for the carrying on of the affairs of government in absence of the constituted authorities. These bodies of men in each community, variously called Committees of Safety, Correspondence, Observation, Intelligence, and Secrecy, were composed of the leading men in sympathy with the patriotic movement, and exercised powers locally similar to the same committees for the province at large. The functions of these committees were practically specified by their titles, but the committee of safety was the name generally used. An historical writer, after a special study of this feature of the Revolutionary movement, thus explains their creation and duties: The Provincial Congress answered the purpose of a deliberative and legislative body, but its size and consequent lack of harmony prevented it from successfully performing executive duties. The Congresses, moreover, did not sit continually, and there was need of some arrangement by which the government could be carried on at these times without interruption. It was to meet these needs that Committees of Safety — small bands of men chosen by the Provincial Congress from its own members — were created. Massachusetts organized her committee as early as Oct. 26, 1774, the first of its kind, and its duties were specifically defined, subject to the direction of the Provincial Congress. He continues thus: —

> In forming these committees the colonists felt they were doing nothing unusual or experimental. Under the royal government they had been accustomed to the administrative activity of the small body of men known as the Governor's Council, which advised and assisted the Governor, and acted as his substitute when for any reason his seat became vacant. But the dependence of the Committees of Safety on the legislature was an element foreign to the idea of the Governor's Council, and had its origin in the experience of the people with the committee system of the early part of the Revolution. Since the first days of the struggle had brought into existence the local and provincial Committees of Correspondence,

[1] It is not known whether the other towns sent a delegate to this Congress. It adjourned on April 15, a few days before the battle of Concord and Lexington.

the colonies had become accustomed to intrust to small committees of various designations the task of communicating with each other, of watching the movements of the royalists, of enforcing the non-exportation and non-importation acts and of carrying out particular resolves of the Continental and Provincial Congresses. Such were the Committees of Secrecy, of Intelligence, of Observation. They were temporary bodies, dependent upon the assembly that chose them, whether this were the town meeting or the General Court. They were appointed for certain specified duties, and their acts, to be valid, required the sanction of the body that commissioned them, while they might at any time be disbanded when their services were no longer needed.[1]

A Committee of Safety for Dukes County was appointed by the Provincial Congress on April 12, with Joseph Mayhew of Chilmark as chairman.

It was now April, and the first blow was struck on the 19th at Lexington Common and Concord Bridge. The "embattled farmers" from the surrounding towns had precipitated the conflict and the war had begun. News of it spread like wild-fire, and every patriot girded himself for the trying times to follow. It was now give and take between the opposing sides. The trained troops of the king, supported by the many armed vessels of his navy, which were patrolling the coast, running into harbors and overhauling merchantmen for contraband of war, were now actively engaged against an unorganized enemy. The provincials were formidable on land, but on the sea the men-of-war flying the royal ensign were practically unopposed. It was their duty to harass the commerce of the colonists, and they did it with impunity, unless some daring leader, with an improvised sloop, and volunteer crew, gave them a taste of Yankee seamanship.

The Vineyard Sound was a favorite rendezvous for these naval operations on the part of the king's forces. Then, as now, it was a great highway for the coasting trade between New England and the South, and under the favoring lea of Homes or Tarpaulin Coves his majesty's armed vessels of war would wait like hawks to pounce upon their prey. In the early part of 1775 the armed sloop *Falcon*, Capt. John Linzee, commander, hovered around these sheltering inlets and did a profitable business in this line. A copy of her log, obtained from the Lords of the Admiralty, shows for the period between the 10th and 30th of May of that year, how she fired

[1]Hunt, Bulletin of Western Reserve University, 1904, p. 22. The earliest suggestion for Committees of Correspondence between the colonies is found in a letter from the great pulpit orator, Jonathan Mayhew, to James Otis in 1766.

at and brought to anchor thirteen (13) vessels, and held such of them as prizes as were of value.[1] This is assumed to be only a sample of what was being enacted all the time by the vessels of the royal navy, and is mentioned to show how closely the island was to these constant evidences of war.

THE VINEYARD PREPARES FOR THE STRUGGLE.

The Third Provincial Congress was immediately called after the Lexington and Concord affair, and was set for the 31st of May at Watertown, and Edgartown sent Beriah Norton and Tisbury elected James Athearn as members of this body. Chilmark was not represented. At this session it was resolved that "thirteen thousand coats be provided for each officer and soldier in the Massachusetts forces, agreeably to the resolve of Congress on the 23rd day of April last; to be proportioned according to payment of the last Provincial tax." Under this schedule Martha's Vineyard received 112 coats as follows: Edgartown, 36; Tisbury, 32; Chilmark, 44; and we may reasonably infer that the men of the seacoast-defence establishment were uniformed with these coats. While this Provincial Congress was in session, the Battle of Bunker Hill was fought on the 17th of June, and the last hope of reconciliation was dashed. Young Joseph Thaxter, destined later to be our distinguished pastor at Edgartown, was in Prescott's regiment at that fight, and Joseph Huxford of Edgartown and Malachi Baxter, later of Tisbury, fought there also; but it is not known whether any one else from the Vineyard participated. The arrival of the news of this famous battle reached here immediately, and active measures were instituted to get troops in training. A contemporary writer tells us what was done:—

About 20th June 1775, a General notis was made to all the inhabatance of the Vineyard to turn out and assemble to Tisbury on the 25 June, which is nearly the Center of our Island to see what measures they would advise in our Expos'd situation. their was a veery large majority in favour of appling to General Court at Boston for soldiers: at the s'd meeting at Tisbury all our arms was particularly inspected & now the minds of many were sounded amongst the young men to see who would

[1]Public Record Office, Admiralty Logs, No. 7250. On Wednesday, May 31, 1775, the *Falcon* was at anchor in Homes Hole, and the log shows the following action: "Sent our boats on Bd two sloops and prest 2 men at 6 fir'd four six pounders shotted with Round and Grape to bring too a Boat." This shows that Yankee seamen were being impressed into the king's service.

join the Volinteer corps of Edgartown. we soon found the number of active young men say 12. Some had call afterward to leave and go sea but their number was soon Replaced.

During this time Tisbury appeared to be the most active in all matters connected with the increasing struggle. It seemed to be the center of military preparations, as it was the central town of the three. A town meeting was holden on June 29, at which Stephen Luce, Abijah Athearn, and Samuel Look were appointed a committee "to Joyn with the Committee or Committees that are chosen or may be chosen in the Other Towns in the County, In Order to Consider of & Carrey into Execution Such Methods as they Shall think proper to be done under our present Situation Respecting our Publick Affairs," and passed some "resolves," the terms of which do not appear upon the report of the meeting. But all were busy, if the records do not tell us about it. The general condition of affairs at this date, as reported to the authorities at Cambridge by our local committee of safety, gives us these particulars in a letter: —

July 5th, 1775.

Sir: — The Committee of the County of Dukes County appointed by the late provincial Congress on the 12th of April last beg leave to report: That said Committee according to the first order of the Congress met on the first Wednesday of May last but not having then had an opportunity to receive a state of the conduct of their several Towns made no Report: and as the order of the Congress postponing the first meeting of the Committees of the several Counties in this Colony to the fourth Wednesday of May was not received by him to whom it was directed till the evening immediately preceding said fourth Wednesday the Committee for said County did not then meet. But being now on this first Wednesday of July 1775, met according to the order of the Congress, we have received no State of the conduct either of the Town of Edgartown nor Chilmark, the former of which Towns having as we perceive no Committee of Correspondence: But as to the only other Town in this County, viz: Tisbury the Committee of Correspondence of that Town have reported that said Town was endeavouring that their outstanding provincial taxes be speedily paid, according to the Directions of the Congress — but they were under great Difficulty with respect to raising Money for that purpose: as they have great occasion for Money to procure a necessary supply of Bread, Corn, and Money was very scarce amongst them thro' the failing of their whale-voyages last year, and thro' their having no Market for the Oyl they have since obtained. (But since the Date of the above Report we have had certain information that the said Town of Tisbury have sent a considerable of their Province dues to the Receiver appointed by the Congress) And the said Committee of Correspondence for Tisbury do also report that their Town are nearly tho not fully (according to law)

furnished with arms and ammunition and are endeavouring in this and all other respects to conform to the recommendations of the Continental and Provincial Congresses.

And with respect to those two towns first mentioned of whose conduct we have had no information in the way pointed out by the Congress, we beg leave to report in brief from information which we have other ways had: That with regard to paying their outstanding provincial taxes and their furnishing themselves with arms and ammunition they are endeavouring to conform as soon as possible to the recommendations of the Congresses and in other respects conduct themselves agreeably thereto.

In the name and by order of the Committee

JOSEPH MAYHEW Chair'm [1]

The next meeting of the General Court for the Province of the Massachusetts Bay was held at Watertown on July 19, and the Vineyard had a full representation at the session, Colonel Beriah Norton for Edgartown, Mr. James Allen, Jr., for Chilmark, and Captain Nathan Smith for Tisbury. The business of providing for the fast increasing army occupied the larger part of its time. Requests to the towns were sent out for their share of the various supplies needed, and the Vineyard was included in the list — Tisbury was asked for coats, and at a meeting held on July 31, the selectmen were authorized to "be a committee to Procure the coats for the Provincial Soldiers." It is not known what requests were made of the other towns.[2] By this time it became a serious question of military defence of the island, as the armed vessels of the king were continually making depredations, and alarming the people. In addition to these regular naval vessels, there were a large number of small craft belonging to Tories in the large seaports, who, under the protection of the guns of the fleet, raided isolated coast towns, cut out craft lying at anchor, and doing damage to the property of the patriots. These little privateers, belonging to the Tories, were called "Picaroons," and some of them did work about the Vineyard. A contemporary writer speaks of such experiences. "The next August (1775)," he says, "the Pickaroones or small vessells they had taken from us and armed with swivels; and sometimes a War Brig would accompany them." On the 21st of August the freeholders of Tisbury held a town meeting and voted "to Send a Petition to the General Assembly at Watertown To see if they will grant us a Number of Men to

[1] Mass. Archives, CXCIV, 24.

[2] Tisbury Records, 214.

be Raised for the Defence of Said Town," and a committee was appointed to draw up "Some Suitable Instructions for Our Present Representative when at Said court to consider and represent our Circumstances, That wee cannot Supply Said Men with Arms nor Amunition and if they Cannot be Obtaind without them then not have them come, for wee have but A Small Supply for Our Selves and Cannot git any more at Present."[1]

Committees from the other two towns took similar action, but the particulars are not on record. While the committees were engaged in this service, an incident occurred which shows the tactics pursued by the captains of the British vessels which put into Homes Hole and Edgartown Harbors with demands for water and supplies. In the latter part of August his majesty's ship *Nautilus*, Captain John Collins commanding, dropped anchor in Homes Hole. He sent ashore a demand for some supplies, accompanied by a threat in case of refusal to comply. It was the usual custom, although some commanders never forgot their courteous breeding. In this case the men of Tisbury, two of them were then selectmen, returned the following response on September 1: —

Sir: we are sorry the unhappy disputes between Great Britain and these Colonys should be carried to such a height as to put it out of our power to supply you with any kind of Provision whatever, as to your filling water for the Necessary Supplys of your ship you may with freedom send your boat on shore and fill without molestation provided your people come in the day time and unarm'd and offer no abuse to the Inhabitants, as to your threatening you will fire on our homes it will not force the least complyance to that which in itself is not agreeable to the advice of that power which we look upon as being drove by nicessity to obey.

We ar Sir your most h'ble Serv'ts the Selectsmen,

JOSEPH ALLEN,
STEPHEN LUCE,
EBEN'ER SMITH.

To this the commander of the *Nautilus* sent the subjoined reply the same day: —

Nautilus, Sept. 1, 1775.

Gent'm: I am equally sorry for the situation of the times, but when matters are carried so far as to deny a little Milk or a Cabbage to a Single ship, a thing of so small moment it rather tends to Kindle that unhappy difference which as men and Christians we should exert ourselves to allay. every contrary exertion on my part wou'd be a matter of Necessity, as I

[1]Tisbury Records, 214.

shou'd be sorry to Injure any mans property, and nothing of that kind will be thought of but hope we shall part not worse friends than at this Present and am Gentlemen your most h'ble Serv't,

JNO. COLLINS.

To the Selectmen of Dukes County, Messrs Joseph Allen, Stephen Luce, Eben'er Smith.

ORGANIZATION OF THE SEACOAST-DEFENCE TROOPS.

The towns of Tisbury, Chilmark, and Edgartown presented petitions to the General Court, Sept. 28, 1775, praying for protection against the common enemy, and asking authority to enlist men in the cause of liberty. The petition from Edgartown recites: —

> The people in said town are generally poor and yet very fond of preserving their liberties, and to protect their stock of sheep and cattle have been often under arms and marched from their respective places of abode eight and ten miles when alarmed, to prevent the enemy landing.

They asked power to enlist sixty men. The petition from Chilmark says: —

> Your said petitioners think it ought to be our duty and are willing and resolved not only from a regard to our private interest, but also to the general interest of this continent to do all that is or shall be in our power to hinder the common enemy of the land from being strengthened in carrying on their hostile designs against us, by making a prey of our property and that of our neighbors, but we are sorry that we are obliged as we think we are to say that a considerable number of the inhabitants of this town are (through the influence of certain powerful men here who are against openly opposing those who are endeavouring to enslave us) averse to such exertions in our defense as we think will be highly proper and necessary by which means a vote of the majority of the inhabitants of this town qualified by law to vote in town affairs could not be obtained at a meeting here lately held to petition your honours for such help as we perceive you have granted to other places.

The petition from Tisbury recites their desire for joining in the defence of their liberties and asks for "such a number of men either by sea or land or both as you in your wisdom shall think meet for our defence."

The House of Representatives passed the following resolves in response to these petitions: —

> That there be raised in the Island of Marthas Vineyard two companies of fifty men each, including their officers, and companies to be stationed upon the sea-coast of that island according to the direction of the

field officers of the Regiment of Militia of said Island or the major part of them; the said two companies to be under the same establishment; the forces raised in this colony for the defence of the sea coast are to pay subsistance and ammunition and every soldier in the said two companies shall furnish himself with a good and sufficient fire-lock and bayonet and no man shall be mustered as a soldier who is not so furnished; said two companies to continue in service till the first day of December next unless before that time Dismissed by the order of this Court; and the Field Officers of the Regiment of Militia of said Island be and they are hereby impowered to issue beating orders for the raising of said companies to such persons as they can recommend to be commissioned, and muster those companies when raised.

The following company was raised under this authority, being enlisted from the 7th to the 14th of October, and the service was one month and twenty-five days.

[Mass. Revolutionary Rolls, XXXVII, folio *22*.]

A PAY ROLL FOR CAPT. BENJAMIN SMITH'S COMPANY STATIONED ON THE ISLAND OF MARTHA'S VINEYARD FROM THE TIME OF THEIR INLISTMENT TO THE FIRST DAY OF DECEMBER, 1775.

Benjamin Smith	Captain	Richard Luce	Private
Samuel Norton	Lieutenant	John Smith	"
James Shaw	"	Peter Norton, Jr.	"
William Norton	Sergeant	John Holley, Jr.	"
Francis Meeder	"	Joseph Holley	"
Seth Cleveland	"	Joseph Hammett	"
Levi Young	"	James Skiff	"
Noah Norton	Corporal	Hugh Stuart	"
Timothy Vincent	"	Uriah Norton	"
Cornelius Dunham	"	Henry Daggett	"
John Haselton	"	Jonathan Hammett	"
Joseph Shed	Drummer	Henry Young	"
Samuel Frothingham	Fifer	Jonathan Smith	"
Benjamin Tucker	Private	Henry Coffin	"
Zachariah Norton	"	Sprowell Marchant	"
David Smith	"	Thomas Coffin	"
Robert Norton	"	William Smith	"
Joseph Swasey, Jr.	"	Uriah Dunham	"
Matthew Daggett	"	Joseph Tarnance	"
William Waley	"	William Norton, Jr.	"
Edward Burgess	"	John Rosson	"
Timothy Smith, Jr.	"	Silas Daggett	"
Benjamin Gillson	"	Joseph Smith	"
Peleg Hillman	"	Joseph Norton	"
Thomas Butler, Jr.	"	David Davis	"

This company, the first raised on the island during the war, consisted of three commissioned and eight non-commissioned officers, two musicians, and thirty-one privates.

THE CONSERVATIVE ELEMENT BETRAYS TIMIDITY.

The geographical position of Martha's Vineyard and the feebleness of the military strength of the colonies at the precipitation of the struggle with the crown conspired to give the situation of its inhabitants a peculiar standing during the Revolution.

The population of the Vineyard was only 2881 in 1776, and besides the scantiness in numbers it was sparse in character, rendering concerted action by them in defence of the island a task out of proportion to their strength. The colonies could not afford men and supplies enough to make the island independent of the king's troops and frigates, and from a strategical consideration was not worth the great outlay which such a movement entailed. Indeed, had it been of value in a military sense, it is safe to say that the British forces would have seized and garrisoned it. It would have been of more value to the American cause, however, could they have erected forts and batteries along the Vineyard Sound for the purpose of protecting the few armed vessels which constituted our fleet at that time, giving them a safe harbor from which to sally forth on missions of reprisal, as well as to harass frigates of war belonging to the crown. The situation was so full of complications that many of the faint-hearted on the island continually spread the alarm of "death and destruction," if the British should attack the defenceless place. This naturally made for discontent with the provincial authorities, who had greater problems in the field. Both Edgartown and Tisbury began to show signs of dismay at the prospect, and sought for aid. At a meeting held on Oct. 30, 1775, the freeholders of Edgartown voted: —

> that Rev. Samuel Kingsbury, John Worth & Enoch Coffin Esqrs serve the town as a committee or agents to attend the General Court now setting at Watertown or to such committees that are or may be empowered to act in the Recess of the Court, and acquaint them with the unhappy situation and circumstances of this much Exposed Town and the Great Danger which the Inhabitants conceive themselves to be in of Being Distroyed by the men of war and Armed Vessels, or Drove from their habitations and thereby Exposed to Want & famine and Beg the Direction of the Honorable Court respecting the matter.[1]

Tisbury held a similar meeting seven weeks later, December 18, and decided that they would "Prefer a Petition to the

[1]Edgartown Records, I, 303.

general court to Send us A Committee of that Court to come here & take a View of our Circumstances and Report what Mode of conduct wee Shall pursue in order for our Safety under Our Situation and that the Select Men Prefer the Sd Petition in behalf of the Town." [1]

There were Tory influences at work as well, men who were satisfied with the existing state of governmental affairs, the wealthy and the well-born class, of which every community had representatives during the war. In a small community they were more trouble than a dozen open enemies to the patriotic cause. The old and conservative element always shrinks from overt acts, however necessary, and counsels peace, often at any price. Some of them refused to take office under the new order of things. This condition was not peculiar to the Vineyard, and these sentiments were generally felt the most at this time, when the timid shrank from the results of the first real taste of warfare, and speculated on what might happen in the future. This situation is clearly shown early in 1776, in the following letter of the chairman of the committee of safety for Dukes: —

Honorable Sir:

Judging it to be of Importance to the County of Dukes County whereto I belong that the honourable Council of this Colony be informed of the State of Civil Affairs &c here, I think it to be my Duty to give your Honour the following Intelligence with respect thereto, to be by your Honour communicated to the rest if you shall think fit.

Now four out of the nine commissionated to be Justices in this County, viz: — William Mayhew Esqe appointed Sheriff & Mr Robert Allen appointed Coroner remain unsworn: appearing unwilling to be so: and neither of them except Jonathan Allen Esq. being present when the other civil officers here were sworn which was done on the 22d of Novbr last: of the five Justices who have been sworn, two viz: Ebenezer Smith and Beriah Norton Esquires live at Edgartown & two viz: — James Athearn and Shubael Cottle Esquires at Tisbury, and I only at Chilmark, and the only sworn Coroner Mr Ebenezer Norton lives at Edgartown.

As I have informed your Honour of these who have been commissionated to be civil officers here decline to be sworn: I hope it will not be tho't impertinent if I account for this in the following manner. The real state of things here, Sir, as I apprehend is this. There are some here who are really not well affected to the present Government, nor to the measures now pursued in Defence of our civil liberties, and these ill affected Persons endeavour to embarrass the establishing of Civil Government in this County: and through their suggestions (in part at least) many persons here, perhaps near one half of the People of this County

[1] Tisbury Records, 215.

imagine that it is best for *us* considering our situation to be still & in no way to shew ourselves to be on the Side of the Assertors of our civil liberties lest we hereby provoke the Invaders of our Coasts to ruin us. And it is (as I think I have sufficient Reason to Believe) thro' such an apprehension as this that so many of those who have been lately appointed civil officers here are unwilling to be sworn.

I mean, Sir, that many here *were* till the honourable General Assembly of the Colony discovered their late Resolution with Respect to the Defence of this County. But how far people here are hereby emboldened to appear in Defence of their Rights and liberties I cannot yet tell. And as for ought I know some or all of those of whom I have above mentioned are unwilling to be sworn may have their Fears so far removed as to manifest a Desire to have the oath administered to them and I am at a loss what we who are empowered to administer the oath ought to do in that case I am very desirous of the Direction of the honourable Council herein.

As to a Sheriff for this County about the want of which officer I am peculiarly concerned, I hope it will not appear assuming in me if I mention Major Peter Norton as a suitable or perhaps all things considered the most suitable Person here to be Sheriff of this County and also to be Colonel of the Regiment of the Militia here: the latter of which offices he, as I perceive, prefers. And if he is not made Sheriff, I humbly propose that he be made a Justice of the Peace, at least, if not a Justice of the Pleas also for this County. A great part of this letter may perhaps appear a vain repetition of what I wrote above a month ago to the honble Col. Otis as Prest of the honourable Council. But having reason to fear, Sir, that my letter hath miscarried, I have tho't it proper for me to write as above. This, Honourable Sir, with great Respect and Deference to the Honourable Council, and to your Honour in particular from

Honourable Sir

Chilmark, Jany 18th, 1776 — Your Honours most obedient and humble Servant

Honble Prest of the Council.[1] — JOSEPH MAYHEW.

But there were other difficulties which beset the patriots on the Vineyard, besides the weak-kneed within the gates. Outside interference gave the grumblers opportunity to add to the burdens of the leaders of the "Rebel" party, and for a while it caused much unjust comment. We shall have occasion to observe the actions of these tories in the course of the struggle.

RE-ENLISTMENT OF THE VINEYARD COMPANIES.

On January 1, the term of service of the seacoast-defence company having expired, a new enlistment was called for, and the following men mustered in under the command of Captain Benjamin Smith: —

[1]Mass. Archives, CXCIV, 208.

[Mass. Archives (Revolutionary Rolls), XXXVI, 238, 239.]

PAY ROLL OF CAPTAIN BENJAMIN SMITH'S COMPANY STATIONED AT MARTHA'S VINEYARD FROM THE TIME OF THEIR GOING UPON DUTY OR THEIR MARCHING FROM THEIR HOMES TO THEIR RESPECTIVE STATIONS, TO THE LAST DAY OF FEBRUARY, 1776

Benjamin Smith	Captain	Corneleus Ripley	Private
Malatiah Davis	Lieutenant	Jonathan Cottle	"
James Shaw	"	Benjamin Vinson	"
William Norton	Sergeant	William Walley	"
Joseph Smith	"	Noah Norton	"
Harlock Smith	"	Thomas Johnson	"
Seth Cleveland	Corporal	David Davis	"
Gamaliel Marchant	"	Abraham Chase	"
Jonathan Pease, Jr.	"	Jonathan Smith	"
Corneleus Marchant	Drummer	Obed Norton	"
Henry Coffin	Fifer	Thomas Cunningham	"
Henry Butler	Private	Edward Persell	"
Jethro Covel	"	Hugh Stuart	"
Francis Meader	"	Thomas Neal	"
Joseph Covel	"	Uriah Dunham	"
Corneleus Dunham	"	Samuel Nickison	"
Ichabod Cleveland	"	Peleg Crossman	"
Joseph Butler	"	Joseph Lobdell	"
Zephaniah Butler	"	Ebenezer Shaw	"
Enoch Coffin, Jr.	"	Barzillai Luce	"
William Covel	"	John Rogers	"
Edward Burgess	"	Joseph Covel, Jr.	"
Valentine Skiff	"	Joseph Holley	"
Benjamin Burgess	"	Jonathan Hammett	"
Seth Crossman	"	Joseph Francis	"
Peter Camp	"	Obadiah Skiff	"
John Holley, Jr.	"	Thomas Coffin, Jr.	"
Cornelius Norton	"	Admaral Potter	"
John Smith, Jr.	"	Silas Daggett	"
David Smith	"	Robert Norton	"
Timothy Smith	"	Edward Draper	"
Benjamin Burgess	"	Thomas Norris, Jr.	"
Theophilus Mayhew	"	Henry Dunham	"
Richard Bunker	"	Barzillai Luce, Jr.	"
Pelatiah Russell Jr.	"	William Smith	"
John Marchant Jr.	"	Henry Young	"
Samuel Norris	"	Anthony Crossman	"
Thomas Nickison	"	William Norton, Jr.	"

This company was mostly composed of Edgartown men, but there were in it a number of "transients," probably seafaring men. This company was stationed on the east end of the island.

Almost simultaneously Captain Nathan Smith was given a commission to raise a second company for service here, and from the names of the soldiers it appears to have been recruited in Tisbury and Chilmark almost exclusively. It was probably posted on West Chop and along the north shore. The following is the roster of officers and men: —

[Mass. Archives (Revolutionary Rolls), XXXVI, 262.]

A ROLL OF CAPTAIN NATHAN SMITH'S COMPANY STATIONED ON THE ISLAND OF MARTHA'S VINEYARD OR THE DEFENCE OF THE SEA COAST OF THE SAME, MADE UP FROM THE FIFTEENTH DAY OF JANUARY TO THE LAST OF FEBRUARY, 1776.

Nathan Smith	Captain	Shubael Luce	Private
Jeremiah Manter	Lieutenant	Elverton Crowell	"
Fortunatus Bassett	2nd Lieut.	Augstus Allen	"
David Merry	Sergeant	Jeremiah Luce	"
Jesse Luce	"	John Dunham	"
Samuel Bassett	"	Lemuel Luce	"
David Luce	Corporal	John Lumbert	"
Joseph Mayhew	"	David Dunham	"
Jeruel West	"	James Luce	"
George Newcomb	Drummer	Samuel Lumbert, Jr.	"
Lothrop Chase	Fifer	Nathan Clifford	"
James Look	Private	Thomas Luce	"
Elijah Look	"	Hovey Luce	"
Arvin Luce.	"	Zachariah Smith	"
John Luce	"	Adonijah Luce	"
Varnel Clifford	"	Lot Rogers	"
Eliphalet Rogers	"	Aaron Luce	"
Jonathan Look	"	Presbury Luce	"
Benjamin Luce	"	Barzillai Crowell	"
Malachi Luce	"	Nathan Weeks	"
William Harden	"	Jonathan Merry	"
Thomas Chase	"	Peleg Hillman	"
David Norton	"	Benjamin Bassett	"
Abner West	"	Nathan Bassett	"
David Clark	"	Joseph Skiff	"
Andrew Newcomb	"	Freeman Norton	"
Solomon Daggett	"	David Hillman	"
James Winslow	"	John Mayhew	"
Nathan Daggett	"	Jonathan Hillman	"
Silas Daggett	"	Daniel Hillman	"
Roland Luce	"	Abner Hillman	"
Thomas Manchester	"	Silas Cottle	"
Sylvanus Luce	"	Peter Cottle	"
Zaccheus Chase	"	Thomas Cox	"
Thomas Wheldon	"	Lot Hillman	"
Jabez Downs	"	Shubael Luce, Jr.	"
Moses Luce	"	John Bassett	"
George Hillman	"		

This company continued in service without the change of an officer or private until June 1 following.[1] These two companies under Captains Benjamin and Nathan Smith were placed under the command of Major Barachiah Bassett, who, in an election for that office, received 59 votes. The companies voted for their officers at that period.

MARTHA'S VINEYARD AND NANTUCKET ACCUSED OF DISLOYALTY.

On Dec. 9, 1775, both houses of the General Court had appointed a committee to consider some serious charges made by Governor Jonathan Trumbull of Connecticut against the inhabitants of Nantucket and Martha's Vineyard. The substance of the allegations was that supplies in excess of the requirements of the two islands had been shipped to them, "and there is a great reason to suspect that the inhabitants of the said island of Nantucket have abused the indulgence of this Court by supplying our enemies with such provisions &c as were admitted to be Transported to them for their Internal consumption only." In their zeal to reach the offending element, included in the general charge of disloyal trading with the king's forces, the committee passed a resolve that the committee for correspondence of Falmouth should suspend the granting of permits in the future to any vessels loading for the two islands, "until further order of this Court," and further directed the selectmen of Sherburne (Nantucket), and each town on the Vineyard "to make strict enquiry into the Importation of Provisions into their respective Towns since the 28th of September last, and of all provisions now in said Towns and to make returns thereof on oath, as soon as may be." Inhabitants of this and other colonies were requested to withhold further supplies, fuel, and other necessaries from the two islands, "until farther recommendation of this Court." This was totally without excuse as far as this island was concerned, but the court acted upon the information of an earnest, if mistaken, patriot, the famous war governor of Connecticut, and did an injustice to the people of the Vineyard. It has been seen that armed vessels of war would come into the harbor and demand trivial things for the captain, — fresh vegetables, water, eggs, and the like, — sometimes under threat, sometimes with the cash tendered in a courteous manner. These

[1]Mass. Archives, XXXVI, 297.

isolated instances doubtless gave rise to false reports of barter and trade with the enemy in great quantities. But the selectmen of the three towns made investigation and report, and stated the facts about the whole matter in such a convincing way that the General Court in the next month passed a resolve rescinding the order, *as far as this island was concerned.* The following is the text of the revocation, which is printed in full as a complete vindication of the good faith of the people of our island: —

In Council, January 25, 1776.

Whereas upon enquiry it doth not appear that many of the Inhabitants of Marthas Vineyard ever had a disposition to supply the enemy with provisions, and it doth not appear by the Resolve of the ninth of December last that they were suspected of corruptly doing the same, and since measures have been taken which in all probability will prevent the Enemy from being supplied from that Island, and the Inhabitants thereof must suffer while under the aformentioned restraint, therefore

Resolved that the order of this Court of the Ninth of December last so far as it respects Marthas Vineyard only be and is hereby annulled.[1]

This little flurry having been satisfactorily settled the leaders gave their attention to more important things, and on March 8, 1776, the Tisbury people met and chose Shubael Cottle, Ransford Smith, and Ezra Athearn to be a committee to join with a similar body from other towns, if any such should be chosen, to consider whether they should petition the General Court, "to see if they will grant us a farther supply of men, arms and amminition for the Defence of the Island against any Invasion."[2] Chilmark followed suit on the 11th inst., choosing Joseph Mayhew, Uriah Tilton and Nathaniel Bassett;[3] while Edgartown completed the arrangement on the 19th, by naming Ebenezer Smith, Peter Norton, and Elijah Butler to meet with the others.[4] Meanwhile the volunteer and regular soldiery of the island was busy defending the seacoast, and making sallies from their camps against passing vessels of the enemy. One such occurred on the 7th of March, under the auspices of Captain Benjamin Smith of the company which had been in service since the middle of the previous October.

[1]Force, American Archives, 4th series. On March 9 following, Col. Beriah Norton complained that this Resolve had not been published, "and as we have suffered By it alredy," he wrote to the Council, "I most humbly Beg your honor to have it published as soon as Possable. Several persons having Been obliged to unlode their vessels alredy that was Bound here on that acc't." (Mass. Arch. CXCIV, 275.)

[2]Tisbury Records, 215.

[3]Chilmark Records, 159.

[4]Edgartown Records, I, 308.

PETITION FOR MORE TROOPS.

The committees chosen by the three towns to consult about further defence of the island met two days after Edgartown had completed the number from that town, and after discussion drew up the following petition to the General Court looking to this end: —

To the Honourable the Council and House of Representatives of the Colony of Massachusetts Bay in great and general Court assembled: —

The Petition of the Inhabitants of the Several Towns in the County of Dukes County in said Colony, by their Committees whose names are hereto subscribed, humbly sheweth: That the Island of Marthas Vineyard and the other islands whereof the County aforesaid consisteth, do lie greatly exposed to the enemy with whom the United Colonies of North America are now engaged in open hostilities, and the said Islands are situated so nigh to the neighbouring continent especially to the Counties of Bristol, Plymouth and Barnstable, and do also lie by the way wherein both American vessels and those of the enemy have frequent occasion to pass: That it is (as your Petitioners humbly conceive) of great Importance, not only to the inhabitants of these Islands & to all persons who are owners of Land and other property therein: but also to the Inhabitants of the neighbouring continent, and even to the American colonies, now unitedly engaged in vigorous exertions for the Defence of their Persons, Liberties and Properties: that (if it be possible) said Islanders be kept from falling in to the hands of the common enemy of said colonies, For (as your Petitioners apprehend) if the enemy should be so possessed of those Islands and the Harbours there, as to have the Persons and Properties of all the Inhabitants thereof at their Command and Disposal and have it in their power to make use thereof as they shall please: They will by the Men of War, and other armed vessels which they will keep in the harbours there & from thence cruising out into the neighbouring seas and along the coasts of *this* and some of the neighbouring Colonies, so obstruct the navigation of these Colonies as greatly to weaken and distress them. And will also be able to greatly annoy & distress them. And will also be able to greatly annoy and distress the Inhabitants of the neighbouring continent by burning their houses and pillaging their stock and other valuable Properly. And will have it in their Power to land an Army on the Southern Shore of this Colony, which may penetrate (no man knows how far) into the Countrey making great Distress in their March before they can be subdued.

And your Petitioners conceive the Defence of these Islands is of so great Importance as they have declared: They apprehend that they cannot (without such a miraculous Interposition of Divine Providence as is not to be expected) be so far defended by the Inhabitants thereof, against such a force as is likely soon to attack them, as to be kept out of the hands of the enemy.

But with the assistance of such a number of men well furnished with Cannon, small arms, Powder and other necessaries, as we hope may be obtained from your honours, together with the Protection which these

Islands will receive from the armed vessels, which, we presume, will be employed for the protection of navigation of these Colonies, we trust that the Islands for whose defence we petition will (thro' the Favour of Heaven) be preserved from the enemy: and also that by means of the Defence and Preservation thereof, the Sea Coasts of this and neighbouring Colonies and their navigation will in no small degree be protected: and that our enemies by the obstructing of their navigation will be nearly as much weakened as they would be strengthened by being possessed of these Islands, and by having the command of the adjacent sound and seas.

The Prayer of your Petitioners therefore is: That your Honours would be pleased to order six hundred men from the continent well furnished with Arms, Powders and other necessaries, or such number of men as your Honours shall in your wisdom judge most fit and proper to be stationed in the County of Dukes County for the Defence thereof, 525 of said men to be stationed on the Island of Marthas Vineyard & the other seventy five thereof at the Islands called Elizabeth Islands. And that your Honours would be pleased to order to be sent to Marthas Vineyard for the Defence of the several Harbours there seven cannon and to Tarpaulin Cove, the only harbour of Elizabeth Islands, two cannon. And that your Honours would (In this time of Danger as far as it shall be in your Power) afford such Protection and means of Defence to the County aforesaid as to your Honours shall appear to be necessary: and likely (by Favour of Divine Providence) to be effectual for its preservation & safety: and requisite for the Defence of the United American Colonies now struggling for their just Rights & Liberties, and your Petitioners as in Duty bound shall ever pray &c

In the name and by order or the Inhabitants of Dukes County: —

Tisbury March 21st, 1776

Joseph Mayhew Uriah Tilton Nathaniel Bassett	Committee for Chilmark
Eben'r Smith Peter Norton Elijah Butler	Committee for Edgartown
Shubael Cottle Ransford Smith Ezra Athearn	Committee for Tisbury [1]

Major Bassett, in command of the forces stationed at the Vineyard and the Elizabeth Islands, was ordered, under date of May 6, to fortify the two places with four nine-pound cannon, recently taken from a vessel stranded at or near Truro, and to mount them "in such manner for the defence of these islands, as the s'd Major shall judge proper." [2] He had them removed, and all were placed in position on the Elizabeth

[1] Mass. Archives, CCIX, 334.
[2] Ibid., CCIX, 209.

Islands.[1] While the military forces were thus busied, the civil element was doing its part in providing laws and authority for the maintenance of the new government. At the General Court held in Boston during May and June this year, the Vineyard was fully represented. From Edgartown went Thomas Cooke, Tisbury sent Shubael Cottle, and Chilmark was fortunate in having that sturdy old patriot Joseph Mayhew, the chairman of the county committee of correspondence and safety. Important acts were done by this Court for the Vineyard, which will be detailed in their chronological order.

SEACOAST-DEFENCE ESTABLISHMENT IN 1776.

Major Bassett, shortly after his appointment as commanding officer of the two companies of the seacoast-defence establishment, proceeded to perfect the organization and bring these raw levies into military discipline. The first step taken was the issue of the following orders from headquarters: —

Marthas Vineyard, June 9, 1776

FIELD ORDERS.

1st All prophane cursing and swearing and Card playing in or near the camp forbidden. I shall take notice of the first crime of that Nature which comes to my knowledge.

2nd. Forty men including Capt. Benja. Smith stationed at Edgartown near the Harbour. Twenty men at Homes's Hole East side including one Lieut. Thirty men West side including one Lieut. Twenty men Lumberts Cove including one Lieut. Forty men at Manamsha including one Lieut. These are stations until further orders.

3rd Those stations that have more Men Remove them forthwith to the station at Manamsha.

4th. Each party to keep suitable Guard. Turn out Boat and other Parties when Required by their officers. Hail all Boats as their officers shall Direct. In Alarm the parties to repair to the Alarm, Leaving the Guard. Capt'n Nathan Smith having no particular Station to see that preparations be made on the West side of Homes's Hole for Cannon and to visit the other Stations. Lieut. Bassett to Intrench at Manamsha as soon as he can procure Tools.

BAR'H BASSETT Com.[2]

Two days later Major Bassett was inspecting his command at Naushon. He wrote from there a letter to the Council and

[1] Mass. Archives, CCIX, 315. The cannon were, however, useless. "I am in Bound in Duty to let you know," he wrote to the General Court, on June 11, "there is no use for them without Ball, Ladles, &c., which renders them unfit for use." On June 22 the Council ordered the cannon to be turned over to the armed brig belonging to the Colony at Dartmouth, and replaced them with two nine pounders. (Ibid., CCIX, 3.)

[2] Mass. Archives, XLIX, 112.

House of Representatives on June 11, in which he stated the need of "Intrenching Tools which must be used for the protection of said posts" placed over the Islands. He also informed them "that it will not be in my power to afford protection which is necessary to these Islands westward of Tarpolan Cove Island & the vessels that ar constantly passing without I have at least Ten Whale Boats." [1]

On June 1 the company commanded by Captain Benjamin Smith showed the following soldiers on duty under him, and stationed at East Chop: —

[Mass. Archives (Revolutionary Rolls) XXXVI, 239.]

PAY ROLL OF CAPTAIN BENJAMIN SMITH'S COMPANY ON THE SEA COAST ESTABLISHMENT STATIONED ON THE ISLAND OF MARTHA'S VINEYARD, FROM THE FIRST DAY OF JUNE TO THE FIRST DAY OF SEPTEMBER, 1776.

Benjamin Smith	Captain	Obed Norton	Private
Malatiah Davis	Lieutenant	Thomas Cunningham	"
James Shaw	"	Hugh Stuart	"
William Norton	Sergeant	Thomas Neal	"
Joseph Smith	"	Samuel Nickison	"
Harlock Smith	"	Peleg Crossman	"
Seth Cleveland	Corporal	John Rogers	"
Henry Butler	"	Edward Burgess	"
Jonathan Pease, Jr.	"	Seth Crossman	"
John Atsatt	Drummer	Anthony Crossman	"
Henry Coffin	Fifer	John Holley, Jr.	"
Jethro Covel	Private	Cornelius Norton	"
Francis Meader	"	John Smith, Jr.	"
Joseph Covel	"	David Smith	"
Ichabod Cleveland	"	Timothy Smith	"
Zephaniah Butler	"	Richard Bunker	"
Enoch Coffin, Jr.	"	Pelatiah Russell, Jr.	"
Cornelius Ripley	"	John Marchant, Jr.	"
Jonathan Cottle	"	Thomas Nickison	"
Benjamin Vinson	"	Joseph Covel, Jr.	"
William Waley	"	Elijah Norton	"
Noah Norton	"	Ebenezer Bassett	"
Joseph Holley	"	Richard Hillman	"
Joseph Francis	"	John Flanders	"
Obediah Skiff	"	Prince Skiff	"
Thomas Coffin, Jr.	"	James Hillman	"
Silas Daggett	"	Freeman Luce	"
William Norton, Jr.	"	Abisha Rogers	"
Henry Dunham	"	Noah Walden	"

[1] Mass. Archives, CCIX, 315. On June 22, the Council allowed him ten whale boats, twelve shovels, six spades, and four pickaxes. (Ibid., CCIX, 3.)

William Smith	Private	Levi Young	Private
Henry Osborn	"	Thomas Claghorn, Jr.	"
Sprowell Marchent	"	William Swain	"
Cheney Look	"	Seth Cottle	"
William Roberts, Jr.	"	Thomas Atsatt	"
Zimri Luce	"	Enoch Coffin, 3d	"
Joseph Fredrick	"	Uriah Norton	"
David Davis	"	John Sprague	"
Jonathan Smith	"		

On the same date the company commanded by Captain Nathan Smith renewed its enlistment, but the rolls for this period are not preserved. It is known, however, that it continued in service.

On June 25, the General Court ordered "that one piece of Cannon a six pounder now at Elizabeth Islands be removed from thence and placed at Martha's Vineyard and that they be supplied with two nine pounders now at Boston. And that the Commissary General be and he is hereby directed to deliver the same to Joseph Mayhew Esq., or order, and also for the use of the cannon and Men stationed at the Vineyard five Barrels of Powder forty round of shot for each of said Cannon and three hundred weight of leaden balls. He the said Mayhew to be accountable to this Court for the same."

ADDITIONAL TROOPS SENT TO THE ISLAND.

The General Court acceded also, on June 25, to the representations of the County Committee so far as to allow an additional company for the defence of the Vineyard, making in all three companies which were placed under the command of Barachiah Bassett of Chilmark, who was commissioned as major of this division of the seacoast-defence establishment.[1] The militia regiment for the county was also reorganized in April of this year with the following officers: —

Beriah Norton, Colonel; Uriah Tilton, Major.

First Company: Richard Whellen, Captain; Joseph Pease, 1st Lieutenant.

Second Company: Joseph Allen, Captain; William Case, 1st Lieutenant; Jonathan Athearn, 2nd Lieutenant.

Third Company: Samuel Norton, Captain; Mark Mayhew, 1st Lieutenant; John Cottle, Jr., 2nd Lieutenant.

Fourth Company: Samuel Norton, Captain; Abner Norton, 1st Lieutenant; Henry Butler, Jr., 2nd Lieutenant.

Fifth Company: Matthew Merry, Captain; Timothy Chase, 1st Lieutenant; Cornelius Norton, Jr., 2nd Lieutenant.

[1]Mass. Archives, CCIX, 209.

A change was made in the officers of the first company on June 7, as follows: —

Matthew Mayhew, Captain; Joseph Norton, 1st Lieutenant; Ezra Cleveland, 2nd Lieutenant.[1]

The additional company granted by the General Court was raised by Captain John Russell, from the Cape, who was commissioned for the purpose, and the roster of his company shows that it was almost entirely recruited off the island, according to directions, all the officers being men from the cape, and the names of the privates having the family names of Cape Cod people. A few were residents of our island. The following is the list of officers and men: —

[Mass. Archives (Revolutionary Rolls), XXXVI, 198.]

ROLL OF CAPT. JOHN RUSSELL'S COMPANY RAISED TO DEFEND THE SEA COAST OF THE STATE OF MASSACHUSETTS BAY STATIONED AT MARTINS VINEYARD UNDER THE COMMAND OF MAJOR BARICKIAH BASSETT.[2]

John Russell	Captain	Joseph Fuller	Private
Stephen Fish	Lieutenant	Benjamin Hallett	"
Silas Hatch	Sec. Lieut.	Thomas White	"
Benjamin Goodspeed	1st Sergt.	Thomas Whelding	"
Abner Howes	Sergeant	Thomas Whelding, Jr.	"
Timothy Jones	"	Benjamin Gorham	"
Benjamin Blackford	"	Jonathan Hawes	"
John Matthews	Corporal	Lemuel Baxter	"
David Gorham	"	John Rumble	"
Malachi Baxter	"	Joseph Hall, Jr.	"
Samuel Webber	"	Peter Burgess	"
Joshua Brimhall	Drummer	Benjamin Nicholson	"
Jonathan Russell	Fifer	Covel Burgess	"
Joseph Hammond	Private	Barzillai Baker	"
Isaac Parker	"	Seth Matson	"
Joseph Nicholson	"	Burton Matson	"
Zachariah Fuller	"	Jesse Maker	"
David Blossom	"	Benjamin Hallett, Jr.	"
Church Blossom	"	John Gorham	"
Simon Goodspeed	"	Enoch Nicholson	"
Edward Crocker	"	Lemuel Fish	"
George Hilliard	"	Isaac Covens	"
Benjamin Hillman	"	Simon Berry	"

[1]Mass. Archives, (Revolutionary Rolls), XLIII, 207. Compare Ibid., CXLVI, 378, where Uriah Tilton is spoken of as Second Major.

[2]Ibid., XXXVI, 198, 201. This company was raised agreeably to a resolve of June 25, 1776, to serve until December 1 next. Each man was required to furnish himself "with a good fire arm & Bayonet fitted thereto if possible, & also a cartouch Box & Blanket." (Mass. Arch., CCIX, 381.)

Philip Harlow	Private	Jacob Baker	Private
William Cahoon	"	Corneleus Baxter	"
Reuben Phillips	"	Jonathan Kelly	"
Henry Binyon	"	Eben Baxter	"
Lemuel Green	"	William Draper	"
Peter Norton	"	Abner Cottle	"
Isaac Luce	"	Abraham Godfrey	"
William Merry	"	John Crocker	"
Peter Merry	"	Timothy Crocker	"
Seth Luce	"	William Crocker	"
George Luce	"	Samuel Daggett	"
John Blackford	"	Thomas Pacefull	"
Nathan Crowell	"	Eben Eldridge	"
Uriah Hall	"	Caleb Williams	"
Edward Churchill	"	James Titus	"
Samuel Taylor	"	Andrew Nicam	"
John Robbins	"	Stephen Nicholson	"
William Gerrish	"	Benjamin Crowell	"
Joseph Thatcher	"	Mathias Gorham	"
Samuel Bassett	"	William Farris	"
John Burgess	"	James Nicholson	"
Abner Butler	"	Elisha Godfrey	"
Benjamin Butler	"	Prince Webber	"
William Butler	"	Prince Gage	"
Simeon Hatch	"	William Bassett	"
Lot Bacon	"		

This made on July 1 a total effective force of about two hundred and fifty men in the seacoast-defence establishment, besides which the local militia added probably as many more, who could be called upon to respond to alarms. This was a sufficient number for ordinary purposes, such as repelling a landing force from vessels of war, in any strength they would probably employ. The situation was satisfactory in every way, and the establishment of a garrison here could not but be a constant menace to the king's ships, as the men comprising it were amphibious, at home on the water as well as the land. By this time the American army had left Boston and taken up a position on Long Island, General Howe's troops were in Halifax and the Continental Congress was in session at Philadelphia discussing independence. On the "Glorious Fourth" of this month the Declaration was promulgated and, as far as pronouncements could establish the fact, the American people had definitely severed their political allegiance to their ancient sovereigns. Doubtless in due time, this immortal expression of the principles of the rights of mankind was read to the seacoast-defence troops in their camps along our shores, as it

had been elsewhere as soon as it could be circulated. The people also had a chance to listen to its thrilling denunciations of the tyranny of kings, and of George the Third in particular, for this document was distributed for the information of the American nation to their inspiration in the contest now being waged, and it was generally read at some public demonstration by the town clergyman or the popular leader of the patriots. The battle of Long Island, which took place in August, resulted disastrously to the American army, and consternation prevailed as usual among the timid. It was seen that every available man would be needed to sustain the cause of freedom. The theatre of war was removed from New England, and this region was freed of the king's troops.

In September, Joseph Mayhew and Shubael Cottle, representing Chilmark and Tisbury, petitioned the general court for ten whaleboats for the use of the island garrisons, and six were allowed.[1] The commissary general was also ordered to provide apparatus for three cannon, which were to be sent to the Vineyard.[2] It is not known that any occasion arose for their use, or that any exploits on the sea took place during this time. The enemy had practically abandoned New England, and opportunities were wanting. The local companies attached to the sea-coast establishment were composed of the following men on September 1, as shown on pay rolls: —

[Mass. Archives (Revolutionary Rolls), XXXVI, 239, 246.]

PAY ROLL FOR CAPTAIN BENJAMIN SMITH'S COMPANY STATIONED AT MARTHA'S VINEYARD FROM THE FIRST DAY OF SEPTEMBER TILL THE TWENTY FIRST DAY OF NOVEMBER 1776.

Benjamin Smith	Captain	John Flanders	Private
Malatiah Davis	Lieutenant	Freeman Luce	"
James Shaw	"	Abisha Rogers	"
William Norton	Sergeant	William Swan	"
Joseph Smith	"	Seth Cottle	"
Harlock Smith	"	Thomas Atsatt	"
Seth Cleveland	Corporal	Uriah Norton	"
Thomas Claghorn	"	Jethro Dunham	"
Prince Skiff	"	Ephraim Dunham	"
John Atsatt	Drummer	Noah Pease	"
Jethro Covel	Private	Elijah Dunham	"
Corneleus Ripley	"	Elijah Dunham [Jr.]	"
Jonathan Cottle	"	John Clark	"

[1]Mass. Archives, CLXXXI, 194. Petition was dated Watertown, Sept. 5, 1776, and the allowance on the 10th following.

[2]Ibid., CLXXXI, 195.

Noah Norton	Private	John Butler, Jr.	Private
Hugh Stuart	"	Silas Marchant	"
Peleg Crossman	"	John Kelley	"
Timothy Smith, Jr.	"	Zachariah Pease	"
Silas Daggett	"	Joseph Ripley	"
William Norton, Jr.	"	Prince Daggett	"
William Roberts, Jr.	"	John Daggett	"
Zimri Luce	"	Ansel Norton	"
Joseph Fredrick	"	Elijah Norton	"
Richard Hillman	"	David Dunham	"
Thomas Beetle	"	Elijah Stuart	"
Anthony Crossman	"	Benjamin Vinson	"
Joseph Covel	"	Noah Look	"
Ezra Cleveland	"	Enoch Coffin, Jr.	"
Jonathan Pease	"	Thomas Ripley	"
William Smith	"	Sylvanus Crosby	"
Ruben Pease	"	Matthew Daggett	"
Corneleus Norton	"	John Holley, Jr.	"
Joseph Frances	"	Thomas Nickison	"
Thomas Cunningham	"	William Roberts	"
David Smith	"	Silas Butler	"
Zephaniah Butler	"	Luke Gray	"
Joseph Covel, Jr.	"	Timothy Vinson	"
Eliphalet Covel	"	John Smith	"
John Sprague	"		

[Mass. Archives (Revolutionary Rolls), XXXVI, 256.]

A ROLL OF CAPTAIN NATHAN SMITH'S SEACOAST COMPANY STATIONED ON MARTHA'S VINEYARD THE YEAR 1776, MADE UP FROM THE FIRST DAY OF SEPTEMBER TO THE 21 DAY OF NOVEMBER BEING TWO MONTHS AND 20 DAYS OR TWO THIRDS OF A MONTH.

Nathan Smith	Captain	Varnel Clifford	Private
Jeremiah Manter	1st Lieut.	Aaron Luce	"
Fortunatus Bassett	2nd Lieut.	Nathan Clifford	"
David Merry	Sergeant	David Hillman	"
Joseph Mayhew	"	Nathaniel Nickerson	"
James Winslow	"	Thomas Hillman	"
Peter West	Corporal	William Butler	"
Silas Cottle	"	Pain Tilton	"
Barzillai Crowell	"	Jacob Clifford	"
Nathan Bassett	Drummer	Simon Mayhew	"
Lothrop Chase	Fifer	Thomas Wilkins	"
Benjamin Bassett	Private	Lemuel Luce	"
Arvin Luce	"	Elijah Look	"
John Mayhew	"	Lot Rogers	"
Thomas Cox	"	Eliphalet Rogers	"
Peter Cottle	"	Elverton Crowell	"
Gershom Hillman	"	Moses Luce	"

Abner Hillman	Private	Samuel Lumbert	Private
Lot Hillman	"	Jeremiah Luce	"
Shubael Luce	"	Thomas Luce	"
Jonathan Look	"	Thomas Chase	"
Abisha Dunham	"	George Hillman	"
William Luce	"	Malachi Luce	"
Lot Luce	"	Nathan Luce	"
Benjamin Luce	"	William Harding	"
Joseph Luce	"	Sylvanus Luce	"
Samuel Hammett	"	Timothy Hillman	"
Henry Luce	"	Joseph Norton	"
Samuel Weeks	"	Thomas Smith	"
James Butler	"	Anthony Swazey	"
Ebenezer Morse	"	Solomon Luce	"
Thomas Gardner	"	William Allen	"
Nathan Weeks	"	Shubael Harding	"
Zephaniah Chase	"	William Daggett	"
[Thomas] Manchester	"	Job Norton	"
[Jonathan] Merry	"	John Manchester	"
Augustus Allen	"	Jonathan Manter	"
Thomas Lassey	"		

Still there was constant vigilance on the part of Major Bassett, for there was never a time when an armed cruiser might not enter one of the harbors and attack the inhabitants. On September 10 he issued these "Field Orders":

Field Orders:

As there appears some danger of an attack every soldier is required to repair to his Barrack at Eight of the Clock every Evening on Tattoo Beating. per

BAR'IAH BASSETT
Com.

Marthas Vineyard
Sept. 10, 1776 [1]

What the occasion of the alarm was is not known, but we may infer that it was a threatened expedition from New York to rid the Sound of its dangers to the passage of the vessels of the enemy's fleet. But if it had been threatened it was not carried out, as the British General Howe was busy trying to drive Washington out of New York.

[1] Beriah Norton MSS. in Pease Collection.

CHAPTER XXIII.

The Vineyard Abandoned to Neutrality.

In the autumn of 1776 our army numbered only 10,000 effectives, owing to sickness among the raw levies, furloughs, and the casualties of war. At this time the British troops were being reinforced each month with the "Hessian hirelings" and their strength was thrice that of ours. Every available man was needed at the front now, as Washington was aware that Howe proposed to end the rebellion at one blow, in an attempt to surround him at New York. Gradually the forces of the king pushed Washington back to the hieghts of Harlem, and to White Plains, and the struggle for the command of the Hudson was becoming desperate. So far it had been a losing one for the Americans. The call for men was urgent, and the Massachusetts General Court sought to supply the requirements at the expense of her own frontiers. The greater end was paramount, and she sacrificed the seacoast-defence establishment as her contribution to the general result. Accordingly, on November 16, after the battle of White Plains, and on the day of the fall of Fort Washington, the council passed the following order affecting the Vineyard: —

Council Chamber, November 16, 1776.

To Barachiah Bassett

You are hereby in a Pursuance of a Resolve of the General Court of this State ordered forthwith to discharge the officers and men stationed at Marthas Vineyard excepting twenty five men, including one Lieutenant one Sergeant & one Corporal from the Service of this State and you are hereby also ordered forthwith to discharge from the above service the officers and men stationed at the Elizabeth Islands, excepting twenty one men, including Lieut. Nye and two sergeants and you are directed to designate the Persons to be retained still in the service agreeable to the above order; after which you are to look upon yourselves as discharged from the Military service you have been engaged in at the said Marthas Vineyard and Elizabeth Islands.[1]

Similar notices were sent out to the commanding officers of the seacoast-defence men at Plymouth, Truro, Dartmouth, Falmouth, and elsewhere, so that the Vineyard was not alone in the reduction of her local forces. These companies posted

[1]Mass. Archives, CLXXIII, 42.

here were not subject to orders for duty elsewhere, as they were recruited "to serve on the Island of Marthas Vineyard," and as a consequence discharge was the only course open to the authorities. It was expected that the men would join new companies raised for the general army without restriction to sphere of duty. Indeed, many Vineyard men preferred service elsewhere, particularly on board of privateers, and the crew lists of many of them will show names familiar to us at this period and throughout the war. Many of the discharged soldiers enlisted in other regiments, as soon as they were formed, and the lists of our Vineyard men who served in the war will show, as given elsewhere in this work, that they did not allow this home-guard duty to end their patriotic sentiments. By the early part of the next year they were enrolled in companies mustered in on the Cape, or elsewhere in Plymouth County, and those towns are credited with quotas filled in an appreciable measure by residents of this island. There being no companies raised here for general service, our towns do not share the advantages of enlistment records such as obtained in other towns of the province.

ONE COMPANY RETAINED AT THE VINEYARD.

Major Bassett immediately obeyed the order for disbandment, and by the 20th had selected the officers and men for the company of "twenty five men, including one Lieutenant, one Sergeant & one Corporal," He designated Jeremiah Manter, David Merry, and Malachi Baxter for those commissions respectively, and the rest of the company is shown in the following muster roll: —

[Mass. Archives (Revolutionary Rolls), XXXVI, 177.]

ROLL OF LT. JEREMIAH MANTER'S CO. WHICH WAS A PART OF THE COMPANY STATIONED ON MARTHA'S VINEYARD IN THE YEAR 1776 MADE UP FROM THE TWENTIETH DAY OF NOVEMBER TO THE LAST DAY OF DECEMBER, BEING ONE MONTH AND TEN DAYS.

Jeremiah Manter	Lieut.	Jonathan Manter	Private
David Merry	Sergeant	Jonathan Merry	"
Malachi Baxter	Corporal	Thomas Smith	"
Josiah Luce	Private	Nathan Luce	"
Lothrop Chase	"	William Daggett	"
Elijah Look	"	Thomas Garner	"
Lot Rogers	"	Seth Cottle	"

Elvarton Crowell	Private	Prince Daggett	Private
Lot Luce	"	Silas Daggett	"
Henry Luce	"	Ebenezer Butler	"
Nathan Weeks	"	Elvarton Parker	"
Simeon Hatch	"	Stephen Pease	"
		Jonathan Pease	"

This was the army of defence left to guard our island as a result of this legislation, and the king's troops had begun to occupy Newport as a base of operations.

Thus matters assumed a somewhat peaceful aspect here, and once more the Vineyard reverted to its own resources. Those left were full of gloomy forebodings. "At the moment the country saw only unbroken defeat, and the spirit and hopes of the Americans sank. The darkest hour of the Revolution had come," says an author already quoted. It is not a wonder that the men here became infected with the general misgivings of the nation at large. Tisbury, as usual the leader in all these movements heretofore, to keep the ball rolling, called a meeting in the middle of December, summoning the "freeholders" of the town and voted: —

in Order to take under their most Serious consideration the Sad and Allarming circumstances this county as well as the rest of the country is at present under, and then & thare to consider what mode of conduct this Town with the rest of the county Shall be thought best to come into for our Preservation if wee are Attack't by the Kings Troops, And to chuse A committee if the Town thinks propper to take the Affair under consideration, Or to Joyn with the other Towns in the county if they See Cause to Act with us, At said Meeting Deacon Stephen Luce was chosen Moderator, And then it was put to Vote to See whether Esq. James Athearn Deacon Ransford Smith Mr Elisha West Should be a Committee to Joyn with the Other Towns Committees in Our County, Or by themselves and with the Commision Officers of the Militia in Sd County, To consider and agree upon what mode of Conduct the People of this Town with the rest of the County Shall come into in Order for our Preservation if wee Should be Attack't by the Kings Troops.[1]

This situation had to be met, as our people could not throw up their hands and admit defeat without a struggle. As no other town joined, this committee had no joint business to perform, but later a committee of the town acted individually, and on the 27th of December prepared a petition to the General Court setting forth the situation as it appeared to them.

[1]Tisbury Records, 217

To the Honourable the Council & the (House) of Representatives for the State of Massachusetts Bay In General Court Assembled: —

The Petition of Shubael Cottle, Elisha West & Nathan Smith, Committee for the town of Tisbury Humbly sheweth: that the Island of Marthas Vineyard is sittuated in the middest of Danger. We are much alarmed at the Dismission of the soldiers which ware alowed as a Defence for our Island as the Kings Army is so near us — and as we find by an act of the General Court we are called upon to tack one quarter of our men and send them or hold them in Redenes to march at the shortest warning to ajoine the Continental Army, and to leave our own Places to the will of our Enemies — wherefore your Petitioners humbly pray that your honours would (amidest the Many and grate businesses that come before you) Tack one thought on our awful Surcumstances — and grant that we may be Released as to Rasing our Men to go of the Island on any ocation unless to Defend our Nabours alicke exposed and in that case we shall shew our utmost Redenes to Defend them — and furthermore your Petitioners Humbly Pray that when your Honours shall have us under your wise consideration that you would be so good as to grant us help in sending us men from the mane, or by Imploying our Men as Soldiers to Defend our Island as thare is not much to be expected from our Militia being but thin at the best, and now very much in the Sea Servis. Your petitioners would not be unmindfull of the Regard Shune us in times past in granting us 250 men which by the Blessing of God ware Sufisent for us last Sumer — as we think it our duty to be in the use of menes we most ernestly pay that your Honours would grant sum further help or other ways provide for us as you in your wisdom shall think proper as in Duty bound shall ever pray.

Tisbury the 27 of December 1776

SHUBAEL COTTLE
ELISHA WEST
NATHAN SMITH
Committee for the town of Tisbury [1]

The action taken by the General Court upon this representation is shown in the following transcript of the records of the House, under date of Jan. 20, 1777: —

The above petition so far granted as that the Militia of the Island of Marthas Vineyard are excused from furnishing their proportion of the late draught of one quarter of their militia.

The removal of stock &c to the main-land is recommended.

THE VINEYARD LEFT TO ITS OWN DEVICES.

This last sentence was ominous. It foreboded an abandonment of the island to the enemy, if that policy should be adopted. Across the sound the Elizabeth Islands had as many soldiers to protect a few families as were assigned to

[1] Mass. Archives, CLXXXI, 405.

the Vineyard proper. Chilmark woke up now and tried further disconcerted action, where before all had worked together. Thirty-five of the inhabitants signed the following statement of facts and opinions: —

Chilmark, January 27, 1777.

To the Honourable, the Council and House of Representatives of the State of Massachusetts Bay in General Court Assembled:

The Petition of a number of Inhabitants af the Town of Chilmark in the Island of Marthas Vineyard and in the County of Dukes County Humbly Sheweth: That the said Island of Marthas Vineyard (especially the Western Part thereof where your petitioners reside & where there is a Road for shipping) is by its situation at least as *much* exposed to the Enemy now possessing Rhode Island as the Islands called Elizabeth Islands in the same Town. For the Protection of which last mentioned Islands much greater (tho' we do not think too great) Provision is made than for the protection of Marthas Vineyard: when the last named Island is of much greater value in itself of vastly greater importance to the Public than the others. There being on Elizabeth Islands but seventeen families and about one hundred souls; when there are on Marthas Vineyard at least five hundred families and about 2780 souls, exclusive of Indians living by themselves, and this last named Island is also much better accomodated than Elizabeth Islands with Harbors and Roads for shipping by means of which Harbours of Marthas Vineyard, and a few soldiers there stationed, with the Pilots and other Inhabitants of said Island a very large part of the many rich Prizes taken from the enemy during the present war have (after they have waited some time in said Harbours for a fair wind & for an opportunity to proceed to the Port to which they were bound, without Danger of being intercepted by the Enemy) safely arrived either at Dartmouth or Providence or at some other Place where they might be discharged of their Cargo. All which advantages accruing to *this* and other American states from the Harbors of Marthas Vineyard while that Island remains in the Possession of Friends to the Common Cause of these States will not only be lost to *this* and the other states of the nieghboring continent, if said Island or its Harbours should be possessed by the Enemy, but the advantage the Enemy will hereby gain will perhaps be no less pernicious than the possession of that Island & its Harbors hath hitherto been advantageous thereto.

On which account your Petitioners (with great deference and submission to your Honours superior wisdom & judgement) presume to declare that they apprehend it to be of great importance not only to the Inhabitants of Marthas Vineyard but also to this and other American States that it be kept from falling into the Hands of the enemy. But this without further Protection from your Honours we see no way to prevent For we apprehend this Island to be in great Danger of such an attack from the Enemy as the Inhahitants thereof will not be able to withstand. For the number of men on this Island able to bear arms hath of late been greatly diminished & is still diminishing by their shipping themselves on board of continental & other cruizers against the enemy; and also not a little weakened by our Disagreement of opinion with Respect

to the most proper course we can take for our safety. For while your Petitioners with many other Inhabitants of this Island are fully satisfied that the present war is on the American side just & necessary, and are ready to exert themselves to the utmost in every suitable way in support of the American cause, There are yet (we are sorry to find ground to say it) some here who have manifested at least a Doubt of our being in the Right, in taking up arms and fighting against the Forces of the King of Great Britain, and they with others have openly expressed a Belief that Britain will conquer & subdue America, and have labored to infuse such a belief into others; and whatever effect this hath had, it is a certain matter of Fact that there is a considerable number of men here who appear to be very Doubtful which side will finally overcome, and obtain what they are contending and fighting for, and who therefore chuse to be as stil and inactive as possible in the present contest and are accordingly averse to doing anything towards the Defending of this Island by arms.

To which Principle we impute it That when ten Freeholders of this Town by a writing under their hands, lately requested the Selectmen to call a meeting of the Inhabitants of the Town to consider and determine what it was proper for them to do for their safety in this Time of Danger. This Request was not complied with, By which means we found ourselves obliged to petition your Honours in the way we do, as Individuals, suscribing our names hereto. In short we wish that your Honours might have a just and full conception of the Danger this Island is in by Means of its exposed situation (while the Enemy is so powerful & no further than about twelve leagues therefrom) when it is so weak & defenceless a state as it now is, & also what Imporatance it is that it be kept from falling into the hands of the Enemy.

A true representation hereof we have here given But not too full and clear a representation as to convey to your Honours such an idea of the state of the Island with respect to the present American troubles, as your Honours would have if you had been some time resident here. And with regard to the state of this Island which we have represented the Prayer of your Petitioners is That no such measure may be adopted to keep the stock on said Island from falling into the Hands of the Enemy as that of removing it to some other place. For if nothing better than this can be done with the stock belonging to Marthas Vineyard, to what a state of wretchedness must the owners thereof be reduced! For if that stock be removed where will they find pasture or Hay for it? And if for want thereof they are obliged to sell it, where will they find Buyers who will give them anything near the value thereof? And in this way the People of this Island would be likely to suffer almost a total loss of their Stock.

They would suffer also for a time at least (and who knows for how long a time?) the loss of their Houses and lands, which they must depart. For without stock they will not be able to till it. And if this Island be forsaken by its inhabitants, it will (without such a Protection as would be now sufficient for their Defence) in all Probability be taken possession of by the Enemy; and how detrimental this would be to this & the neighbouring states; we have already in some measure shewn. Your petitioners also pray That seeing this Island is so exposed & in so weak & defenceless a state as hath been shewn, no men maybe taken from hence to serve as soldiers elsewhere. For as said Islands when all the men now

therein continue there is so weak & defenceless how improper a thing must it be if it can be avoided, Still further to weaken it by taking men from thence where they are so much needed? And besides how greatly must it distress a Man who has a wife & several small children, or aged feeble Parents to take care of to be compeled to hazard his life in War at a great distance from them and leave them in a place exposed as this is to the outrageous hostilities of the Enemy, when by continuing with them he might afford them some help & Protection. What we have offered we pray your Honours to take into your consideration and Intreat that besides suffering the men here to continue in this place your Honours would be pleased to send a number of men to this Island for its Protection as your Honours in your great wisdom shall judge proper and that your Honours would afford for the Protection of the Elizabeth Islands at least an equal number of men to that which was last stationed there and your Petitioners as in Duty bound shall ever pray.

Samuel Hillman,
Benjamin Hatch,
Thomas Hillman,
Silas Bassett,
Joseph Bassett,
James Norton, Jr.
Joseph Mayhew,
Samuel Mayhew,
Simeon Mayhew,
James Norton,
Robert Hillman,
John Mayhew,
William Tilton,
Abner Mayhew,
Samuel Mayhew, Jr.
Jethro Mayhew,
Benjamin Hillman,
David Hillman,
Josiah Mayhew,
John Bassett,
John Hillman,
John Cottle,
Benjamin Hillman, Jr.
Richard Hillman.[1]
Joseph Mayhew, Jr.
Mark Mayhew,
Samuel Norton,
Fort. Bassett,
Benja. Bassett,
Jonathan Bassett,
Cornelius Bassett,
Timothy Mayhew,
Nathaniel Nickerson,
John Cottle, Jr.
Abner Hillman,

This statement discloses a condition of affairs in Chilmark which has been referred to in previous contemporary documents and letters from there. It is evident that a considerable number of Tories remained in Chilmark, even at this date. They exercised a restraining, not to say discouraging, influence upon the patriots of that town, and the efforts of Joseph Mayhew to further the cause of American liberty were checked at every turn by them. Added to this class were those well described as manifesting "at least a Doubt of our being in the Right," and lying low, waiting events, "very Doubtful which side will finally overcome." Such men offer but little that is worthy of more comment. This situation made for discontent and indifference on the part of the Massachusetts authorities, and at this period they were not in a position to temporize with communities holding these uncertain sentiments, or communities influenced by those who did. After considering the whole situation, the General Court felt

[1]Mass. Archives, CLXXXII, 88.

that the island must be abandoned as a military post, but as yet it took no decisive action. Determined to make one more effort to prevent this disastrous prospect, the freeholders of Tisbury prepared and sent the following petition to the Court for further consideration.

> To the Honourable the Council and The House of Representatives of the State of Massachusetts Bay in New Englnad,
>
> Humbly sheweth The Inhabitants of the Town of Tisbury in Dukes County, That the Exposed situation of that Island has been well known to your Honours to say it is in the Power of the Enemy is needless. Our Inability to Defend our Selves must be well known.
>
> We therefore Humbly & earnestly Request your Honours to grant us some Assistance under our exposed situation To defend us against a Force that may be Expected to Attack the Place and Secure a Lodgement cannot be expected by so small a number as is now on This Island & They constantly entering into the Continental army and Navy. We therefore Pray this Petition may be Taken under your wise consideration and Grant us such Relief as you in your wisdom shall Think necessary & we as in Duty Bound shall ever Pray.
>
> Tisbury, 11th March A. D. 1777.
>
> James Athearn, Shubael Cottle, Nathan Smith, } Comitte for the town of Tisbury.[1]

This had no favorable result. If anything, it merely brought the General Court's attention to the consideration of a subject that had by that time been all but settled in their minds.

ABANDONMENT OF THE ISLAND CONSIDERED.

Three companies had been stationed on the island at the expense of the Colony of Massachusetts, and the accounts for their subsistence are still in existence showing expenditures to the amount of £2625–0–0 through September, 1776. This drain was severely felt by the colonial authorities, and in December following the General Court took the first move towards disarmament directing that those soldiers whose terms were expiring be not re-enlisted and that the remainder be continued in service until March, 1777. When this date arrived, the General Court found that the burden was too heavy to carry, and passed the following Resolve which condemned the island to the mercies of the enemy.

[1]Mass. Archives, CLXXXII, 220.

In the House of Representatives
March 29, 1777

Whereas the Island of Marthas Vineyard is so situated that it must put this State to great expense to defend it, should our enemies make it an object of their attention, and as the removal of the inhabitants of said Island to the Maine would be attended with many and great inconveniences to them and cost to the State, therefore,

Resolved: that it be and hereby is recommended to the Inhabitants of Marthas Vineyard to send off said Island as many of their cattle as are not absolutely necessary for their present and immediate support, that they may be in a better capacity to retreat from the enemy, if they should be attacked by a force they are not able to oppose.[1]

This was sent to the Council for concurrence, where it met with some dissent, as but fifteen members concurred in this recommendation. Accordingly, two days later, after consultation between the two bodies, another draught of this plan, modified in some particulars, was passed by both branches of the General Court. This new form is as follows: —

In Council March 29, 1777.

Whereas the Island of Marthas Vineyard is so situated that it must put the State to great expense to defend it should our Enemies make that an object of their attention, and as the removal of the Inhabitants of said Island to the main would be attended with many and great Inconveniences to them and cost to the State,

Therefore Resolved: that it be and it is hereby recommended to the Inhabitants of Marthas Vineyard to send off said Island as many of their cattle, sheep and other goods as are not absolutely necessary to their present support, and it is recommended to the Justices of the Peace. The Field officers and Selectmen of the several Towns on said Island to consult and agree upon such a mode of conduct of the People of said Island to pursue as they may judge most proper an it is recommended to said Inhabitants strictly to pursue the mode that shall be so pointed out for their safety.[2]

Left at last to themselves and to fate, the Vineyarders saw that the State had placed them where they must work out their own salvation. It was "*Sauve qui peut*," and their patriotism was put to the test. But they did not further flinch. The remaining men able to bear arms prepared as best they could for defence, and awaited events. Many who could not remain inactive enlisted in regiments on the mainland, but the larger number found employment in privateers, where they could find better opportunities for their capacities as sea-

[1]Mass. Archives (Records of the General Court).
[2]Mass. Archives, CCXIII, 42.

faring men. At this time Cornelius Marchant sailed on a voyage, which shows how daring those men were in the extent of their operations. "On the 22 of January 1777" he wrote, "I entered on board the Ship Marlborough of Providence, of twenty Guns out and twenty four guns home, commanded by George Wad. Babcock of South or North Kingston; after passing the British, which lay in the harbour of New Port and Seconnet river we put for Edgartown harbour to obtain a Complement of Men and Officers; from whence in a few days she departed and proceeded on her Cruise. About the last of April 1777 we arrived at the Islands of Deloss on the Coast of Africa, where we destroyed a large Store house belonging to the British, took a Schooner laden with Brass Kettels; Also a little lower down the Coast captured two Ships one laden with Goods the other with a Cargo of Slaves, which were sent to Martinico where they safely arrived. In the same Cruise captured a large Brig laden with Ivory and Dye Wood sent her to the United States, where within 30 Leagues of Halifax we Captured the Ship John of Leithe, a large Transport richly laden with supplies for the British Army at New York; she safely arrived at Boston. We also retook a Brig laden with lumber & fish from Newburry Port bound to Cadiz in New Bedford in safety; we like wise captured which we thought not worth manning. We arrived in the Marlborough and the ship John our Prize in Boston in the month of July of same year 1777, after an Absence of five or six months."[1]

The force upon the Elizabeth Islands, small as it was, kept up a show of activity, under the command of Elisha Nye. The following letter from him at this date will furnish some insight into the difficulties of a frontier post in those times: —

Tarrpoland Cove Island, March 31st 1777

Gentn:

As you have seen fitt to appoint me to the Command of a Company stationed hear I think it my Duty to Inform your Honners that I Rased the Company soon after I Rec'd your orders there for and I took my station. I also think it my Duty to Inform your Honners what military stores I Rec'd from Maj'r Dimuck which are as follows: 20 Rounds in Cartriges a man 45 lb pouder 122 lb Lead in balls 140 flints 2 Cannon 22 Cartriges of Pouder for the Cannon balls. I humbly think it will be the best that there be ordered a further supply of Powder for the Cannon as without them I shant be able to keep the Harbour there having ben severall attempts maid by the Enemy to Ly in the Harbour, which would Cut of all Communication from Dartmouth the Vineyard from the Main

[1]Mass. Hist. Soc. Proceedings, 1900.

that Vessels can not pass, but by the help of the Cannon I have been able to keep them out and make no Dout shall be able to keep the Harbour Clear if not over powered by a number of ships.

Your Honners will observe that 63 at least Cartriges of Powder for Cannon is wanting and I humbly pray that y'r Honners will order in the hand of Benoni Nichoson appon'd Commasury for the Company what is wanting or as Your Honners shall otherways think fitt.

I Remain

With Great Respect your faithfull servant

ELISHA NYE.

To the Hon'ble Councell of the State
of the Massachusetts Bay.[1]

THE ISLAND REDUCED TO A NEUTRAL ZONE.

The General Court met in session May 28, this year, and it is significant that no representative from Dukes County appeared. Whether it was intentional cannot be said with certainty. It would be no more than human nature for the people of the Vineyard to resent their abandonment by the authorities to the tender mercies of the enemy. However, it may have been unavoidable or accidental. During the twelve months following absolute silence appears to have reigned upon the Vineyard. Where the town records in previous years had teemed with frequent entries of the actions and proposals of the freeholders to advance the cause of American freedom, now no one would suspect that a war was going on. Not a reference to it appears in any of the three towns. It was an enforced silence. We know where their hearts were during the great struggle, and doubtless the strong sense of independence so characteristic of islanders rendered their common inaction a daily source of chagrin and regret. To have engaged in active operations as a community against the crown would have invited practical annihilation without an equivalent gain, for the loss of their homes and property would not have helped on the patriot cause one iota. In some situations it is necessary for a military purpose that some portions of an

[1]Mass. Archives, CXCVI, 347. Freeman gives some personal information about Elisha Nye, in connection with the Revolutionary War, which is of interest. "Upon the first appearance of the enemy, Mr. Elisha Nye, who was resident there as an innkeeper (Tarpaulin Cove), and who suffered from the indignities the British Sloop of War *Falkland*, Captain Linzey, offered to himself and family, made deposition of the same, which was laid before the Provincial Congress; whereupon Congress directed Capt. John Grannis to provide 30 men and arms and repair without delay to the Elizabeth Islands for their protection. Captain Grannis raised his company here (Falmouth), and they did good service; but the force though increased to 50 was altogether inadequate to the work assigned them." (History of Cape Cod, II, 452.)

army should be deliberately sacrificed in order to gain the greater benefit for the entire body, but this does not apply to the Vineyard in the struggle of 1775.

The only sign of life shown here in the period named is found in a petition addressed to the General Court early in 1778 by some of the inhabitants of Tisbury, who asked for facilities to get provisions to the island. The full text best explains their desires, and it is printed below: —

> To the Honorable the Council & House of Representatives of the State of Massachusetts Bay.
>
> The Petition of us the Subscribers Inhabitance of the Town of Tisbury in Dukes County. Humbly sheweth that whereas your Petitioners are situated on an Island that Doth not Produce its own Provitions but are obliged to seek it out of the State of Connecticut and the Govener and Commites of that State oblige our Boats to Enter and Clear & give Bond as Tho' they were vessells of one hundred tuns, and as there is no Naval officer in this Island by which menes our Boats are not able to Carey Proper vouchers that they have landed there Cargos at this Place for whant of which they have been accused of going to Newport. For Remedy thereof we Pray your Honours to appoint sum met Person to that office, and we would not Dictate your honers in this case. But we would Propose for that office to your honers Shubael Cottle, Esq as met Person and Living near the water and in the Midest of the Boats that follow that Impl(o)y, or other ways Provide for us as you in your grate wisdom shall think Proper as in Duty Bound shall ever Pray.[1]

This request was approved February 4, following. One other evidence of existence occurs in the letter written by Beriah Norton from Roxbury, April 16, 1778, in which he notifies the Council that "there is a Quantata of Powder Belonging to this State Lodged at Marthers Vinyard," he desired direction what to do with it, "otherwise it may Be taken By the enemy or lost." The Council on the same day ordered Joseph Mayhew to deliver the ammunition to the commanding officer of the fort at Dartmouth, and thus the last means of defence was removed. Henceforth, the Vineyard was to be out of the calculations of the Commonwealth to which it belonged.

[1]Mass. Archives, CCXVII, 45.

CHAPTER XXIV.

Grey's Raid.

We now are come to the great event of the Revolution as affecting the Vineyard, the raid of General Sir Charles Grey in the month of September, 1778, supported by a detachment of troops, numbering over four thousand men, convoyed by a dozen ships of the line and a score of transports. It has been told in song and story and tradition by the children of the generation who saw our island at the mercy of this large body of hostile soldiery, and under the hundred guns of the king's navy. The whole history of it has never been written before, with the documentary evidences now available from both sides of the water, and the narrative which follows will present such testimony, given both by the British and the American participators in this affair, and thus for the first time we can read of it as seen by the actors themselves. Most of the documents cited have never before been published, particularly the accounts of Major Andre, whilst some of the contemporary documents and reports of our people have had limited circulation in local newspapers only, or in brief descriptions attempted by writers without the advantage of complete information on all the surrounding circumstances.

It is not a story of military heroism or glory, nor one calculated to thrill an audience of Revolutionary sons to the cheering point. And yet it is a part of the history of the great struggle, and as an incident in the annals of the Vineyard is worthy of being set out in such fulness of detail as we can now accord it.

The year 1778 was the darkest for Great Britain since the beginning of the Revolution of the American colonies. Her ancient enemy, France, had acknowledged the independence of the thirteen states of America, and treaties of alliance and commerce passed between Louis XVI and the Continental Congress, greatly to the joy of the struggling patriots on the Delaware, just emerging from the sufferings of Valley Forge, and to the chagrin of the English ministry, who now felt that another war had been practically declared. General Sir William Howe, who from the first of his career in America at Bunker Hill, had proven a dismal military failure, relinquished

his command, in response to general criticism in Parliament, and on May 24, at Philadelphia, Sir Henry Clinton assumed control of the fortunes of the British troops. In accordance with orders from the ministry, says Bancroft, "Clinton was ordered to abandon Philadelphia to hold New York and Rhode Island; to lay waste Virginia by means of ships of war, and to attack Providence, Boston and all accessible ports between New York and Nova Scotia, destroying vessels, wharfs, stores and material for shipbuilding." This policy of destruction betrayed the spirit of revenge and cruelty, inspired, doubtless, by the general feeling that the war was a failure, and America lost to the crown through a long continued policy of unutterable ministerial stupidity.

Clinton reached New York with his army after fighting the battle of Monmouth with Washington in the latter part (28th) of June. Meantime France had been giving practical effect to her treaty of alliance by sending a fleet of vessels, under the command of Count d'Estaing, which appeared off Newport, R. I., the last of July, after several prior anchorages. The British forces, six thousand in number, were strongly intrenched there, but had no naval force. Consequently they were at the mercy of d'Estaing, and to prevent capture a small squadron under their control was destroyed by themselves. It consisted of ten or more armed ships and galleys carrying 212 guns.

Sir Henry Clinton, who had been informed of the projected attack on Newport, sent 6000 troops in transports from New York under convoy of Lord Howe's fleet, which arrived off the harbor on the 10th. A violent storm prevented the naval engagement between Howe and d'Estaing which both had been courting, and the two fleets having ridden out the hurricane, were both *hors du combat*, with all the fight knocked out of them by the elements.

As a result of this situation, both commanders retired for repairs, Lord Howe to Sandy Hook and Count d'Estaing to Boston. On August 29 and 30 the land forces of the British and Americans under the command of Generals Pigot and Sullivan respectively, had a battle on Quaker Hill, resulting in the withdrawal of General Sullivan from the island on the night succeeding the second day's engagement. The day following Lord Howe returned from New York with reinforcements under Clinton, and landed four thousand men twenty-four hours after Sullivan's escape. Nothing remained for him

to do, and Clinton, finding the Newport garrison short of provisions, detached a foraging party of great strength to relieve the situation, which has received the name of "Grey's Raid" from the officer who led it.

The expedition under General Sir Charles Grey, intended to harass the south-eastern coast of Massachusetts and Rhode Island, consisted of the 1st Battalion of Light Infantry, 637 men, the 1st Battalion of Grenadiers, 624 men, the 3d Brigade, comprising the 15th, the 42d, the 44th Regiments; the 4th Brigade, comprising the 33d, the 46th, the 64th, and the 37th Regiments; Artillery, Pioneers, and dismounted Light Dragoons, making a total effective strength of 4333 men, embarked in twenty transports and convoyed by the *Carysfort*, *Zebra*, *Diligent*, *Rose*, *Galatea*, *Camilla*, *Fowey*, *Vigilant*, *Swan*, *Raven*, and *Scorpion*, vessels of war.[1] They embarked on August 27, at Whitestone, L. I., and sailed for Newport, where they arrived on September 1, to find that the American troops had evacuated that place on the preceding day. Part of the expedition went to New London for a sortie, but accomplished nothing. Then a return was made to Newport, and on the voyage Lord Howe's fleet was hailed and "it was thought advisable to proceed to (New) Bedford in Buzzards Bay."[2]

The fleet under Grey reached Clark's Cove about sunset of the 5th, and spent the next two days in destroying property, vessels, earthworks, and chasing "rebel" militia into the interior. In these skirmishes, the British lost one killed, four wounded, and eleven "missing."

On the conclusion of this affair the troops were re-embarked, and proceeded to their next objective point, the Vineyard.

THE COMMANDER OF THE EXPEDITION.

It will be instructive, as a preliminary preparation to the narrative itself, to know something of the personality of the officer who was at the head of this expedition, Charles Grey, then major general of his majesty's forces. He was in his

[1]Captain Robert Fanshawe, commanding the *Carysfort* frigate, wrote a letter to Lord George Germaine, dated Sept. 6, 1778, off (New) Bedford, enclosing a copy of Rear Admiral Gambier's orders to the accompanying fleet. (Remembrancer, 1778; comp., Freeman, "History of Cape Cod.")

[2]"The fleet consisting of 47 sail anchored in the harbour," wrote an officer of Colonel Crafts' regiment, stationed at Bedford. (Pennsylvania Packet, Sept. 29, 1778.)

fiftieth year, having been born in 1729 at Howick, Northumberland, the second surviving son of Sir Henry Grey, first baronet of that title. He was designed for an army career, and at nineteen he obtained an ensigncy of Foot, and saw service in the Rochefort expedition of 1757, and at Minden in 1759, where he was wounded while acting as aide-de-camp to Prince Ferdinand of Brunswick. He was commissioned lieutenant-colonel in 1761 and assigned to the 98th Foot, which he commanded at the seige of Belle Isle and the capture of Havana. In 1763, when peace was declared, he was placed on half pay. In 1772 he was promoted to the rank of colonel, and detailed as aide-de-camp to the king. He came to North America in 1776, with the reinforcements under General Howe, and was appointed to the local rank of major general in America, which was made substantive two years later. He surprised a force under Major-General Anthony Wayne, and routed them on the 21st of September, 1777, at which time he ordered the flints removed from the muskets of his troops to prevent any possible betrayal of their advance, from which he acquired the nickname of "No-Flint Grey." He commanded the Third Brigade at the battle of Germantown, Oct. 4, 1777. His exploits on this present expedition will be described in detail, and follow in chronological sequence his previous military record. Upon his return to England in 1782, he was appointed and promoted lieutenant-general and made a Knight of the Bath, as well as designated the commander-in-chief of the army in North America, but the war having terminated, he never took the actual command. He subsequently held commands in several British colonies. He was created Baron Grey of Howick in 1801, and in 1806 was advanced to the earldom of Grey and was made governor of Guernsey. He died Nov. 14, 1807, and was succeeded by his eldest son, Charles, the celebrated statesman and champion of Parliamentary reform, and prime minister of England. It will thus be seen that Sir Henry Clinton put the expedition in charge of an intrepid officer, of whom it may be said that, if he had been charged with the military policy of the war, the results might have been different. He was a bold and dashing officer.

STAFF AND REGIMENTAL OFFICERS.

The adjutant-general attached to the expedition Major John Andre, who is perhaps the most interesting personality

MAJ. GEN. SIR CHARLES GREY

among those who were attached to it, but it will not be necessary to enter into his career, so well known to all readers of history. His tragic fate has made him one of the most pathetic figures of the Revolution. The daily accounts of the movements of this expedition, recorded in the official journal of Major Andre, will be incorporated in this narrative, as the most detailed and authentic statement which we have.[1]

Of the regiments and their commanders a few details may be permitted. The 33d, commanded by Lieutenant-Colonel James Webster, the 42d (known as the Royal Highlanders), commanded by Lieutenant-Colonel Thomas Stirling, the 46th (known as the South Devonshire), commanded by Lieutenant-Colonel Enoch Markham, the 64th (the South Staffordshire), commanded by Lieutenant-Colonel Honorable Alexander Leslie, the 1st Battalion of Light Infantry, and the 1st Battalion of Grenadiers, composed the military force. The colonels of the several regiments were not with the expedition. They were noted officers, Lord Cornwallis commanding the 33d, Lord John Murray the 42d, Honorable Sir John Vaughan, K. B., the 46th, and General John Pomeroy the 64th.

The *Carysfort* was the flag-ship of the fleet, commanded by Captain Robert Fanshawe, R. N., who received his orders from Admiral Gambier, commander-in-chief of the American squadron.

The progress of the expedition, prior to its appearance in our harbors, is told by Major Andre in his journal, in the following entries: —

(Sept. 6) Major-General Grey determined to proceed from thence, (New Bedford), to Martha's Vineyard, and wrote to Sir Robert Pigot at Rhode Island to desire he would send vessels to receive cattle.

. . . . . .

Sept. 7th. The Fleet got under way this morning, but the wind failing, came to an anchor at 11 o'clock. . . . .

8th. The Fleet got under way at noon. The General was obliged to reduce the allowance of provisions to two thirds. Came to an anchor about two leagues from Quickse's Hole.

9th. Sailed at 7 in the morning. The ships could not all get thro' the Hole before the tide turned.

10th. The Fleet weighed anchor at 6 in the morning and turned thro' the Vineyard Sound passing Tarpaulin Cove, Wood's Hole Harbour and Falmouth. The gallies went into the last place and cut out two sloops and a schooner and burned another vessel.

At 1 o'clock the *Carysfort* came to an anchor off Holmes's Hole. The transports and small vessels were ordered into the Harbour, excepting

[1]Journal of Major John Andre, II, 30–43.

those which carried the Grenadiers and Light Infantry and 33rd Regiment, which Troops General Grey intended taking with him to Nantucket.

General Grey wished Captain Fanshawe (of the *Carysfort*) to proceed on the Nantucket service without coming to an anchor off Homes Hole harbor, as the wind was fair, but Captain Fanshawe, insisting on the necessity of assembling his captains, the deliberation lasted until the wind changed.[1]

THE FLEET AT HOMES HOLE.

The sight must have been a thrilling one — two score vessels including twelve ships of the line. It amazed and terrified the peaceful people, now removed from participation in the war and behaving as neutrals. No one knew whether it meant destruction, or a fleet seeking anchorage. A committee of leading citizens was chosen to find out the intentions of this formidable gathering. Col. Beriah Norton was its head, and we have his account of what transpired from his own statement. He says: —

th 10. General Gray, Commanding a detachment of his Majesty's army, arrived at Martha's Vineyard Sep'r 10, 1778, when I waited on him on board ship & agreed to deliver him 10,000 Sheep & 300 head of Cattle, the General informing me at the same time that payment would be made for the Same. The General then required the Stock to be brought to the landing the next day.

Andre's account of the interview is as follows: —

In the evening a Flag of Truce with three Committeemen came on board. They professed the most peaceable dispositions and the utmost readiness to comply with the General's requisitions. General Grey ordered them ashore to direct the inhabitants to drive in their sheep and cattle, or that Troops should be marched thro' the Island; likewise to bring in their arms, or that the Colonel and Captains of the Militia should be sent prisoners to New York.

General Grey adds further particulars:

On our arrival off the Harbour the inhabitants sent persons on board to ask my intentions with respect to them, to which a requisition was made of the arms of the Militia, the public money, 300 oxen and 10,000 sheep: They promised each of these articles should be delivered without delay.

[1] "From the difficulties of passing out of Buzzard's Bay into the Vineyard Sound thro' Quicksces Hole, and from the head winds, the Fleet did not reach Holmes's Hole Harbour in the Island of Marthas Vineyard, until the 10th. The Transports with the Light Infantry, Grenadiers, and 33rd Regiments, were anchored without the Harbour, as I had at that time a service in view for those corps whilst the business of collecting cattle should be carrying on upon the Island. I was obliged by contrary wind to relinquish my designs." (Report of Gen. Chas. Grey, Vol. 134, P. R. O., London.)

To give the demands permanent character the general directed his aide to issue a written order to Colonel Norton, so that the inhabitants of the island should not profess ignorance of the things required of them through their representatives as an excuse for non-compliance. This order was given:—

The Carysfort, 10th Sept. 1778

Beriah Norton,

Colonel of Militia at Martha's Vineyard,

Is required to order the Militia of the Island to assemble at Day Light to Morrow morning, Collect the horned cattle (milch Cows excepted) & Sheep in their Different Districts & proceed with them to Homeses hole. They are expected at the appointed place precisely at two in the afternoon, in failure of which the Troops will March at that hour to Collect them. The Militia are ordered to bring their armes, accoutrements and ammunition.

B. SYMES
Aide-de-Camp to Gen'l Grey

Humiliating as this was, there seemed no alternative but to accede, as resistance would be futile against the force swarming on board the armed vessels. Colonel Norton thereupon issued the following order to the various officers of the island militia: —

Dukes County, Sept. 10th, 1778.

To Captain ————

Agreeable to orders I have this Day Received from Major General Gray, now commanding the British Army on bord the King's fleet in holmesis hole, you are hereby ordered to muster your Company of militia By Day Light to-morrow morning, & collect all the oxen & sheep in your District, and Bring them, with your arms, acuterments and amunition, to holmesis hole harbour, By two o'Clock to-morrow; there to Receive further orders.

BERIAH NORTON, Colo.

Messengers were dispatched to the settlements "up island," and we may imagine the astonishment of the isolated farmers, aroused by these notifications, delivered in hurried words, to collect all their horned cattle, milch cows excepted, all their sheep and swine, and drive them down to the harbor at the "Hole" without delay, or suffer military punishment! They were hastily told that there were over forty ships in that harbor, and about four thousand troops ready to strike, if compliance was refused. The night must have been an anxious one. Also one of scheming, for the men and women of the island had some spirit left, and as the first astonishment died out,

they began to plan how to save something out of their herds and flocks for themselves. Some led a few pets into the woods and tied them up in dense thickets. It is stated that one panic-stricken female drove her cow up into the attic, where she was locked safely during the four days that the raid lasted. Many amusing stories are related of this character which show a vein of fanciful improbability. But we are dealing with facts in history, and must not be led away from the true narrative of undisputed evidence. The morning of the 11th (Friday) came and found the people all over the island, under guidance of the militia, stirring early to start on their long and irksome drive from Chilmark, Edgartown, and Middletown, with sheep and cattle, raising long clouds of dust along the highways. The troops in the fleet were in readiness to enforce the demands of their officers.

THE FORAGING BEGINS.

Andre makes the following record of the day's doings from his point of view: —

> 11th. A detachment of 150 men from each of the Corps in the Harbour disembarked under Lieutenant-Colonel Stirling. He consented not to march into the country provided the inhabitants should immediately furnish 10,000 sheep and 300 oxen with hay for them. Twenty vessels from Rhode Islands arrived to take in stock.

Colonel Norton's diary of the proceedings adds some further particulars of the day's doings, and is quoted in full: —

> th 11. This day the troops Landed under the Command of Colo. Sterling. Said Sterling then informed me that General Grey had directed him to assure me that the whole of the Stock should be paid for if they came down according to our Conversation last Night.
>
> Colo. Sterling then informed me that persons must be appointed to apprize the Stock before he would take any on Ship board, to which I agreed, & we jointly agreed to & did appoint proper persons to that business, which persons ware Sworn by me to the faithfull discharge of there trust by the request of Colo. Sterling.

The troops landed at the head of Vineyard Haven harbor, and camped on the open field now traversed by Main street, and north of Church street. It was the first close view of British "regulars" which the Vineyarders had obtained since the war opened. Although their mission was hardly of a war-like character, under the circumstances, yet it might have been accompanied by casualties, if resistance were offered. We

may imagine how the two girls, Polly Daggett and Maria Allen felt in spirit about this time, as they saw the hated "redcoats" helping themselves to what they wanted and nobody to deny them.[1] Two of their demands were especially distasteful,— the surrender of their arms and the public funds. Their muskets and swords could be concealed, and they did not intend to give them up until compelled. Who can picture Captain Nathan Smith handing over his sword without resistance? The second day passed without any important developments. Cattle and small stock came steadily down to the landing stage, and preparations were made to load them on the vessels which General Grey had requisitioned from Newport.

MILITIA OFFICERS ARRESTED FOR CONCEALING ARMS.

The 12th (Saturday) was the third day of their stay, and was filled with the most active work on all sides. It was a time for General Grey to take note of the results, thus far, of the compliance with his orders. The cattle and the sheep were constantly, if slowly, being driven up to the appointed place, but there was a suspicious slowness about other and more important demands. Major Andre gives us new and valuable testimony: —

12th. Wind unfavourable for Nantucket. A quantity of stock was embarked for Rhode Island and the vessels sailed.

The 17th, 37th and 46th regiments were ordered from their different positions to the beach. The 44th, under Colonel Donkin, marched towards the southeast end of the island.[2] Only 229 stand of arms having been brought in, the colonel and five captains were confined. The committee men were likewise confined for having concealed a quantity of ammunition.

Colonel Norton makes mention of this incident of his arrest, with that of the militia officers and the committee. We can only conjecture who they were. Besides himself it is probable that Barachiah Bassett, the colonel of the seacoast-defence, Captains Benjamin and Nathan Smith, and Jeremiah Manter, of the same corps; Uriah Tilton, major of militia, and a further guess might be made of any of the captains enumerated in the roster of April, 1776, heretofore given. Who the committee men were is not so easy to determine,

[1]It will be remembered that Parnell Manter, the third of the "Liberty Pole" girls, was dead at this time, having deceased in the previous July.

[2]This is an error in direction, as Donkin went to Chilmark.

but we may suspect that either Shubael Cottle, James Athearn, or Joseph Mayhew were numbered among its members. Otis called them "the head Whiggs."[1] Grey now undertook to give the Vineyard a lesson in the folly of resistance to the king's troops, and he ordered the detachments already landed to march into the interior of the island, and force compliance with his demand for all arms to the utmost. The *Scorpion*, under command of Captain Philip Brown, was sent to Edgartown, where her crew found congenial occupation in burning and destroying vessels. Colonel Stirling of the Royal Highlanders headed a land force to that town, while Colonel Donkin took another "up island" in the direction of West Tisbury and Chilmark to hasten the people there. The troops in various detachments scoured nearly the whole island, and gathered up everything that was eatable that they could lay their hands on; live stock of all kinds, vegetables, corn, rye, etc. Brigadier Joseph Otis, then at Falmouth, gives us a picturesque description of their work. He says they

> caryed off and Destroyed all the corn and Roots two miles round Homes Hole Harbour: Dug up the Ground everywhere to search for goods the people hid; even so Curious were they in searching as to Disturb the ashes of the Dead: Many houses had all Riffled and their Windows broke.[2]

INCIDENTS OF THE RAID.

Those living about Homes Hole were the greatest sufferers from the raid. Undoubtedly, much was done to annoy and damage. The people were indignant, but helpless to resist, except in spirit, and it is not difficult to imagine the attitude of the high-spirited women of the island, when their pantries, chicken coops, and closets were opened and looted in the execution of the general's orders, "to acclerate their compliance with the demand," as he states. Being a bloodless campaign, it is also probable that the soldiers took malicious delight in frightening and "bantering" those who could be so treated, knowing that resistance was out of the calculation of the victims. That much wanton destruction and desecration was indulged in is certain. Soldiers in war times

[1] In 1782 Colonel Norton refers to his arrest in the following language: "How painful then my reflections must have been — when I was exerting myself to the utmost in the services injoined upon me by the General, to be Confined as a Prisoner upon such trivial pretences! I acknowledge I felt a degree of mortification on that occasion not easily to be expressed." (Memorial to Board of Officers [British] at New York.)

[2] Letter to President of Council, dated Sept. 17, 1778.

LIEUT. COL. ALEXANDER LESLIE

COMMANDING

THE 64TH REGIMENT

1731–1794

know no restraint in the enemy's country. The Vineyard, since the first blow of the Revolution had been struck, was a gauntlet for the ships of war to run, and the recollection of constant dangers to their vessels made them ready to inflict all the injury they could on non-combatants. An instance of this is related of the house formerly occupied by the late John Holmes of Vineyard Haven. Major Peter Norton, then living in this house, upon seeing the imposing British fleet enter the harbor, departed with his goods and effects of value to a place of safety, he having previously in some way made himself particularly offensive to the British. The soldiers in prowling about, perceiving the house closed, forced an entrance, and finding the door leading into the front room hooked on the inside, in order to get at it, split it in pieces with their bayonets, and the door was not repaired thereafter, remaining in the same condition until it was destroyed. Several bricks in the hearth — large square ones brought from England when the house was built — bore marks also, where they pried them up to get at some supposed secreted treasure.[1] Similar stories are told of other localities, varied by local surroundings. Fortunately there were no "Hessian hirelings" in these foraging parties, else we might have the painful record of personal assaults instead.

A squad of foreigners alighted upon the cottage of an aged dame dwelling alone with her little grandson, and in spite of prayers and entreaties to spare the widow's living, they took possession of all her live stock, sheep, pigs, cow. As they were about to move off, a sergeant, who had an eye for delicacies, spied a sleek and well-fed grunter concealed behind the old woman's petticoats. Immediately half a dozen grenadiers advanced to capture the coveted quadruped, but the good dame's prayerful tone was changed to one of rebellious defiance. Seizing a heavy broom-stick she flourished it in the face of the enemy in a manner terrible to behold. "Away with ye, cursed seed of the oppressor! despoilers of the widow and the fatherless! Take what ye have of mine and begone! But this is Josey's pig, and not a hair of him shall ye touch!" A struggle ensued, but the broomstick proved a good weapon, piggie stuck to his cover, and after several attempts to execute

[1]Cottage City Star, Jan. 21, 1883. Mr. John Holmes had in his possession several relics of their stay, dug up on his premises. Among these relics were a number of old Spanish coins — coined some fifty years previous to the Revolution — a New Jersey colonial cent, and several brass buttons belonging to the Massachusetts Artillery contingent.

flank movements, the squad retreated, leaving Josey's pig with its lawful proprietors.[1]

Meanwhile, the militia officers and committee men were "in durance vile," but where we do not know. It is possible that they were confined on board of the frigates, perhaps the flagship, the *Carysfort*. Perhaps they were held under guard in one of the houses at Homes Hole. The quaint house long occupied by Mr. R. W. Crocker, which retains most of its original peculiarities of construction, characteristic of that period, has some traditions of occupancy by the British during this raid. It was directly on the shore, in front of the fleet, and the officers doubtless found a brief residence in it a welcome change from the confinement of their cabins. They were in charge of the island for four days, and did as they pleased for their personal comforts and the transaction of their business. The absence of any reference to events of the 12th and 13th in the diary of Colonel Norton is significant. As a prisoner of war he would be denied writing privileges of a private character.

Thus passed Saturday, the 12th, and Grey records that he "was able to embark on board the vessels which arrived that day from Rhode Island 6000 sheep and 130 oxen" up to that date.

When they had finished their foraging they came back to camp in Vineyard Haven on the slope of the hill, on the land where lately stood the houses of Mary T. Crocker, John Holmes, and Mary C. Dunham, and the lot now occupied by Mrs. Laura Robinson. The street now leading west by the Methodist church was then quite a deep gulch, partially blocked up with boulders, although it was the principal road leading westward out of the village. They thus had a forest in their rear and left, this gulch on the right, and the harbor with their ships in front.

It is safe to say that Sunday the 13th was anything but a day of rest on the Vineyard. It must have been a hard task for the ministers to keep their congregations from wandering from the texts of the sermons. What Parson Kingsbury of Edgartown, Parson Fuller of Chilmark, or Parson Damon of Tisbury preached about that September Sabbath can only be imagined.

[1]Porte Crayon in Harper's *Magazine*, XXI, 442. This incident is credited by descendants to Patience (Hathaway) Dunham, wife, not widow, of Joseph, and it has been made the subject of a poem by Rose Terry Cooke.

We may indulge the thought that the colonel and his fellow prisoners had the privilege of listening to the fleet chaplain read prayers for their "Gracious Sovereign and all the Royal Family," and condemning his enemies to destruction. Andre is our only authority for the events of this day, and he enters this: —

13th. The 17th, 37th and 46th Regiments embarked. More arms, sheep and oxen were brought in. Two men having deserted, the inhabitants were required to restore them on pain of having a double number of their friends seized.

A Tender arrived from Lord Howe with orders to the Fleet to return to New York. The Nantucket Expedition was, of course, set aside.

The cattle and sheep were embarked on board the Men-of-war and the transports.

Colonel Donkin was ordered to return from Chilmarck.

On the heights of the "Company Place" can be seen in the mind's eye the younger generation on that Sunday watching at a respectful distance the strange sight of their fathers delivering up to an inexorable foe the accumulated possessions of a life-time.

Monday the 14th marked the last day of their stay. Coercion had accomplished the purpose of General Grey. The raiding parties had dislodged 159 more stand of arms, and the hostages were set at liberty. Andre makes the following record in his journal for this day: —

14th. The remainder of the cattle were embarked. The Troops embarked. The deserters were restored and the Militia officers and Committeemen released, with a solemn injunction to abstain from taking part any more in the War or persecuting others for their political opinions; they were also bound to assist the King's ships with water or provisions whenever they should call upon them to do it.

The public money which had been required was paid, being a tax just collected by authority of the Congress. A salt work was destroyed this day.

THE AMOUNT OF PLUNDER OBTAINED.

Colonel Norton being once more a free man is able to use his pen, and his diary affords us some further particulars of what was done this day from his point of view. It will be seen that the business tone is strong in his record of the whole affair, as he evidently thought the transaction was merely commercial, and not a foraging party scouring the country

for provisions for the army. His entry for this day is as follows: —

th 14. Colo. Sterling then informed me & other of the inhabitants that he had a message to deliver to the people, when he recommended to them to meet in the field as there was not room for the people indoors. accordingly thay meet to the amount of Several hundred, when he informed us that General Gray had directed him to inform us that we ware to apply at New York for payment for the Stock they had received. I asked the Colo. if we had Beest send a man in the fleet at that time for the payment, to which the Colo. replyed we might if we Chose, but recommended to us to wait a Little time before Applycation was made.

The amount of cattle, sheep, &c., which each town furnished is thus stated in their claim: —

	Sheep.	Cattle.
Chilmark	3903	106
Edgartown	3919	112
Tisbury	2752	97
	10574	315

Besides this there were fifty-two tons of hay, delivered for forage during the return voyage.

Monday was a day of destruction, a sort of "cleaning up" day, which the raiders spent in destroying property. General Grey says that they were occupied "in destroying some Salt Works, in burning or taking in the Inlets, what vessels and boats could be found." Brigadier Otis indignantly wrote that they "burnt a Brig that was unrigg'd and a shoar; 3 or 4 small vessels; all the boats they could find; even took up some that were sunk in 4 fathom of Water and Destroyed them." The salt works were in the present town of Vineyard Haven, situated at the foot of Beach street. It was a valuable plant, and the loss of it caused much discomfort. It was a wanton act, indefensible under any circumstances. In another field a different form of plunder was going on. British officers hunted up the town treasurers and, at the point of the sword, made William Jernegan of Edgartown, Benjamin Allen of Tisbury, and Elijah Smith of Chilmark, then holding those positions, disgorge their public moneys, collected for the payment of the province tax for that year. In some cases former treasurers and collectors, who were charged with the collection of back taxes, were likewise forced to give up what they had. Altogether about a thousand pounds were obtained by these

military highwaymen, an equivalent of $20,000 in the money of our day.[1] It may be added that this was not an uncommon thing for the British officers to do, and other instances are of record showing that the town treasurers of the Vineyard as late as 1782 were relieved of public funds in like manner. The entire result of the four days' expedition was summed up in a report of General Grey, from which the following extract covering the operations on this island is taken: —

In Old Town Harbor, Martha's Vineyard:

1 brig of 150 tons burthen, burnt by the "Scorpion." 1 schooner of 70 tons burthen burnt by ditto.

23 whale boats taken or destroyed. A quantity of plank taken.

At Holmes Hole, Martha's Vineyard:

4 vessels, with several boats, taken or destroyed. A salt work destroyed and a considerable quantity of salt taken.

Arms taken at Martha's Vineyard:

388 stand, with bayonets, pouches, etc., some powder, and a quantity of lead, as by artillery return.

£1000 sterling, in paper, the amount of a tax collected by authority of the Congress, was received at Martha's Vineyard from the Collector. Cattle and sheep taken from Martha's Vineyard. 300 oxen, 10,000 sheep.

CHARLES GREY, M. G.[2]

During the whole time they were engaged in this expedition, at New Bedford, Falmouth, and here they destroyed seven "large" vessels, over a hundred "small" craft, besides all sorts of property, wharves, storehouses, and contents. One man was killed and several wounded in a skirmish at the Acushnet River near Fairhaven. The quantity and kind of arms secured here is found in a list prepared by the Artillery officer charged with the custody of captured material of that nature.

[1] *Resolve* on the petition of Elijah Smith of Chilmark directing the treasurer to credit said town three hundred and ninety pounds in old continental currency.

On the petition of Elijah Smith of Chilmark in Dukes County setting forth that he was chosen collector of taxes for the said town for the year 1777, and had lists of the State Tax committed to him (for the same year), amounting to nine hundred and ninety pounds eleven shillings and three pence, and that he had collected thereon about three hundred and ninety pounds, which was taken from him (together with his lists and warrants) by a British officer, who carried them off.

Resolved that the treasurer be and he hereby is ordered and directed to credit the said Elijah Smith the sum of three hundred and ninety pounds of the old continental currency, on account of said tax, and to suspend issuing his execution for the residue thereof until the next sitting of the General Court.

(Laws and Resolves, 1784–5, CXVII, June 10, 1785.)

[2] Gentleman's *Magazine*, XLVIII, 540.

RETURN of Ammunition, Arms and Accoutrements &c which was brought in by the Militia on the Island of Marthas Vineyard, agreeable to Major General Grey's orders; Received at Holmes's Cove September 12th, 13th & 14th, 1778.

	Halberts.	Firelocks.	Bayonets.	Cartridge Boxes or Pouches.	Swords or Hangers.	Powder Horns.	Pistols.	Drums.
Tisbury . . .	–	132	16	44	11	22	–	–
Chilmark . .	2	127	20	30	12	40	2	1
Old Town . .	–	129	13	3	2	9	2	–
Total . . .	2	388	49	77	25	71	4	1

N. B. One Barrel, one half Barrel, and one quarter Barrel of Powder, a great number of lead shot or balls of different sizes in Bags and Boxes and a great many flints.

Returned by order 3 Firelocks to 3 different men in Tisbury
Returned by do. 4 do. to 4 different men in Chilmark
Returned by do. 2 do. to 2 different men in Old Town

9 which are included in the above Return.

DAVID SCOTT
Capt. R. R. Artillery

THE FLEET DEPARTS.

But little more remains to be said. In the twilight of September 14, a quiet Monday evening, a rear guard of Grey's raiders marched down the slopes of Manter's Hill, and when the final boat-load pushed off the beach it was the last time that the soil of Massachusetts was pressed by the feet of British soldiers on a hostile errand. The tired and broken-spirited Vineyarders slept in peace that night. Morning came with the fleet still in the harbor, but the preparations for departure were going on. Andre makes the following entry in his journal: —

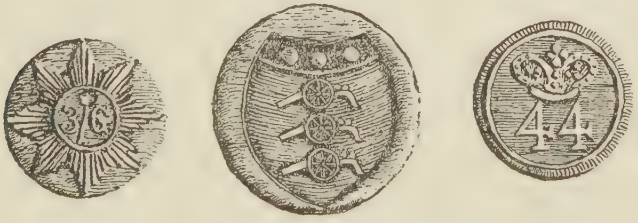
15th. The signal was made for sailing at 6 in the morning, but the transports were so dilatory that it was sunset before they came up with the Commodore. The whole sailed. A schooner and sloop taken in Holmes Hole Harbour were burnt.

Across the sound on the Falmouth Heights the militia of Barnstable County were in arms, expecting an attack from this force, and Brigadier Joseph Otis, in command, thus writes of what he saw and learned of the movements of the enemy during their stay on the island: —

The Enemys fleet began to sail Westward the morning of the 15th to the number of Twenty Six Ships besides small craft: and by the morning of the 16th ware out of sight of the High Land of Woods Hole. I sent a boat on the Vineard the Evening of the 15th, which returned the next morning. . . . . they told the Inhabitants that they wanted to visit Falmouth but that we was as they term'd us a pack of dam'd Rebels and had five thousand strong with a plenty of artillery (though we never had at one time six hundred men with only one field piece) that the Rebels fought well at (New) Bedford and had given them a good Trimming: that they should have done more there but the Rebels were as thick as Bees.

But the British General did not care to accommodate Brigadier Otis with a skirmish. He had accomplished his object. The garrison at Newport could have beef and mutton for a while, thanks to his efforts. He had left behind only two Chops which he could not very well take with him. His fleet arrived at Whitestone, L. I., on their return, on the 17th and 18th, having been separated by bad weather, but suffering no loss. On the latter date he reported his return to Clinton, in which he expressed his obligation "to the commanding officers of corps and to the troops in general for the alacrity with which every service was performed." Thus terminated the expedition which is our principal Revolutionary heritage, as our contribution to the sacrifices made to gain liberty for the American people.[1]

[1]Incidents of Grey's Raid connected with Farm Neck include the tale of two bachelor brothers, who, in their alarm at the foraging parties of "red-coats" fled with their money to the jungles of Aquampache and buried it with such thoroughness that they were never afterwards able to locate it. And of that sturdy farmer, Ansel Norton, who defended his one pair of oxen with such zeal, that it took the pricks of several British bayonets to make him relinquish his team. At Major Norton's they even took a flock of geese, which had in fright and dismay at the strange proceedings, swam to the middle of the pond. Every goose was shot before a capture could be effected. (Information furnished by Mrs. Annie Daggett Lord and Henry Constant Norton.)



RELICS OF THE RAID.

BRITISH MILITARY BUTTONS (GRENADIERS, ARTILLERY AND 44TH REGIMENT).

CHAPTER XXV.

The Long Campaign to Obtain Redress.

1778 to 1787.

As soon as they recovered their former tranquility, after the exciting days of the "Raid," the officials of the Vineyard arranged for a conference to determine upon the course they should pursue. They met four days after the departure of the fleet, probably at West Tisbury, as the central location for all, and having exchanged views as to the best course to follow, it was deemed wisest to make a report to the provincial authorities and ask for their help. Accordingly, a committee composed of the selectmen of the three towns was formed to publish a formal statement of the events which had transpired during the preceding week. The situation was indeed a peculiar one, and embarrassing to all concerned. It was the logical result, however, of the neutrality imposed upon the island by the authorities. The following address was prepared to the General Court of the State.

To the Honourable the Council & House of Representatives in General Court assembled:

We the selectmen of the several Towns in Dukes County beg leave to lay before Your Honours the unhappy situation of the people of this Island, occasioned by our being deprived of the greatest part of our stock by the British troops: on the Tenth Inst came into Holmes Hole Harbour about twenty sail of Vessels of which seven or eight were Frigates the rest armed vessels & Transports: a requisition was soon made of all our arms and military accoutrements, Horned Cattle (milch cows excepted) & sheep: & in said requisition were informed that in case we did not Immediately comply they would march their troops and collect them (they having about five thousand): the people not being able to defend themselves endeavoured to persuade them to lessen their demands & after much entreaty could obtain no other Terms than those that we should Immediately give up all our arms & military stores three hundred Bullocks & Ten Thousand sheep and least this should not be complyed with they landed the greatest part of the Troops & marched them to different parts of the Island & declared in case there was any delay they would let the Troops loose and we must abide the consequences. The People seeing no alternative were obliged to comply & accordingly have delivered up all their arms & military accoutrements & stores, the greatest part of the oxen & sheep whereby our case is rendered very deplorable having neither sufficient beasts for draught or provisions for our support: they

also obliged the Collector to deliver up all the money they had collected for the State. Many other evils we have suffered for a more particular account we would refer to Col' Norton & the other Gentlemen which will accompany him.

Marthas Vineyard, September 19, 1778.

EBEN. NORTON
BENJ. SMITH
BROTHERTON DAGGETT
Selectmen of Edgartown

NATHANIEL BASSETT
JAMES ALLEN, JR.
MATTHEW TILTON
Selectmen of Chilmark

JAMES ATHEARN
SHUBAEL COTTLE
Selectmen of Tisbury.[1]

This representation did not require any action, and none was taken by the General Court. The committee accompanying Colonel Norton, probably composed of James Athearn and Thomas Cooke, men well known by the members of the General Court, gave their former colleagues a full account of the "Raid" verbally, the terms offered by the British, their promises of payment and the distress which had followed the stay of the troops. On the 26th, Norton and his associates addressed another petition to the Court, in which they definitely asked for relief of the suffering.

To the Council & House of Representatives of the State of Massachusetts Bay now sitting at Boston the remonstrance of the Subscribers Inhabitants of Marthas Vineyard:

Humbly sheweth that the Distress of a number of the Inhabitants of that Island must be shocking to the Human Heart as the late step of the British troops have made in Depriving them of their stock has rendered the case of many persons with large families Truly deplorable. In particular near the Harbour of Holmes Hole where they landed who are not only Deprived of every article & necessary of life not having an Exchange of any kind of clothing for them or children and unless immediately assisted must unavoidably suffer extremely or perish.

Your petitioners therefore beg your Honours to consider thare Distress & grant them some relief or otherwise order as in your wisdom you shall see fit & as in duty bound shall ever pray.

Boston 26 Sept. 1778.[2]

JAMES ATHEARN
BERIAH NORTON
THO: COOKE

[1]Mass. Archives, CLXXXIV, 239. The third selectman of Tisbury was Abijah Athearn, but it is not known why he did not sign. He may have been absent or sick.

[2]Ibid., CLXXXIV, 254.

The committee to whom this was referred, consisting of Colonels Fogg, Cutt, and Peck, reported a resolve to give a sum of money, not specified in amount, to the most urgent cases of suffering, but their report was ordered "to lie on the table." Naturally it would have been impossible to have relieved, by pecuniary aid, all cases of loss and suffering occasioned by the war, but this was a meritorious case, owing to the circumstances of their enforced neutral position, imposed on them by the state. On the same date as above, in the House of Representatives, "Samuel Niles Esq. brought down a petition of James Athearn and other Inhabitants of the Island of Marthas Vineyard, setting forth that they were deprived of about 10,000 sheep and 300 Head of Cattle by the Enemy; that they were given to understand that upon application to General Clinton at New York it was probable they might receive Payment: therefore praying the Court to Grant a Flag for that Purpose."[1] The committee of the house to whom the subject was referred reported a resolve desiring the president of the council to write to General Washington upon the subject. Thereupon, the same day, the following letter was addressed to the commander-in-chief: —

State of Massachusetts Bay
Council Chamber Sept. 26 1778

Sir:

This will be delivered to you by Colonel James Athearn of Marthas Vineyard, who repairs to your encampment by Permission of the General Court of this State, as may more fully appear by the enclosed Petition and Resolve. The General Court takes the liberty to recommend him to your notice so far as to obtain a flag to go into New York, Provided you think yourself warranted so to do by the rules and orders of Congress.

I am, sir, in behalf of the General Court,

Your Excellency's Obedient Humble
Servant,
JEREMIAH POWELL
President.

Gen'l Washington.

JAMES ATHEARN PERMITTED TO VISIT BRITISH GENERAL.

At this time the American army was in New Jersey, the headquarters of Washington at Middlebrook, and Clinton was bottled up in New York, and besides Newport, this was the only place held by the British. Athearn undoubtedly had

[1]Mass. Archives, CLXXXIV, 248–250.

to proceed by water to reach his destination. It does not appear what success he had, but from subsequent developments it would seem that Washington did not care to grant the "flag" without the sanction of Congress, to which the entire matter was referred.

Meanwhile the people at home were discussing what measures to pursue to secure repayment for their property, as promised. The inhabitants of Edgartown held a town meeting one month after the departure of the expedition, when they assembled at the Court House, and chose Beriah Norton as moderator. The following action was taken by the citizens:

Voted: there shall be a Committee chosen to Inspect into the several Losses & Damages that the Inhabitants of said Town hath lately sustained By the Brittish forces.

Voted: That the selectmen Together with Mr William Jernegan & Mr Seth Peas Be a Committee to Take a True Inventory & Estimation of each Perticular Persons Loss & Damages sustained by the Brittish forces.

Voted: That there shall be severall Counters chosen in Different Parts of said Town to Drive the sheep and Take a True inventory of what sheep still Remains in said Town and who they Belong to & make Return to the Committee abovesaid.

Voted: That Joseph Huxford, Matt. Butler & Benj. Peas be a Committee for Chapoquid'k & Capoage.

Voted: (other committees for the different parts of the town).

Voted: That the above mentioned Committees be Empowered to receive Donations of any of the Inhabitants of the Town for the Relief of such Persons as have suffered most and to make distribution as they shall think proper.[1]

ESTIMATES OF THE LOSSES.

Edgartown went about this in a business-like manner. The other communities took no action at this time, as towns, for their records do not contain any reference to meetings held for the purpose. Probably the individual losers held meetings and arranged to compile accounts of their losses. The committees of Edgartown went to work promptly and by the end of the second week in October had schedules of their losses, in tabulated form, all ready for presentation to the British general. Fortunately these lists have been preserved, and they are herewith printed. They furnish a most interesting summary of the extent of the depredation in this one town. The first table shows the list of "Sundry Articles" taken by the soldiers, and bears out the claims of personal distress which some must have suffered after the "Raid."

[1] Edgartown Records, I, 315.

An Account of Sundry Articles Taken by the British Fo
Massachusetts Bay, Between the tenth and fifteenth Day of Se
son's Name With the Just Value According to the Currant (Sp

	Bushels Grain	Bushels Potatoes	Heads Cabbage	Cloathing £ s. d.	Swine No.	Swine Wt.	Weight Leather	L
Matthew Butler					1			
Benj'n Pease Junr.				19- 7-0				
Joseph Huxford		3	36					
William Vinson								
Malatiah Pease Junr.				10- 0-0				
Enoch Coffin Esqr.	2½	6	60	7- 2-0				
Thomas Butler		80	95					
Thomas Claghorn	12	40	70	20				
Joseph Smith	25	80		12- 0-0				
David Coffin	20	15			3	300		
Elijah Butler Junr.		50	300		2	240	35	
Widdow Davis	23	30	70		2	60		
Ramsford Smith		18						
Ebenezer Smith	8	20		47-10-0				
Elijah Butler	4							
James Shaw				5-10-0				
Shoble Norton		3	25					
Malatiah Davis	7	55			2	100	42	
Shoble Davis	2	40		105- 0-0	1	35	80	
John Davis	2	40			2	165	80	
Benjamin Davis	5	55					60	
Ansall Norton		20						
Seth Pease								
Jane Claghorn	4	12						
Marshall Jenkins	7	3						
Samuel Killey		8	30					
Gamaliel Merchant				6-10-0				
Cornelius Merchant				14- 8-0				
Matthew Mayhew	1½			9-12-0				½
	137	590	698	£238 5s. 0d.	12	900	297	
Thomas Cooke				£ 17-2-0				
John Holley					1	150		

The Foregoing Was Taken by us the Subscribers by the

Edgartown on the Island of Marthas Vineyard in the State of the
8 — Each Article carried of in Separate Colloms against Each Per-
f this State) of What Each person has lost.

bb val stores	Bushels Salt	Fishing Craft £ s. d.	Provisions £ s d.	Fencing £ s. d.	Howshold Goods £ s. d.	Roots £ s. d.	£ s. d.
							9- 0- 0
		1-5-0	3-13-0				24- 5- 0
							3- 6- 0
							9- 10- 0
							10- 0- 0
				3-15-0			21- 7- 0
							44- 15- 0
				14- 0	11-17-6		90- 9- 6
			3-12-0		3-0-0		103- 12- 0
							67- 10- 0
				15- 0-0	19-15-0	6- 0-0	112- 15- 0
			6- 0-0	15- 0-0	3-10-0		112- 12- 0
					6- 0-0		15- 0- 0
	5		3-12-0			9-12-0	160- 2- 0
				6			13- 4- 0
			6-12-0		7- 0-0		41- 17- 0
			9-12-0				12- 7- 0
						2-10-0	66- 18- 0
							163- 4- 6
					2-10-0		70- 9- 6
						2-10-0	63- 0- 0
							10- 0- 0
							15- 0- 0
					18- 0-0		31- 16- 0
16	20		456		3		680- 17- 0
			55		9	9	78- 10- 0
							29- 00- 0
					3-12-0		18- 0- 0
			20-8-0		6- 0-0		41- 12-
16	25	1-5-0	574-9-0	47- 1-0	88- 4-6	25-12-0	2069- 18- 0
							47- 2-
23-8-4							13- 10- 0
							2130-10-0

est of the Proprietors the 14th Day of Octr. 1778.

BENJAMIN SMITH
BROTHERTON DAGGETT } *Committee.*
WILLIAM JERNEGAN

An examination of the foregoing schedule shows that the greatest individual loser was Marshall Jenkins, who charges up £456–0–0 for provisions, and the next largest was Shubael Davis, with an item of £105–0–0 for clothing, though we are at a loss to know what kind of clothing the army could want from the farmers of the island. Possibly it was destroyed. The total loss figures up to £2130, and if the other two towns suffered an equal amount in the like class of articles, we can estimate the total loss of property, exclusive of stock, at £5000 at least, or an equivalent of about $100,000 in money as reckoned at comparative values in our present money medium.

The account of live stock taken from Edgartown, was scheduled by a committee, as already stated, and their report is given below: —

An Account of Horned Cattle and their Weight, the Number of sheep and Tuns of Hay which was Taken by the British Fleet and Army from the Inhabitants of Edgartown on the Island of Marthas Vineyard in Dukes County Between the Tenth Day and fifteenth of September annoque Domini 1778

MENS NAMES	No. Cattle	Weight of Cattle	No. Sheep	Tuns of Hay	Sum Totle
Peter Norton	7	4400	807		
Samuel Kingsbury	2	950	15		
John Worth	5	2475	75		
William Jernegan	3	1750	160		
Thomas Vinson	2	1400	37		
Joseph Vinson	2	950	5		
Daniel Stuart	1	825	16		
Thomas Stuart	1	775	18		
Elisha Donham	2	800	6		
Seth Davis	2	1775	90		
Joseph Huxford	2	1200	74		
Enoch Coffin			108		
Benjamin Pease Juner	½	375	49		
Matthew Butler	½	375	46		
Zachariah Pease			10		
William Vinson			3		
Timothy Butler	1	300	17		
Thomas Fish			6		
Meletiah Pease Juner	2	1000	6		
Marshall Jenkins	1½	700	77		
Elijah Stuart	½	150	6		
Peleg Crossman	1	400	2		
Widow Marchant			29		
Thomas Smith	1	525	34		

MENS NAMES	No. Cattle	Weight of Cattle	No. Sheep	Tuns of Hay	Sum Totle
Benajah Donham			18		
Thomas Butler	2	1600	199	3	
Widow Davis	3	1720	41	4	
Brotherton Daggett	2	1200	18		
Isaac Norton	4	1900	50		
Joseph Smith			119	$\frac{1}{2}$	
David Coffin	3	2260	57	$2\frac{1}{2}$	
Widow Smith			14		
John Daggett	1	200	6		
Widow Beetle	2	576	14		
William Beetle	1	400			
Ebenezer Smith			24	$\frac{1}{4}$	
Elijah Butler	2	1250	95	5	
Shubal Norton	2	1600	75		
Isaac Norton Jr	1	300	42		
Stephen Norton			37		
Shubal Davis	3	970	45		
John Davis	3	1850	40		
Meletiah Davis	2	1400	67	$\frac{3}{4}$	
Benjamin Davis	1	520	44	$\frac{3}{4}$	
Meletiah Davis of Tisbury			75		
Ansell Norton	3	1575	43		
Samuel Norton	3	255			
Ebenezer Norton	3	1025			
Beriah Norton	2	1200	45		
Nathaniel Vinson			7		
Daniel Coffin			86		
Robert Norton			14		
Thomas Cooke			14		
Uriah Norton			13		
Timothy Smith			22		
Elijah Smith	2	1400	45		
Samuel Smith	2	1100	40		
Samuel Smith Jr.	1	350	109		
John Coffin	2	1700	72		
Benjamin Coffin	2	1300	110		
John Norton	2	1200	58		
Peter Ripley Jr.	2	1400			
Peter Ripley			22		
Micajah Covell			10		
William Covell			6		
Nathan Donham			3		
Benjamin Daggett Jr.	1	450	15		
Benjamin Daggett	2	850	32		
Benjamin Pease			115		
John Butler	2	750	4		
John Pease	1	350	14		

MENS NAMES	No. Cattle	Weight of Cattle	No. Sheep	Tuns of Hay	Sum Totle
Barnibas Vinson	1	300	4		
Nathaniel Fish	1	680	5		
Thomas Arey	2	150	82		
Abishai Merchant	1	490	6		
Joseph Pease			20		
Judah Norton			12		
James Pease			4		
Samuel Killey			10		
Sylvanus Norton	2	650	8		
Abraham Luce	1	450			
Elijah Butler Jr.	2	1050			
Benj'n Natick	1	316			
Benj'n Butler				1	
	112	61007	3828	17¾	
Ezra Cleaveland			5		
Ephraim Pease			10		
Harlock Smith			8		
Mary Smith			16		
	112	61007	3867	17¾	
William Norton			22		
Jonathan Pease			9		
			3895		

The above is a True account according to the Best Information We have been able to procure

BENJAMIN SMITH
EBEN. NORTON } Committee
WILLIAM JERNIGAN

Edgartown, Oct. the 14th 1778

From the above schedule it will be seen that the largest loser was Peter Norton, who gave up seven cattle and about 800 sheep, four times as many as any other owner in the list. The next one was Thomas Butler with 199 sheep. Edgartown furnished, probably, the largest individual loss of the three towns. The balance of the cattle and sheep to make up the total number was 203 of the former and 6679 of the latter, of which number 4116 belonged to Chilmark and 2563 to Tisbury. Unfortunately, their lists are not extant. Armed with these claims Beriah Norton pursued the plan of obtaining compensation for the owners, and urged Washington to lay the matter before Congress. This was done, and on October

27, Congress passed the following authorization for him to proceed to New York: —

Resolved: That major-general lord Stirling be, and he hereby is, directed to permit col. Beriah Norton of Marthas Vinegard in the state of Massachusetts-Bay to go into New York; and that a flag be furnished him for that purpose; and that he be permitted to return when he shall have concluded his business.[1]

THE BRITISH COMMANDER REFUSES PAYMENT FOR CATTLE.

Whether he went at that time is not known. Certain it is that the British officers entertained no such intention of paying for the stock as was held by our people. An authority on the subject gives us the direct evidence that the claim was distinctly repudiated by Clinton. At the time it was presented formally in writing, it was returned with the following endorsement: —

The Commander in Chief knows of no arrangement between General Grey and the people of Marthas Vineyard in relation to the cattle as herein stated, and does not see fit to institute an inquiry into the matter at present.

JOHN ANDRE Adjutant[2]

The basis of the claim does not seem clearly established. It was a war measure, taken by properly constituted officers against the enemy, and such acts are a part of the fortunes of war. The Vineyard was a part of the rebellious colonies, had taken part in the struggle, and the British officers could not take cognizance of their non-combatant state, as it was a war measure of the Massachusetts government, not a peaceful condition, to save her strength for other hostile purposes. It seems to be a case where General Clinton was properly within his rights in denying responsibility.

Tisbury did not, apparently, take any action about the losses of her townsmen until December following the "Raid," of which the following is a report of the meeting: —

At A Town-meeting Leggally warn'd & held at the Courthouse in Tisbr on Wensday the Second Day of December A D. 1778 in Order to See if the Town will Vote that the Loss of Stock & hay Sustaind in this Town Shall be Everedg'd on the Oxen Cows and Sheep in Said Town

[1] Journals of Congress, IV, 446.

[2] "Porte Crayon" in *Harper's Magazine*, XXI, 442. This writer and artist made a visit to the island in 1859, and states that this reply was "among the County records," but the original paper is in the collection of manuscripts belonging to the late Richard L. Pease, now owned by his daughters.

and Hay, & Likewise to Chuse a Committee to Examine and Collect an Account of what is Lost that the Same may be Adjusted Accordingly, And at Said Meeting Esqr Shobael Cottle was Chosen Moderator, and then it was Put to Vote to See whether Esqr James Athearn Esqr Shobal Cottle Cornelus Dunham Thomas Jones Samuell Look, Should be the Said Committee and the Vote passed in the affirmative And then Said Meeting was Adjorn'd to Wednesday the 30th of December Ensuing the Date above to be holden at the Courthouse in Sd Tisbuary at two of the Clock afternoon in Order to Reecieve the Report of the Above sd Committee[1]

SUFFERING OF THE PEOPLE.

The winter of 1778 had now set in and the people of the Vineyard were approaching its hardships deprived of their usual stock of subsistence supplies. The crops had been destroyed, their cattle commandeered, and they were indeed in a pitiful condition. A storm in December, which wrecked the General Arnold in Plymouth Harbor, also stranded a privateer loaded with provisions and this "ill wind" blew some good to the scantily-fed inhabitants.

Not long after this devastating storm a British ship, loaded with rice, was wrecked on the west end of the Vineyard, and a good supply of this cereal was obtained for the hungry and impoverished people. This visitation of the English was a cause of sore distress to the inhabitants during the winter ensuing. To be sure their houses were left intact, and they had plenty of fuel. They managed to get a scanty supply from the mainland, by exchanging iron or bog ore, as it is called, which, by running the gauntlet of the British cruisers, was transported to Wareham to be smelted. At one time a boat loaded with this bog ore was captured, while crossing the sound, by a British cruiser; the men in the boat pleaded poverty, saying they were taking this ore to be smelted and cast into pots and kettles, as General Grey's army had taken about all there were on the island. So plausibly did they set forth their condition and so eloquently did they plead their cause, that the British commander was moved to compassion, ordered their release, and the boat and cargo being restored to them, they went on their way rejoicing. This very ore was smelted and cast into balls for Americans to pelt Englishmen with.

The salt works having been destroyed, the people were compelled to resort to another way than by solar evaporation to obtain that article. They had large kettles cast in Wareham or Carver; these were set up on the shores of the sound, and

[1]Tisbury Records, 227.

salt manufactured by evaporating salt water through the means of large fires kept going under the kettles day and night; a plenty of pine fuel being near at hand and boys being enlisted in the service to supply it.

The year 1779 gives but little contribution to the military annals of the Vineyard. The recovery from the exhaustive raid was slow and discouraging. Tisbury voted to send Shubael Cottle as her agent, on February 8, to the General Court ". . . to Represent the case they are now in . . . . Respecting our Loss by the Kings Troops," and obtaining relief from taxation.[1] On the same day the townsmen of Chilmark held a meeting, at which Jonathan Allen, James Allen, Nathaniel Bassett, and Matthew Tilton were chosen "to be a Comity to send A Letter and the account of the Loss of Stock that we have sustained by the British Troops to the Governour."[2]

A small raid occurred in April, probably from a passing ship of war. A party landed at Homes Hole on April 5 and "shot a few cattle, sheep and hogs, which they carried off, paying for two sheep only."[3]

In September following the British General Leonard sent a landing party on shore and took some stock and wood.

FURTHER EFFORTS TO OBTAIN REDRESS FROM THE BRITISH.

A year had passed by and the alleged promises of General Grey had not yet found fulfillment. Colonel Norton kept at his task. On November 16, he memorialized the General Court upon the subject as follows: —

> To the Honourable Council and House of Representatives in General Court assembled:
>
> The petition of Beriah Norton for and in behalf of himself and others of the Island of Marthas Vineyard, humbly sheweth:
>
> That whereas your petitioner received a flag from the Honored Council of this State the 6th day of December last to apply to New York to sollicit payment for the stock etc that General Grey took from the said inhabitants in September 1778, and William Mayhew Esq., also received a flag from said Council the 2nd instant to apply to New York to sollicit payment for stock and wood taken by General Leonard in September last, and the said Inhabitants having received very considerable encouragement that by applying we may receive payment, provided we will take it in such articles as we may agree on, the prayer of your petitioners there-

[1]Tisbury Records, 229.
[2]Chilmark Records, 176
[3]Extract from a letter, dated Falmouth, April 5 1778.

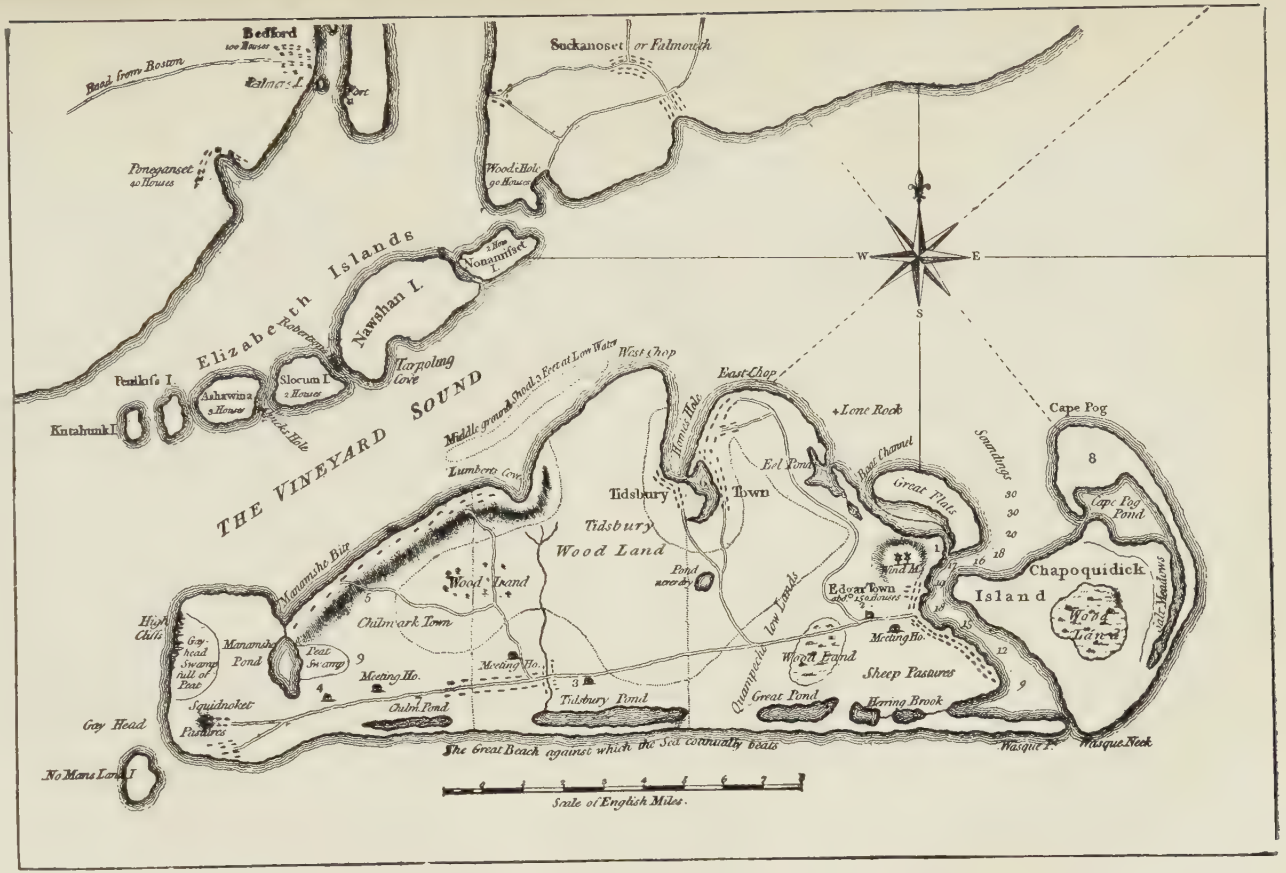
fore is that he may be appointed as well to transact the business of the present year as that of the last year, and that he may be allowed to take some articles of merchandise in payment, provided that he cannot obtain cash, and that there may be a Committee appointed that your petitioners may have an opportunity to lay the circumstances of the above matter before them as they are very interesting to the inhabitants of the said Vineyard, and as in duty bound will ever pray.[1]

On the 18th of the same month the General Court, after a favorable report from their committee, passed a resolve granting Norton and Mayhew "liberty of a flag to go to New York to collect payment for what the British troops have taken from the inhabitants of Marthas Vineyard, and that they have liberty to take their pay in merchandise if they cannot obtain it in money — they being subject to such instructions as may be given them by this Court for the rule of their conduct."[2] Their mission was unsuccessful. The commander-in-chief of the British forces was too much occupied with other important matters to think about paying for a few cattle taken by his troops from the "rebels." Norton was dismayed, but not discouraged. He was under bonds to the state, and had made a covenant with the owners of the stock to pay them the proceeds when obtained. He was living, in part, at their expense, as they contributed to the cost of his services. He vainly endeavoured to induce Clinton to do justice by the farmers of the Vineyard, to save him and them a personal appeal to the ministers of the crown in London. Norton returned bootless. All he could get was advice from General Sterling to "apply to England." Early the next year, having found no further disposition on the part of the British authorities to do more than parley with him, Norton recommended to the people that he should go to England, and place the business directly before the home government. This seemed a "last resort," but the owners were becoming desperate, and were willing to take any step to force compliance with the promises of Grey. Colonel Norton thereupon petitioned the General Court for permission to go to England and lay the case before the Lords of the Treasury as he had been advised. The petition is printed, verbatim, as follows: —

> To the Honorable the Council and the Honorable the house of Representatives in General Court assembled: —
>
> The memorial of Beriah Norton humbly sheweth that in Consequence of Leave obtained from the hono'le Court in November 1779, your me-

[1]Mass. Archives, XCVII, 140–1.

[2]Mass. Resolves, III, 131.



MARTHA'S VINEYARD WITH ITS DEPENDENCIES.

FROM CREVECOEUR'S "LETTRES D'UN CULTIVATEER AMERICAIN." LONDON, 1784

morialist proceeded to New York in order to Solisit Payment for the stock taken from Marthas Vineyard by General Grey in Sept. 1778, as well as for fuel &c taken from sd Island by George Leonard Esq'r in Sept & Oct 1779, the Latter of which your Memorialist settled in full and also Petition Sir henry Clinton for payment for the Stock taken by General Grey But s'd Clinton being on the Point of Embarking for the Southward Did not think Proper to take up the matter at that time.

Your Memorialist was then advised by Sir henrys Agetent General that if he was to apply to Great Brittian he may know doubt Receive Compensation for the stock taken by General Grey your Memorial't then applied to General Stearling for advice he Being the first in Command under General Grey who Informed him by way of advice that it was Best to apply to England & he sd Stearling would wright fully on the subject in my favor. that together with other incoregements and the Great Necessity of the People of Marthas Vineyard are in for some Relief in Consequences of so General a Plunder as the Loss of Ten Thousand head of sheep & 312 head of Cattle Indusis your Memorial't to make this most humble applycation to this honorable Court Earnestly Praying that your memmoriallist may have the Liberty of applying to Great Britain for the Purpose abovesaid to Prosead as a Passenger in some British or American Ship & that he may have the Previledge of takeing his Pay for sd Stock in Some articles of Merchandise Provided he cannot obtain the Cash and also Emport whatever Goods obtained in to this State in such a Manner as this honorable Court shall think most fit & Reasonable and as in Duty Bound shall Ever Pray.

BERIAH NORTON

Boston April 28th 1780.

Your Memorial list also Prays that he may have Leave to Bring from Great Britain all such moneys as he may have orders for from any marchant in this state.

BH NORTON.[1]

The request was a peculiar one, but a favorable answer was returned when, on May 3, a resolve was passed to the effect "that the prayer of the petitioner be so far granted that the petitioner Beriah Norton have leave to repair to Great Britain by the way of New York for the purpose in said petition mentioned under such orders, limitations and restrictions as the honorable, the Major part of the council shall see proper."[2]

COLONEL BERIAH NORTON GOES TO ENGLAND.

Norton went to New York, and remained there some time before sailing. He received permission to reside there from Major General Patterson, but after some time of continuous conferences with the evasive Clinton, he concluded to embark

[1]Mass. Resolves, III, 131.
[2]Ibid., III, 252.

for London, and try to settle the business there. A pass was issued to him for the trip by Lieutenant General Elliot, in August of that year, and he sailed thence on his strange mission of making the enemy pay for property taken in a foraging expedition. He remained in England that year and all of the next. This time was spent in importuning the government officials for hearings, considerations, references, preferring petitions, and the employment of all such means to attract their interest and attention. It would be tedious reading to follow the voluminous documentary history of his proceedings during this time. Suffice it to say, that he found the officials there no more ready to admit the soundness of his claim than were the military authorities on this side. In July, 1781, the king in council definitely refused to grant his petition for redress, but he hung on. Residence in London was attractive, and he was being "wined and dined" by Americans living there, and in turn he was reciprocating the courtesies. His private papers contain numerous evidences of the social side of his mission, in the form of invitations to dinners, balls, and entertainments.[1] But a change in the commanding officers occurred in February, 1782, by which General Sir Guy Carleton succeeded Clinton, and as he was known as a man of courage and just in his dealings, Norton obtained later in that year from the Lords of the Treasury, an order directing the new chief to investigate the whole affair and mete out strict justice.

A BOARD OF INQUIRY APPROVES THE CLAIM.

This change was a welcome one, and Norton returned home to pursue the matter, in the spring, having been absent from home about two years. Fortified by this authority he obtained a hearing from Carleton, who called a board of Inquiry in April, 1782. The board sat at General O'Hara's headquarters, heard the agent, examined his documents, took testimony, and finally reached the decision that the claim was meritorious, and that it should be paid. Thereupon Carleton approved the findings, and agreed to make divided payments,

[1]The Beriah Norton Mss. in the Pease collection comprise most of the documents quoted in this chapter. They disclose a phase of his mission that does not happily reflect on his patriotism or his methods. He was eager while in London and throughout the controversy to impress upon them that he did not approve the Revolution or take part in it, and claimed the Vineyarders were unwilling to rebel against their king.

with the understanding that the money received should be invested in New York in merchandise to supply the needs of the claimants. This was more than Norton could stand, and he insisted that he should have the claim paid without any conditions as to the way it should be spent. The money belonged to others, and he could not buy merchandise for them in absence of any authority. Carleton drew a draft for the sum of £3000 sterling, in part payment, upon the Deputy Paymaster General of the Forces, "the greater part of which," said Norton, "he was enabled to bring off in specie, notwithstanding the positive instructions of Sir Guy Carleton, who required that he should invest the same in such articles as might be useful to the inhabitants of the island." The total award was about seven thousand pounds, but Carleton would not pay it in full at that time, at least to be carried away in funds. The Governor of the Commonwealth and the Council required Norton to make a report to them of his doings, which he did, and, as he states, "flatters himself that he has given them the fullest satisfaction to all their inquiries." Whereupon, on October 2, that year, he again sought authority from the General Court to repair to New York and pursue the matter with General Carleton, as the only person who could attend to the business, and the early return of that officer to England was imminent. He asked this favor in behalf "of those honest subjects who are not within the protection of Government," and expresses a willingness to take payment in merchandise, if it cannot be obtained in specie. The Court passed the following resolve on October 11: —

> Upon memorial of Beriah Norton, *Resolved*, — That Beriah Norton Esq. of the Island of Martha's Vineyard, be and he hereby is, permitted to go to New York in any vessel he shall think proper, for the reasons set forth in his memorial, and to return to this Commonwealth and bring with him to and for the sole use of the inhabitants of the said Island of Martha's Vineyard the sum of four thousand nine hundred and twenty three pounds sterling money of Great Britain in gold or silver coin, which remains due to the said inhabitants of Martha's Vineyard for cattle, sheep and forage taken from them by General Grey for the use of the British forces; or one third part of the said sum in goods, wares and merchandise.[1]

Norton was required to give a bond in the sum of ten thousand pounds for the strict fulfillment of this arrangement, and enter his vessel with the goods at Dartmouth in this state, when he should obtain a settlement.

[1]Mass. Resolves, V, 313.

THE WAR ENDED.

A year before this the last gun had boomed at Yorktown, and Cornwallis had capitulated to the victorious Washington. The end of the seven years' struggle was in sight. British ministries hung out against the inevitable for months, but the people of great Britain were tired of the war created by the stupidity of their ruler and his advisers, and peace was gradually forced upon a stubborn king and a sullen ministry.

While Norton was driving this arrangement through, other scenes were being enacted on a larger field in the drama of the Revolution. Peace envoys were in London trying to patch up an agreement satisfactory to both of the contestants, and the articles of the convention were all but settled, when Norton got his permission to go to New York. It is not known what action he took in this state of the situation, except that Carleton was no better prepared, and not as much so, as before, to settle the claim. The negotiations for peace furnished him with an excuse to defer present attention to the matter, and on Nov. 30, 1782, the treaty was signed between the belligerents, represented by Franklin, a descendant of John Folger of the Vineyard, Adams, Jay, and Laurens, for the American "Rebels."

COLONEL NORTON STICKS TO HIS MISSION.

The confusion incident to the settlement of this great struggle acted as an efficient stop to the consideration of Norton's claim, but it was by no means surrendered. It is probable that he went to England in the late fall of 1784, after further correspondence and the submission of a memorial to the Lords Commissioners of His Majesty's Treasury, where he "had the honour," as he states, "of making a personal representation to the Ministers & Secretarys," from whom he "received advice from time to time that the matter would be refer'd for a final decision." He appealed to them again in 1785, and sent a personal request to Mr. Pitt, soliciting his aid, in the same year. It was the same old story of delay and promises, and he dragged on for month after month in London, having the tedium relieved by social attentions from the American exiles in that great metropolis. "At length," he writes, "finding he was not able to endure the expense of attending any longer, & that no Business of that sort would be taken up

for several months, he left England in June (1787), after a constant attendance for more than two years."[1]

His return empty handed was a bitter disappointment to the farmers of the Vineyard, some of whom had been contributing to the expense of the Colonel's "seasons" in the British capital, and who were somewhat suspicious, by this time, that his long absences were junketing trips at their expense. But he kept hope alive in their breasts.

THE GOVERNMENT REFUSES TO ENDORSE THE CLAIM.

The United States having been formally organized after the war, the next move of Norton was to obtain the sponsorship of the new government in the prosecution of the claim. Accordingly, in September, 1787, he went to New York, where the seat of government then was, and addressed a new memorial to "the Honourable the Congress of the United States of America." In it he recites the main facts rehearsed in the foregoing narrative of his previous experiences in prosecuting the claim, and states that "knowing the Justice of his acct on the British Government & the Contract made with General Grey for payment cannot without very great reluctance give up the prosecution of so just an acct." He concludes by praying for their "wise consideration of his very hard and particular situation & Business & Grant him such assistance & advice to enable him to prosecute his abovesaid Business as in your great wisdom you shall think fit and right."[1] The matter was referred to John Jay, then secretary for foreign affairs, who was requested to express an opinion on the propriety of taking the action desired. That officer submitted the following brief in response to the request of Congress: —

Office for Foreign Affairs, 25th Sept 1787 The Secretary of the United States for the Department of Foreign Affairs to whom was referred a Memorial of Beriah Norton, dated the 15th September, instant, Reports —

That the Memorialist states in substance that in September 1778 at Marthas Vineyard, of which the Memorialist had the military command, he delivered a number of cattle and sheep to the British General Grey who promised that payment should be made for the value of them.

That in October 1778 Congress permitted the Memorialist to go to New York to solicit Payment. That his account was allowed to be just and amounted to £7923, but that he had never been able to obtain more

[1]Archives of Continental Congress, Vol. VII., No 41, p. 134.

than a partial Payment: vizt £3000, notwithstanding his application to the British Lords of the Treasury, Ministers &c: — He requests from Congress such Aid and Advice to enable him to prosecute the Business as they shall think fit and right.

It appears to your Secretary that Marthas Vineyard being American ground the enemy had good Right, *flagrante Bello*, to take away all sheep and cattle they found there without paying anything for them. If however from Motives of Policy they *gratuitously* (and not in the way of Capitulation or Convention with the American Government) promised payment, that promise being left in *Statu quo* by the Treaty, must be considered as having been made at a time and under the circumstances which exempt Britain from any responsibility to the United States for the Performance of it, and consequently it would not be proper for the United States to take any measures respecting it.

If on the other hand, this Promise or Contract is to be considered as being of legal obligation and not merely *honorary* & gratuitous, then the Memorialist has his remedy at Law, and the Interference of Congress can at present be neither necessary nor proper.

The sum in Demand is doubtless important to the Individuals interested in it; but as national Interposition should be confined to objects which affect either the National Interest or the National Honor, your Secretary is of opinion it should not be extended to such concerns and affairs of Individuals as are unconnected with, and do not touch or affect the National rights.

All which is submitted to the Wisdom of Congress.

JOHN JAY.[1]

COLONEL NORTON AGAIN IN ENGLAND.

There is not much room for comment upon this lucid opinion of Jay, and while the secretary denied him this support, he extended to him his personal compliments and "good wishes" for the success of his mission. Armed with this consolatory message, and letters of introduction from Admiral Robert Digby, R. N., he sailed to make his last assault upon the treasury of the United Kingdom of Great Britain, Ireland, and Scotland. But there were others besieging it with claims of better standing than his. A descendant of one of the refugee loyalists thus describes the situation: —

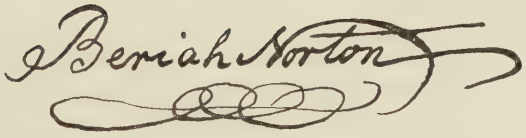
The Refugees from America, scared from their ruined homes, had taken flight across the Atlantic, and were pitching down upon England by sixes and sevens, like rooks upon a corn field, to see what grain they could pick up; but so numerous were the flocks becoming, that the custodians of the granaries in the old country had great difficulty in finding a few grains each for all the hungry mouths.[2]

[1]Archives, Continental Congress, Vol. III, No. 81, p 163.

[2]Diary and Letters of Thomas Hutchinson, II, 22.

The Long Campaign to Obtain Redress

Further consideration of this long-standing claim and its results will not be required. This last mission was not successful, and the Colonel was subjected to much unfavorable criticism by the Vineyard sufferers upon his failure to obtain payment for them. Charges of various sorts were bandied about as to the prosecution of the claim, but none were ever substantiated. The general belief entertained by the losers was that the Colonel was courted and entertained into an attitude of complaisance in the prosecution of his task by the high officials of the government, though with no profit to himself.



SIGNATURE OF COLONEL BERIAH NORTON.

CHAPTER XXVI.

Naval History of the Vineyard in the Revolution.

It is well known that the Revolutionary war was for the most part fought out on land, although there were events of the greatest interest which took place at sea, especially under the intrepid lead of Commodore John Paul Jones. Our navy was always of secondary importance during the struggle, but the three years preceding the siege of Yorktown witnessed a remarkable increase in the number and activities of our private armed vessels. In May, 1780, the United States had left only six war craft to bear their ensign aloft, and a year later half that number was captured or lost, leaving only the *Deane*, the *Alliance*, the *Duc de Lauzun*, and the *General Washington* in active service. In two of these Vineyard men formed part of the crew in the closing years of the struggle for American independence. "It can be readily understood, therefore, that had it not been for our privateers the Stars and Stripes would have been, for all practical purposes, completely swept from the seas," says a historian of these vessels.[1] "It was the astonishing development of this form of maritime warfare," he continues, "that enable the struggling colonists to hold their own on the ocean. In the year 1780 two hundred and twenty-eight American privateers were commissioned, carrying in all three thousand four hunderd and twenty guns; in 1781 there were four hundred and forty-nine, with about six thousand seven hundred and thirty-five guns; and in 1782 three hundred and twenty-three, mounting four thousand eight hundred and forty-five guns. It is very much to be regretted that many of the cruises and actions of these crafts have not been recorded."

First Naval Engagement of War in Vineyard Sound.

What was probably the first naval skirmish of the Revolution took place at this time, and its leader and men were from this island, and the action occurred in one of our harbors, probably Homes Hole, as the party was under the command of Captain Nathan Smith. In a whaleboat, mounted with

[1]Maclay, "History of American Privateers," 206–7.

three swivels, and a small crew of volunteers, in the month of April, he undertook the capture of the armed schooner *Volante*, a tender of the British cruiser *Scarborough*. Although there was great disparity in the vessels and crews, yet that did not daunt them, and after a struggle the enemy struck colors and the victorious Captain Smith brought his prize into safe harbor.[1] It is generally stated that the first battle of the Revolution on the sea was between the British schooner *Margaretta*, an armed vessel, and a small sloop, manned with a volunteer force, off the coast of Maine, in June, 1775, but it will be seen that the encounter which Captain Smith led took place two months previously, and can be claimed as the first overt act against the enemy on the high seas during the Revolution. While our affair was not a great battle, yet all these engagements had their bearing on the results, and in point of priority the valor of our Vineyard men in this instance has never been recognized, because no one has ever presented their claims to this honor.[2]

CAPTURE OF THE TRANSPORTS "HARRIOT" AND "BEDFORD."

On March 7, 1776, another maritime engagement off our shores was reported by Colonel Beriah Norton to James Otis, President of the Council, on March 9, two days after the event: —

. . . . ther was Information in town that there was a transport ship at anchor near Nantucket sholes. I not being in town myself till the Afternoon when I found there was about 37 men gon of to Ingage the ship with a small sloop about 23 of our men ware those of the sea corst under Capt. Benj: Smith, the rest ware of the Militia, they Ingaged hur and after a smart scurmig the Capt of the ship Being shot three (times) they then struck to our Yanke sloop and are Brought in to the old town harbour. The Capt is in a fare way of recovery hur Cargo is about 100 Charldron of Coll, 100 Butts of Porter, 30 hoges, Sower Crout, Puttators and Sundry outher artacals, the officers and sea men are ordered to had Quarters By the Sea Corst Capt under the care of Second Lieut James

[1]Maclay, "History of American Privateers," 64; comp., Emmons, "Statistical History of U. S. Navy."

[2]Another affair of like character is said to have taken place shortly after. The "Falcon," a British sloop of war, had, under some pretence or necessity, seized one or more prizes from the people of Buzzards Bay. Inspired, probably, by the success at Lexington and Concord, the people of New Bedford and Dartmouth fitted out a vessel with which they attacked and cut out one of the "Falcon's" prizes, with fifteen prisoners, from a harbor in Martha's Vineyard. This is stated to have taken place on May 5, 1775, by the author, Rev. Edward E. Hale, but an examination of the log of the "Falcon" on that date does not show any such movement on her part. [Narrative and Critical History of America, VI, 564.]

Shaw. I shall not Inlarg any further in this subject as I expect to Be at Court within 15 Days.[1] . . . . .[1]

This exploit was characteristic of the daring ventures of the men of our island, and others in like localities, brought up on the water, and used to its hardships and perils. The transport was a large ship, "called the *Harriot* of about two hundred and fifty tons Burthen commanded by Weymes Orrock," while the vessel which engaged her was "a small sloop called the *Liberty*," a most appropriate name. Captain Benjamin Smith also made a formal report of the action to the Council, which is here reprinted: —

Gentlemen

I have only Time to Inform your honours That on the 7th Inst I with a Detachment of my Company with some Gentlemen of This Town in number all about fourty, with a small vessel engaged for the purpose Engaged and Tooke the ship Harriot Weymse Orrock master store ship from London and bound for Boston Laden with Cole Porter and potatos: and have sent the mate (the Capt being wounded in the engagement) with fourteen mariners by Lieut Shaw and have Directed him to deliver Them to the Honou'ble Counsel. I am to endeavour to secure the property by Giting the ship to the mane, which having Perfected shall give Immediate attendance for further Direction in the matter, and in the Interim Remain your Houn'rs most Obed't Humble Serv't

Edgartown, 10th March, 1776[2] BENJAMIN . SMITH

On the 23d of March Captain Nathan Smith added to his list of exploits the capture of another English vessel. With a party made up of his seacoast-defence company and some volunteers of the militia, he attacked, captured, and brought into port the schooner *Bedford*, laden with provisions and other stores for the fleet and army.[3] Thus the two Captains Smith were busy harassing the transports, supply vessels, and other boats of the enemy's fleet, intending to carry men and subsistence for the army cooped up in Boston, and rendering important service to the patriotic cause. In the following month of April, young Cornelius Marchant of Edgartown, then but fourteen years of age, began his long and perilous service in privateers. He shipped "on board the private armed sloop *Independence* mounting ten guns, James Magee Commander, which during her Cruise Captured three Prizes,

[1]Mass. Archives, CXCIV, 275.

[2]Ibid., CXCIV, 281. He was allowed prize money in June following.

[3]Mass. Archives, Council Records. He was allowed prize money for this capture on June 18 following.

one Transport Brig with a cargo for the British Army and two Schooners from Halifax with a Cargo for West Indias, and got them save into Newbedford," as he states in his narrative, "after an absence of six or seven Weeks."[1]

CAPTURE OF TRANSPORTS "ANNABELLA" AND "HOWE."

About this time, early in June (1776), a naval action took place in which several Vineyard men fought, although the event occurred elsewhere, and it is worthy of record among our archives of personal services to be credited to the men of the island. "I well remember," said old Obed Norton of Tisbury, then in his ninetieth year, "that in the year 1776, the brig *Defence* commanded by Capt. Seth Harding, came into Holmes Hole Harbour, near where I then lived. I understood at that time that she was in the service of the United States. Several men belonging to Marthas Vineyard entered on board of her, and she sailed on a cruise. . . . . Among the persons that went the cruise were Silas Daggett, Samuel Norris and one Cornelius Dunham."[2] This was the Massachusetts cruiser *Defence*, and she sailed hence for Plymouth, and on the evening of June 17, she was entering Nantasket Roads, being attracted there by the sounds of heavy firing. A writer, describing the scenes which followed, thus tells the story of her exploit with two strongly armed transports of the British navy, the *Annabella* and the *Howe*: —

> About eleven o'clock the *Defense* boldly ran into the Roads, and getting between the two transports, within pistol shot distance, called upon the British to strike their colors. A voice from one of the troopships was heard, in reply, "Ay, Ay — I'll strike," and a broadside was poured into the *Defense*. The Americans promptly responded, and after an hour of heavy firing the British called for quarter. The transports were found to have on board about two hundred regulars of the Seventy-first Regiment. Eighteen of the Englishmen had been killed in the action and a large number were wounded. On the part of the Americans not one was killed and only nine were injured.[3]

Some of the principal actions in local waters in which our islanders took part have already been referred to in the chronological story of the Revolution, but, as stated by the

[1]Mass. Hist. Soc. Proceedings, 1900, Narrative of Cornelius Marchant.

[2]Deposition of Obed Norton, 1838. Clerk's Office, Tisbury.

[3]Maclay, "History of American Privateers," 67. "Among the British dead was Major Menzies, who had answered the summons to surrender with "Ay, ay—I'll strike." Among the wounded on the "Defense" was Cornelius Dunham of Tisbury.

author just quoted, we have left only "meager and fragmentary" data of other services rendered by Vineyard sailors, and these will be detailed below with such elaboration as the limited amount of material warrants. The vessels in which they served will be listed alphabetically, and they are as follows: —

Alliance. This vessel belonged to the naval forces. She left Boston January 11th, 1779, with General Lafayette, bound for France, with a complement of English and French seamen, with a few American volunteers. Mutiny was attempted, but failed, and the ship reached Brest in safety. She was placed under the orders of John Paul Jones., then commanding the "Bon Homme Richard." Thomas Luce, of Tisbury, was one of the crew of the *Alliance*, and the tradition in his family is that he was with Jones in his famous battle when the "Serapis" was fought and captured. There is no record to this effect, but it is here recorded for what value tradition has in such matters. In June, 1779, Captain Jones assumed command of the *Alliance* and sailed for the United States. Luce was pensioned for service in this ship. Samuel Lambert of Tisbury also had service on this vessel and was a pensioner.

Aurora. Privateer. Captain David Porter, master. Timothy Chase served in this vessel in 1781.

Bon Homme Richard. Naval service. Thomas Chase (222) of Tisbury engaged in privateering during the war, was captured in 1777 and imprisoned in Mill Prison, Plymouth, for two years. He was released through an exchange of prisoners and went to France, where he joined Commodore Paul Jones' fleet as ship's carpenter. He was present during the famous battle, July, 1779, between the *Bon Homme Richard* and the "Serapis," and his descendants have some mementoes taken from the prize ship by the young sailor after the battle.

Boston. Naval service. Captain Samuel Tucker, commanding. Benjamin Luce was one of the crew in 1779. She was a frigate of 24 guns.

Cabot. Naval service. Captain Elisha Hinman, commanding. Noah Waldron served as Quartermaster, in 1776, for two years, and Obed Norton was one of the crew, at the same time. Both were from Tisbury.

Deane. Naval service. Captain John Manly, commanding. She was a frigate of 32 guns. Ephraim Luce of Tisbury served on her in 1782. She was driven into Martinique that year, blockaded there, and remained until the close of the war.

Fairfield. Privateer. Captain William Nott, master. Cornelius Marchant of Edgartown was on her in 1776. She carried twelve guns.

General Arnold. Privateer. Captain James Megee, master. The wreck of this vessel, with several Vineyard sailors, in December, 1778, will be narrated in detail.

Hazard. Privateer Brig of 16 guns. Captain John F. Williams, master. She operated in the West Indies, capturing a brig of 18 guns and 16 swivels, manned with 100 men. The enemy lost 13 killed and 20 wounded, while the "Hazard" lost but 3 killed and 5 wounded. She was in the unfortunate Penobscot expedition, in 1779, where she was burnt to prevent capture. John Marchant of Edgartown served in her in 1778 and 1779.

Independence. Privateer of 10 guns. Captain James Megee, master. Cornelius Marchant of Edgartown was in her crew in 1776.

Marlborough. Privateer ship. Captain George W. Babcock, master. In March, 1777, she "put into Edgartown harbour to obtain a Complement of Men and Officers." One of these was Cornelius Marchant, but no further names are known. She was one of the most successful privateers in the war, taking in all twenty-eight prizes.

Mars. Privateer ship of 24 guns. Captain Thomas Truxtun, master. Ebenezer Luce of Tisbury was one of her crew in 1781, when she cruised in the British Channel, making a number of prizes, which were sent into Quiberon Bay, France. Truxtun was a naval officer, detailed for this duty.

Providence. Privateer sloop. Master's name not known. She captured a British ship, put a prize crew aboard, but the ship was retaken. Later the privateer recaptured the same vessel and brought her into port. In the crew were Barzillai, Tristram and Benjamin Luce, all of Tisbury.

Ranger. Naval Service. Jeremiah Anthony, an Indian of Martha's Vineyard, was one of the crew of the Continental ship "Ranger," Capt. John Paul Jones, on her first cruise, sailing from the Piscataqua River, Nov. 1, 1777, and must have been in the engagement with the "Blake."

Rising Empire. Privateer Brigantine. Captain Richard Whellen, master. Valentine Chase, Zaccheus Chase, Abraham Chase, Abishai Luce, all of Tisbury, were members of her crew in 1776.

Rover. Privateer sloop of 10 guns. Master's name not known. In her crew during the year 1779 was Cornelius Marchant, of Edgartown.

Vengeance. This vessel formed one of the fleet at Penobscot and she was destroyed August 14th, 1779, to prevent capture by the British. Elijah Mayhew of Chilmark was of her crew.

Warren. This ship belonged to the Massachusetts "navy," and was commanded by Captain John B. Hopkins. Rowland Luce of Tisbury served in her one year from June, 1776. She captured a ship, a brig, a schooner and transport of four guns, carrying one hundred soldiers. but later she was captured by the British frigate "Liverpool."

LOSS OF THE "GENERAL ARNOLD."

In the winter of 1778 an event occurred in the naval history of the war which closely affected the Vineyard, because a number of her sons were engaged in the enterprise. Among them was Cornelius Marchant, who wrote about it in his narrative of personal experiences during the war, and this portion of his relation will be used: —

The fourth Cruise which I performed during the War of the Revolution was in the Brig General Arnold of Boston mounting twenty Guns, James Magee Commander Manned by one hundred & five Men and Boys, fitted for a Cruise of six months. They left Boston Roads for Sea the 24th day of December 1778, on the same date in the afternoon the wind coming a head could not weather Cape Cod, nor yet reach Boston Harbour, so we put into Plymouth and came to anchor; the Gale continuing to Increase the Brig dragged her Anchour and drifted on to Browns Shoal now so called, where she bilged, but on account of the Severity of the weather we could obtain no relief from the shore untill the twenty

ninth when seventy four of the Crew had perrished, heaped one upon another in almost every form; after being landed nine more died. At this time the Narrator lost the extremities of both his feet, under the extreme disadvantages and privations whereof he has been suffering for many years.[1]

The loss of the *General Arnold* was one of the most appalling disasters in the maritime annals of the war. Out of a crew of over one hundred men and boys, over eighty perished in sight of land, owing to the severity of the weather. Besides young Marchant, who was a survivor, at least nine of her complement of men were from the Vineyard, and they all were lost. These were James Winslow, James Wimpenny, Asa Luce, Valentine Chase, Solomon, Sylvanus and Timothy Daggett, Lot Burgess, "and a son to David Norton's wife."[2] They were all of Tisbury, and there may have been others from the other towns. It was a great blow to the American cause, of which this island felt its share.

This same storm also caused another wreck, a privateer sloop on the east side of our island, in which seventeen men perished. It was a terrible storm, and among its effects was one which proved a merciful circumstance for the people who were deprived of their stock, provisions, and other means of support by the British. The gale blew from the northeast, and immense quantities of snow fell. After the storm had subsided, some one in wandering about the northeast end of the Lagoon pond discovered a large number of striped bass in a frozen condition, packed as close together in the ice and snow as sardines in a box. The news of this discovery soon spread, the people hastened to the spot from every direction. The fish were taken out with pitchforks and other implements, stacked up in large heaps all along the shore, and later were divided and taken by the people to their homes. As there was but little salt with which to cure them, they were packed away in the snow; and thus, for the winter, all were supplied with this one article of food, supplemented with eels, clams, and wild fowl, when the weather would admit of their taking them.

PICAROONS.

During the Revolution the islanders were, as a rule, treated as neutrals by the British cruising in these waters;

[1]Mass. Hist. Soc. Proceedings, 1900.

[2]Tisbury Church Records. Abraham Preble was her first husband.

but the people were kept in a constant state of agitation and alarm by the incursions of an enemy termed "Picaroons." These were tories principally, who, claiming to be belligerents and in the British service, were simply pirates, and cowardly ones at that, robbing friend and foe alike when opportunity presented. They usually came in large launches, though occasionally in whaleboats, manned by five or ten men and sometimes more. It is said that a tower was erected for the purpose of a watch-tower, near the residence of the late John Luce in Tisbury, and which was commonly known as "Daggett's folly." Several earthworks were constructed for defense against these marauders in case they should appear in force. Just north of the Sailor's Reading Room on the "Neck," in Vineyard Haven, are the remains of some of these fortifications; and others larger, on the Sound side, about half a mile from the lighthouse, are still visible.

MISCELLANEOUS INCIDENTS.

Lemuel, son of Joseph and Abigail (Little) Jenkins, had several perilous adventures during the war. At one time he escaped with his vessel from a British squadron, after a close pursuit. At another time he was captured, with his vessel, by a British ship of war, near Charleston, S. C., whither he was carrying military stores, intended for the Southern army under command of General Greene. The captain of the ship of war took him on board of his own ship, and placed a prize master on board the captured vessel. Captain Jenkins, not being closely guarded, made his escape while lying off Charleston, by letting himself down by a rope from a port hole into a small boat alongside of the frigate. The tide flowing into the harbor, he suffered the boat to float in with the tide, in the wake of the stern of the ship, until he got some distance from it, unnoticed by the guard on deck. Then he sculled the boat up near the city, where he landed about daylight, and surrendered himself to a sentinel. He was taken before the American general, who, having heard his story, gave him a passport and some money to enable him to return to Massachusetts. This he did travelling the whole distance on foot.[1]

[1]Vineyard *Gazette*, June 22, 1888.

THE LIBERTY POLE.

Among the incidents of the Revolutionary war as it affected our island none is more characteristic than the exploit of the three young girls of Homes Hole, who preferred to destroy the "liberty pole" from which their flag of freedom was hoisted rather than have it become a spar of one of the king's ships. The story of it had been handed down from the sires to sons and daughters, in the traditions of the war, but the first appearance of it in print, as far as the author is aware, is to be found in a volume published half a century ago. As there given it is as follows: —

> Some time in the year '76, the British sloop-of-war, Unicorn, put into Holme's Hole, on the island of Marthas Vineyard, and having landed a detachment of marines, pressed into service a number of pilots. Upon this island, a liberty-tree had been erected, around which the citizens were wont to assemble, and pledge their fortunes and their sacred honors in the cause of liberty. Now his Majesty's ship was in want of a new spar, and as the only stick of timber on the island that would answer for the purpose, was the liberty-tree, down it must come. The panic stricken citizens consented to sell it to them, and on the morrow it was to be delivered on board. But there was a numerous party who did not agree to this contract, and resolved to prevent its execution. Three young girls, named Parnell Manter[1] Maria Allen, and Mary Hillman, whose young eyes had not yet beheld the frosts of sixteen winters, met together on that evening around the sacred tree, and by means of augurs, pierced it with numerous holes, which they filled with gunpowder; they then cautiously applied the match and their emblem of liberty was shattered in many pieces.[1]

This version of the story seems to have in it some of the elements of all traditionary tales, much that is improbable and fanciful, but there is in it the basis of the simple adventure of those patriotic maidens in their night task of preventing the desecration of the "liberty pole," which had been dedicated to the cause of American freedom. In the first place, as to the pole itself, the location of it is said to have been in the present village of Vineyard Haven, on Manter's Hill, not far from the spot where now stands the flag-staff erected as a memorial of the event under consideration. It is somewhat absurd to suppose that it was "the only stick of timber on the island that would answer for the purpose" of repairing

[1]Bunce, "Romance of the Revolution" (New York, 1853), p. 365. The names of the heroines are curiously misspelled, which error is corrected in the copy. Horiah Allen and Mary Milman would not be recognized by their descendants or friends.

or replacing a spar, as the island was then heavily wooded. If there is any basis for this idea, it may be in the fact that the pole was chosen because it was used as a "liberty-pole," and the British officers wished to make their needs an excuse for claiming it, under the law, for one of the king's masts, and so irritate the people here. The story quoted above assigns the occurrence to the year 1776, and gives the name of the ship as the *Unicorn*. The author of this history had the log-book of this vessel, now preserved in the Admiralty office, London, examined for the purpose of verifying the incident, if possible, and it was found that the *Unicorn* was not in Homes Hole harbor during that year. She was, however, here in the year 1778, as will be described shortly, and if the name of the ship is correctly given, the incident took place in the latter year. It also appears from the published account that the ship impressed a number of pilots, but this incident does not have any confirmation in contemporary documents which will fit the log of the *Unicorn*. In February, 1778, a committee of the General Court considered what was proper to be done "for the Release of those persons taken by the Enemy from Marthas Vineyard to pilot their Transports to the Harbour of Boston." This date does not fit the conditions of the appearance of the *Unicorn* at Martha's Vineyard, although the piloting incident has a circumstantial flavor. The charges against the selectmen of Tisbury of a craven attitude is not borne out by what we know of the patriotic spirit always exhibited by the leading men of Tisbury, and their usual leadership in all concerted measures for the cause of American liberty. In 1776 the selectmen were Shubael Cottle, Stephen Luce, and Joseph Allen; in 1778, the two latter were replaced by James Athearn and Abijah Athearn, all men of approved courage and patriotism, who had borne the standard of Revolution from its incipiency without flinching in the face of the enemy, as we have already seen, when the king's ships came to demand aid of them. It looks like an effort to add a touch of detraction to the men for the purpose of increasing the glory of the girls. Their act needs no such contrasting color to bring out the spirit of the young rebels into better light.

On April 19, 1778, his majesty's ship *Unicorn* sailed up the Sound and, according to the log, signed by Captain John Ford, commander, "Moored in Holmes Hole." Her business was convoying some transports and making some repairs to

her foretopmast. The log continues: "Struck & unrigged the Foretopmast to fit new Crosstrees (that was sprung) rigged it again and swayed it up and set up the lower foretopmast Rigging fore and aft." This is the only reference which bears upon the subject in her log, and granting the name of the vessel be correct, it offers us but a slight confirmation of the incident. It may have been that such an incident would not be entered in the log, where the ship was defeated in an effort to obtain a new spar by the cunning of some patriotic girls, and that is a reasonable conclusion. This does not in the least discredit the main story.

Of the three actresses a few words may be said to identify them for posterity. Maria Allen was daughter of Ebenezer and Sarah (Chase) Allen of Homes Hole. She was born about 1758, and married Nov. 13, 1788, David Smith, as his second wife. She died March 1, 1820, "in the 62nd year of her age," and lies buried in the cemetery in rear of Association Hall, Vineyard Haven. Of her two daughters, Jane born Oct. 4, 1789, married Timothy Luce, Junior, of Tisbury, May 5, 1816; and Hannah, born February, 1791, was never married.

Mary Hillman was born Mary (Polly) Daggett, daughter of Seth Daggett, housewright of Tisbury, and she married May 13, 1779, Peleg Hillman, who had been a soldier in the seacoast-defence establishment, under Captain Benjamin Smith. She lived to a great age, and during the latter part of her life is said to have received a pension.

Parnell Manter was the daughter of Jonathan and Sarah (Chase) Manter, and their eldest child, born Sept. 5, 1757, in Tisbury. She died July 19, 1778, aged twenty-one years, unmarried, and lies buried in the Crossways cemetery, Vineyard Haven.

MARTYRS IN PRISON SHIPS AND PRISONS.

There are no available lists of our soldiers who suffered captivity during the war, either in the prisons maintained on shore, or on shipboard in this country, or who were transported to the established military prisons in England. Fragmentary reference in scattered and unofficial records, family tradition, and a few direct documentary evidences, make up our sources of information about the many who died or suffered living deaths in the pestilential prison ships and the

insanitary confinement in the Mill Prison, Plymouth, England, but the infamous prison ship "Jersey" claimed the greatest number of victims of all the devices maintained by the King to punish and discourage his rebellious subjects. Its history is a disgraceful chapter in the conduct of the war, but the ethics of warfare at that time rested on almost savage standards.

Those known to have died as prisoners of war, or as a result of captivity after release are: Anthony Allen "in prison in New York," June 29, 1777;[2] Eleazer Allen, August 29, 1782, in H. M. S. "Royal George" at Spithead;[3] William Allen, "returning from captivity," 1781;[1] Henry Butler, "in a prison ship," 1781;[4] John Butler, "returning from captivity," 1781;[1] Elverton Crowell, "in Captivity," February, 1778;[1] Simeon Coffin, "in a prison ship," 1781;[4] Joseph Dias, "in the Prison ship Jersey," 1781;[2] William Harding, in Mill Prison, Plymouth, May, 1779;[5] Eliphalet Leach, "in captivity," January, 1778;[1] Aaron Luce, "in captivity," 1778;[1] Jeremiah Luce, "in captivity in England," 1781;[1] Andrew Newcomb, "returning fom captivity," 1781;[1] Edmond Purcell, "returning from captivity," 1781;[1] John Pope, "returning from captivity," 1781; Benjamin Smith, "in captivity," 1778;[1] and Ebenezer Shaw, "in a prison ship," 1781.[4]

Other casualties recorded are the deaths of Augustus Allen, William Draper and Thomas Gardiner, all of Tisbury, "in the army" in 1777.[1]

Those who suffered imprisonment, but survived were: Barzillai Crowell, Mill Prison, Plymouth,[5] 1779, and ship "Jersey";[3] Seth Cleveland, Forton Prison, 1778;[6] Samuel Daggett, ship "Jersey";[7] Samuel Huxford, "on a prison ship";[3] Samuel Lambert, Mill Prison, Plymouth, 1777, where he lost the sight of his right eye from small pox;[8] Thomas Luce, Mill Prison, Plymouth, 1779,[5] and Elijah Luce, Forton Prison, 1778.[6]

[1]Tisbury Church Records.
[2]Grave Stone Inscription.
[3]Tradition.
[4]Thaxter's Obituary Record.
[5]Dukes Co. Probate, VI, 230-2.
[6]N. E Hist. Gen. Register, XXXIII, 38.
[7]Daggett Genealogy.
[8]Journal of Samuel Cutler (Register XXXII, 207).

CHAPTER XXVII.

Military History, 1800–1900.

THE WAR OF 1812.

The war which was declared against England on June 18, 1812, and which was terminated by the Treaty of Ghent on Dec. 14, 1814, had its theatre remote from New England, and was scarcely felt by the Vineyard, save in the privations occasioned by the interruption of business and the scarcity of foreign commodities. Most of the people on the island, as was a majority of the state, were decidedly opposed to the war and the measures of the administration, and at its close did not believe any advantage had been gained. The citizens of this country were then divided into two great parties in politics, which denominated each other the French or English party, and accused each other of undue partiality towards those nations respectively. These lines had been drawn for twenty years past, with increasing tensity, and the people of this section of the country were partisans of the Federal party, as represented by the opposition to President Jefferson. England and France were then at war, and in their struggle they paid little or no regard to the rights of neutrals. Both belligerents made prize of American vessels without ceremony or explanation. In the case of England, however, she claimed a right to search American vessels to recover sailors of British birth, in time of war, because of her right to their services on such occasions. This was done with such evident unfairness, distinctions not being made between Americans and Englishmen, that by 1812, over six thousand cases of impressment were registered at Washington, while Lord Castlereagh, in a speech before Parliament, admitted half that number as probable erroneous detentions. Vessels were left in mid-ocean, stripped of their crews, and left to the dangers of the deep with half their force gone. England alleged that British subjects purchased certificates of protection belonging to American sailors, adopted their names in order to escape military duty, and despite vigorous protests, continued in this course, until an exasperated nation had but one recourse to obtain redress. Among the other grievances held against Great

Britain were the obnoxious laws relative to trade and commerce, by which she was endeavoring to drive the American merchant marine from the seas. Failing not only to secure any modifications of these acts, but met with harsher orders from the king's ministers at each additional representation upon the subject, President Jefferson forced through his celebrated Embargo Law in December, 1807, which fell like a doom upon New England industries, and caused universal opposition hereabouts. Being dependent upon the sea and the industries allied to it, the people of the Vineyard and New England felt this measure as no other part of the country did. Jefferson delayed the rupture with temporary measures until the end of his term, and it was left to Madison to declare war against our ancient enemy.

The townsmen of Tisbury promptly assembled in town meeting to discuss the situation, and it is significant that no resolutions were passed to sustain the government in the crisis. They voted not to appoint a watch and

> then it was Voted the following persons Should be a Committee of Safty for Sd Town to act in behalf of Said Town as Circumstances and necessaty requires for the benefit & Security thereof the persons chosen were William Daggett William Down's Lot Luce Jeremiah Manter Edmund Cottle Jabez Smith Peter Norton Francis Norton John Cottle to act for the Safety of Sd town.[1]

This action was taken on July 12, 1812, and four days later Edgartown's citizens met in town meeting to consider the situation from their point of view. The following is a transcript of their proceedings on that occasion, in which it will be seen that there is also a lack of enthusiastic response to the call to arms: —

> Whereas war exists between the United States and Great Britain, and considering the defenceless situation of this place this meeting was for the purpose of choosing a committee of nine to negotiate conciliatory terms with the enemy who should land at this place.
>
> *Voted* Daniel Coffin, Wm Butler Esq, Elijah Stewart, Ebenezer Jones, Melatiah Davis, George Marchant, Jethro Daggett, Martin Pease, Timothy Coffin a Committee of Safety.
>
> The following were a Committee of five to draw up instructions for the above committee to act upon: James Coffin, Wm. Mayhew Esq., Wm. Jernegan jr Esq., Thomas Cooke jr., Peter Pease jr., the above instructions to be laid before the town for the town's inspection at the adjournment.
>
> Met July 15th and the following report and resolves were read: —

[1]Tisbury Records, 362.

Your Committee appointed to take into consideration the exposed, alarming and dangerous situation and circumstances under which this town is placed in consequence of the war lately declared by the Government of the United States against the Kingdom of Great Britain and her dependencies and to advise upon and recommend such Constitutional ways and measures for the safety and preservation of said town as shall be thought most desirable, have attended that service and after due consideration, beg leave to report: —

1st *Resolved* that we lament the calamity of war and that our safety under God depends on our prudence, and whereas this County has been exempted from Militia duty by the General Court of this Commonwealth ever since the Revolutionary war, that being thus situated it is our wish to take a pacific position.

2d *Resolved* that the Committee chosen to act for the general safety of said town be instructed to meet any hostile party who may attempt the invasion of said town and act as they shall think best for the preserving thereof, and should there be any requisition made then take the sense of the town if circumstances will admit.

3d *Resolved* that any three or more of said committee shall be competent to act on any sudden emergency until a Coroum of the whole can be convened.

4 *Resolved* that the said Committee have power and it shall be their duty as occasion may require to confer with any Committee that may be appointed for similar purposes by the other towns in this County and to concur with them in any matter or measure calculated for the safety of this island in general.

After reading the town voted that they fully approbated and accepted the report of the Committee.[1]

It is not known that any committees were appointed in the other towns, and probably nothing came of this proposition. This attitude was not far from "non-resistance," and little separated from unpatriotic neutrality. Indeed, that was the situation generally along the seaboard. One town on the mainland actually voted to notify any British cruisers, who might enter its harbor, that they were neutral and did not approve of the war. On Nov. 30, 1812, Tisbury held another town meeting, and passed the following votes: —

1st to petition the Legislature of the United States to prohibit the Exportation of Corn and flour during the presant Scarsaty

2nd to petition the Said Legislature that the Nonimportation Act may be rigidly & strictly Enforced against England to prevent Silver & cold from going out of the United States and particularly out of the Town[2]

This was the most serious circumstance of the war for the people of the Vineyard. In the next year commerce between

[1]Edgartown Records, II, 188.

[2]Tisbury Records, 364.

the states had become so interrupted that the prices of subsistence became prohibitive. Sugar sold for forty cents per pound; tea at four dollars a pound; coffee doubled in price; salt brought five dollars a bushel, and other things in like proportion. It caused much actual suffering when such things as flour bore the price of eighteen dollars a barrel, and corn went as high as two dollars and fifty cents a bushel.[1] For seven years the commerce of New England had been tied up by the "embargo" and it had proven worse than useless as an act of retaliation. "It had probably saved some of our sailors from the press-gangs," said one writer, "but it had sent them to the poor-houses instead. It had ruined many of our merchants, and had benumbed the seafaring instincts of the people."[2] The cost of it to the nation would have built a magnificent fleet of battleships of the line, and we could have waged a brilliant and effective naval war, but when the declaration was promulgated in June, 1812, there were but seventeen vessels in the navy, frigates and sloops combined, not one of which was of first-class power, carrying four hundred forty-two guns, manned by five thousand trained men, Against this, England had one thousand and forty-eight vessels of war, mounting twenty-seven thousand eight hundred guns, manned by nearly one hundred and fifty thousand men. It was David and Goliath on the ocean. In this predicament our merchants hastened to repeat their marvelous achievements on the seas in the struggle for independence, but there was not an American privateer in existence when hostilities broke out. It now became the opportunity for them to retaliate, and they did it with speed and precision. Within sixty days after the declaration, one hundred and fifty of them, converted out of every available pilot boat, merchant craft, coasting vessel, and fishing smack, were harrying British commerce on the North Atlantic, commissioned "to burn, sink, and destroy."[3] These venturesome craft upheld the honor of American seamanship while the vessels of the navy were being held in port, under orders from the government, on account of their inferior numbers. The history of the war of 1812 is a story which sheds equal glory upon the merchant privateers, and

[1]Deane, "History of Scituate," 141; Marvin, "The American Merchant Marine," 127. In June, 1813, the British people were paying famine prices for the same articles, — flour at $58 per barrel, and other staple articles in the same proportion.

[2]Marvin, "The American Merchant Marine," 123.

[3]Maclay, "History of American Privateers," 225–6.

the navy after the latter had got into condition. During the war there were 517 of these private armed ships, mounting 2893 guns, while the navy had but 23 vessels of all classes, mounting 556 guns. The men-of-war captured 254 merchant ships of the enemy, valued at $6,600,000 (estimated), while the privateers took no fewer than 1300 prizes, the money value of which was estimated at $39,000,000. In this terrible attack upon England's "pocket nerve," our great merchant marine proved six times as potent as our little navy.[1] This feature of the war was peculiar to that struggle, and the history of it is lodged in the private records of the old mercantile houses of the New England seaports, rather than in the archives of the nation, as is the case with the Revolutionary war. The land fighting occurred in the remotest parts of the country, except one short and disgraceful campaign around Washington, and New England furnished few of the troops for any of the forces sent against the enemy. Except upon the sea, the story of this war is not creditable to American military annals. Massachusetts had refused to put the militia at the service of the general government, and in turn the government had declined to reimburse Massachusetts for her outlay in defensive operations; but the people gradually recognized that it must be fought out, and slowly yielded their prejudices against the party in power and, at least, gave no aid to the enemy, as they were at first inclined to do. Holding these sentiments, the commercial spirit prevailed among some classes of merchants who engaged in the profitable and illicit trade of carrying supplies of bread-stuffs to the British armies in Spain engaged in the Peninsular campaign against the French. The high prices for such supplies tempted many of our merchants not only to run the risk of capture and confiscation, but to brave the odium of their neighbors and countrymen. England even licensed such vessels for that particular purpose, guaranteeing them from seizure by British cruisers. This kind of traffic in supplies that were so dear at home, as well as scarce, aroused great indignation among all classes. Our courts declared them denaturalized by the acceptance of licenses from the enemy. This condition of affairs called forth protests from communities who were suffering from the famine prices of food. On May 13, 1813, the voters of Tisbury held a meeting and addressed the following petition to Congress on the subject: —

[1]Marvin, "American Merchant Marine," 128.

To the Honourable the Senate and House of Representatives of the United States in Congress Assembled

Your Memorialist and petistioners Inhabitants of the town of Tisbury and County of Dukes County State of Massachusetts In legal town meeting assembled beg leave to state that your petitioners in consequence of the War with Great Britain are many of them destitute of employment by being deprived of their real Occupations and the present high price of bread considerably adds to their embarrasment while your petitioners are dayly obliged to give nearly double the Usual price of bread they see with infeighed Sorrow Vessels dayly carrying Bread stuff (under British Linners) out of the United States to the ports & Countries under the controul of the British Nation & their Armies In return we see the Manufactures of Great Britian filling our ports & Towns thereby aiding our enemies as well as drawing out precious Metails (now so much wanted in our Country, We the Inhabitants of Tisbury do petition the Legislator of our nation that the Exportation of Bread Stuffs may be prohibited during the present Scarsity and in imitation of our Forefathers of the Revolution do request that the Nonimportation Law may be strictly and rigidly enforced against Great Britain which will we believe alleviate many of our Citizens in the price of Bread and find Employment for our own Manufacturing Citizen to the Exclusion of the Manufactures of Enemies, and will also keep the Specia In our Country your Memmorialists beg leave further to Remark that no Nation (to our Knowledge) even become a great maratime power Untill they could manufacture for themselves no nation that ever admited British goods to be Imported amongst them without some restriction but what Experienced a decline In their own Manufactories a scarcity of specia frequently a dismemberment of their Empire Wherefore your Memmoralist & petitioners for the reason before mentioned do request that the above petition if consistant with the national welfare may be carried into Effect.[1]

There were no naval combats or operations of privateers in or about our harbors during the war that are of record. It was a time of stagnation in everything — business and development. The whaling industry was badly affected, as elsewhere shown, and it is probable that few ships were laid up at the wharves, owing to the risk of capture in the exposed position of the island. Occasionally, privateers and vessels of our navy would run in Homes Hole for a harbor. On Mar. 19, 1813, the sloop-of-war *Hornet*, commanded by Master-Commandant James Lawrence, came to anchor in this harbor, on her return from her victory over the *Peacock*, and it is probable that frequent visits of this sort were made during the three years of the war.[2]

[1]Tisbury Town Records, 367.

[2]It is told that Captain Lawrence was a guest at the Ebenezer Smith house in Eastville, on November 25th, 1814, when a son was born to Ebenezer and his wife Mary (Hulsart) Smith. This son was named James Lawrence Smith in honor of the famous guest, who as an acknowledgment of the courtesy cut off some of the gold buttons of his uniform and presented them to the mother as a souvenir of the event

As the war dragged on, the Embargo laws operated with increasing severity upon the mercantile and manufacturing communities, and there was a cry for relief from many of them. The voters of Tisbury called a town meeting for Feb. 14, 1814, "for the purpose of petitioning to Congress to have (the) Imbargo Law molified so far as it respects this Island," and Peter West, Thomas Dunham, and Seth Daggett were appointed a committee to draw up the petition. This they did, and after directing that it be sent to the representative for the district, and appointing a committee "to Treat with the other Town in this County," they adjourned. The following is the text of the petition adopted: —

To the Honourable the Senate and House of Representatives of the United States In Congress Assembled We the memorialists petitioners Inhabitants of the Town of Tisbury County of Dukes County and Commonwealth of Massachusetts on the Island of Marthas Vinyard aforesaid are In Consequence of the Embargo Law Restricted to the Vineyard Sound Bays and Creeks their adjoining In consequence of which our Oil Salt wool and Other domestic Articles and Manufactures are cut off from their usual markit of New York & Connecticut their being no markit within our limmitts In Consequence of which wee your petitioners are Deprived of the Necessaries of life and Employment for our Fisherman and Small Craft wee the Inhabitants aforesaid do petition the legeslature of our Nation that the Embargo law may be so modified that wee can have a communication by water with the State of New York & Connecticut so far as Relates to the Above Articles of Export and to bring back In return Bread Stuff and all the other Articles of Necessity for the use of our Families under such Restrictions and regulations As the Legislature and presadant of the United States may In their Wisdom direct and your petitioners In Duty bound will Ever pray.[1]

The town of Edgartown responded to the suggestions of Tisbury in this matter, and held a meeting on February 23 following.

For the purpose of knowing the opinions of the inhabitants of said town of the propriety or impropriety with respect to a petition being presented by said inhabitants to the General Government of the United States in Congress assembled, that the Government would in some measure remove the inconveniencies the s'd inhabitants labor under in consequence of the restrictions imposed on s'd inhabitants by the present existing Embargo Laws of the United States.

Jethro Worth, Leonard Jernegan, and Ichabod Norton were chosen a committee to draft the petition, but after adjournment and reassembling, the committee were not prepared to report, and the plan fell through.[2]

[1]Tisbury Records, 369.

[2]Edgartown Records, II, 205.

In the spring and summer of 1814 a British blockading squadron hovered about our waters, making sallies against the small ports about Buzzards Bay, the Vineyard, and Nantucket. The brig-of-war *Nimrod* was one of the vessels of this squadron which operated against the island, and she was engaged in seizing small craft, foraging at unprotected places, and harassing the commerce of southern New England. The flagship was a "74," which lay about Tarpaulin Cove and furnished crews and boats for the expeditions above referred to.

During the War of 1812 the Vineyard was well represented in the privateer force of the United States, and Dartmoor prison had a respectable number of occupants from this place, but how many there were and from what particular localities is not known. Capt. Joseph Dias was one who was captured and sent to Dartmoor. He was from Tisbury, and neighbors have frequently heard him tell with ill-concealed anger of the attempt of himself and companions to escape, and that he would vow death upon the parties who betrayed and frustrated the plot. He was the father of Capt. Joseph Dias of Oak Bluffs, and of the wife of the late Capt. Lorenzo Smith, and the wives of the late John F. Robinson and the late Calvin Tilton.

In this war William Jenkins Worth, of Edgartown parentage, began his career in the army in 1813, and displayed those qualities which later made him a hero in our third foreign conflict; but his connection with the War of 1812 was not through the Vineyard, as his enlistment was from New York. He fought at the battle of Niagara, in 1814, and was promoted to the rank of major. Another Edgartonian, who took a part in one phase of the conflict, was John, son of Seth Marchant, born in 1758. He was over fifty years of age when the war broke out, but the opportunities of privateering attracted him, and he went out on one of the numerous vessels fitted for that purpose in this region. She was captured by a British cruiser and taken into Sierra Leone, where on July 15, 1813, he died, whether of wounds or disease, the records do not state.[1]

The underlying temper of New England, and consequently of our people in this war, found expression through the famous "Hartford Convention," held in the capitol of

[1]Rev. Joseph Thaxter's Obituary Record, 1813. It is probable that he died of tropical disease, as it is stated that twenty-eight out of eighty-six, composing her crew, perished there.

Connecticut in the month of December, 1814, under the presidency of George Cabot of this state. While the sessions were conducted in secret by the delegates from the several states, and it was charged with treasonable designs by the Democratic partisans, yet it is now conceded that the members were actuated by honorable motives and inspired by patriotic interests. The convention denounced the further continuance of the war, protested against the treatment of Massachusetts by the general government, and recommended the restriction of the power of Congress in declaring wars and the laying of embargoes. While all this was going on, peace negotiations were progressing in Belgium, and on the day before the convention met at Hartford a treaty of peace had been signed by the plenipotentiaries. Thus closed our second war with the mother country, which, despite this condition of apathy, was brilliant with the exploits of our seamen, who in their myriad craft scoured the ocean, even to the chops of the English channel, hung on the flanks of British commerce with the determination to be revenged for the insults to their brother sailors, until that nation was whipped to a standstill. Although "sailors' rights" were not mentioned in the treaty, yet such was the lesson taught to English seamen in that war, that impressment has never since that day been attempted by her, in war or peace.

Only fragmentary allusions to men from the island who served in this war are to be found in scattering publications of the period. In a list of deaths in Dartmoor prison are found the names of Peter Amos and John Jennings of Gay Head, both probably Indians.[1] Henry Vincent of Homes Hole and Richard Norton and Prince Daggett, both of Edgartown, were captured and confined in this same prison during the war, and Vincent died there in 1814. James Dexter, James Blankenship, Timothy Snow, James Simpson, and William B. Fisher also took part in this war. The "Yankee," a privateer in this war, was commanded by Lieutenant Milton, who lived on South Water street in Edgartown. Her log shows that Joseph Dias and Joseph Marchant were prize masters at various times during her employment in this service.

Matthew Daggett, son of Elijah (181) of Tisbury, was another victim in his war. He died at Lake Ontario in 1814, and possibly was connected with the naval service at the time.

[1]Andrews' Memoirs of Dartmoor Prison (1852), p. 140.

MAJ. GEN. WILLIAM J. WORTH, U. S. A.

1794–1849

THE MEXICAN WAR.

This conflict with our neighbor on the south, like that of 1812, had little support in New England. No bodies of troops went from this region, and but little interest was manifested in the prosecution of the war.

The principal interest to the Vineyard respecting this war is the prominent part taken in it by General William Jenkins Worth, U. S. A., a distinguished descendant of two well-known families of Edgartown. Although not born in Edgartown, young Worth spent a part of his boyhood in that village, and was baptized there when he was ten years old on April 8, 1804, at the Congregational Church by Parson Thaxter. General Worth died in Texas May 7, 1849, and the city of New York erected an equestrian statue of him in Madison Square, as its tribute to the honorable services rendered by him in behalf of his country.

Two half brothers of General Worth also participated in this war: Captain Joseph Swasey Worth, Eighth Regiment, U. S. A., who died in 1846, and Lieutenant Algernon Sidney Worth, U. S. N., who died in 1841, on board the sloop-of-war *Concord*.

CIVIL WAR, 1861–5.

The great struggle between the North and the South is within the memory of the present generation, and it will not be necessary to make extended comment on this great sectional conflict for the preservation of the Union. The older ones among us remember the wave of patriotism which swept over this Commonwealth, and the prompt response made by its citizens to the calls of the General Government for support in this crisis.[1] The Vineyard did its required share in supplying men and money for the prosecution of the war, and in common with other sections of the state suffered great losses in blood and treasure. The record of the three towns as respects their quotas of men furnished shows a total of two hundred and forty soldiers and sailors credited to the Vineyard, which the county furnished for the army and navy during the war. It filled its quota on every call made by the president, and at the end had a surplus of forty-seven men over and above

[1]Samuel Pent of Edgartown, at present living on Summer street, was the first person from Edgartown to volunteer in the Union army during the Civil war; mustered in August, 1862. He was later a lieutenant of cavalry.

all demands. The expenses of the towns on account of the war, exclusive of state aid, were $51,222.92. The amount raised and paid for state aid to soldiers' families during the war, and afterwards refunded by the Commonwealth, was $7,561.97. Total amount, $58,784.89.[1] Lists of participants, either native of or credited to the three towns, will be found in the appendix.

Adjutant-General Schouler, the historian of the services rendered by Massachusetts in this war, says of Edgartown: "We know that great activity prevailed in this town during the whole time in raising men and money." The selectmen report in 1866 that Edgartown had furnished one hundred and twenty-five men for the war, which was very far short of the men actually furnished and credited.[2] Probably the men who served in the navy and men who were enlisted in other places were not reported, as Edgartown filled its quota upon every call made by the President, and at the end of the war had a surplus of forty-six over and above all demands. The number, therefore, which it really furnished could not have been less than two hundred and thirty. Three were commissioned officers. The whole amount of money appropriated and expended by the town on account of the war, exclusive of state aid, was twenty-three thousand three hundred and twenty-five dollars and thirteen cents ($23,325.13).

The amount of money raised and expended by Edgartown, during the four years of the war, for state aid to the families of enlisted men, and which was afterward repaid by the Commonwealth, was as follows: in 1861, nothing; in 1862, $390.10; in 1863, $944.06; in 1864, $1,088.82; in 1865, $700.00. Total amount in four years, $3,122.98.

Tisbury's part in the war was as follows: The first legal town meeting was held the 7th of May, 1861, when it was voted that Henry Bradley, chairman of the selectmen, be directed to confer with the authorities of the Commonwealth "to furnish an armed guard coaster to be stationed in the Vineyard Sound, for the protection of commerce passing

[1]Shouler, "Massachusetts in the Civil War," II, 164.

[2]The selectmen in 1861 were Jeremiah Pease, John H. Pease, Nathaniel Jernegan; in 1862, David Davis, John H. Pease, Cornelius B. Marchant; in 1863, William Bradley, Cornelius B. Marchant, Tristram Cleveland; in 1864, Benjamin Davis, John Vinson, Joseph T. Pease; in 1865, David Davidson, Samuel Keniston, Jeremiah S. Weeks.

The town clerk during each of the years of the war was Barnard C. Marchant. The town treasurer in 1861 was David Fisher; in 1862-63-64, John A. Baylies; in 1865, Isaiah D. Coffin.

through the sound, and to furnish the town of Tisbury with three or more rifled cannon and one hundred stand of small arms, and equipments for the same, to be used by the inhabitants of the town to repel invasion." The governor and council gave an order for one cannon and carriage and one hundred muskets. It was then voted that the selectmen act in concert with the Coast Guard Committee of New Bedford, and, if needed, to borrow money sufficient to sustain a steamer "to ply in Buzzard's Bay for coast defences.[1] On the 5th of November following, the selectmen were authorized to pay state aid to the families of volunteers, as provided by law, and in the next year the selectmen were authorized to pay a bounty of one hundred and twenty-five dollars to each volunteer for three years' service, who should enlist and be credited to the quota of the town; "also, that he shall receive one dollar a month for each member of his family that is dependent on him for support during his term of service, in addition to what the state pays."

Several meetings were held in 1863, to devise ways and means to procure volunteers, and provide for the payment of state aid to their families; also to repay those citizens for money which they had advanced to assist in filling the quota of the town.

By the returns made by the selectmen in 1866, Tisbury furnished eighty-eight men for the war, which must have meant only the number belonging to the town in the military service, as it filled its quota upon every call of the President. Tisbury had no surplus, but it furnished the exact number required of it, which must have been about one hundred and seventy. None were commissioned officers in the military service. The whole amount of money appropriated and expended by the town on account of the war, exclusive of state aid, was $22,621.00. The amount of money raised and expended during the years of the war for state aid to soldiers' families, and which was repaid by the Commonwealth, was as follows: in 1861, $54.12; in 1862, $509.20; in 1863, $1312.78 in 1864, $1170.88; in 1865, $650.00. Total amount, $3696.98.[2]

[1]The selectmen in 1861 were Henry Bradley, David Smith, Bartlett Mayhew, 2d; in 1862–3, Matthew P. Butler, Joseph S. Adams, Bartlett Mayhew, 2d; in 1864–5, Henry Bradley, Charles D. Harding, Bartlett Mayhew, 2d.

The town clerk during each year of the war was Lot Luce. The town treasurer, during the same period, was Charles Bradley.

[2]Tisbury paid the largest bounty in the state, five hundred dollars, for three year enlistments.

Chilmark's part in the war was as follows: The first legal town meeting, to act upon matters relating to the war, was held on the 16th of December, 1861, at which the town voted to authorize the selectmen "to act according to the law of the Commonwealth, in regard to the payment of state aid to the families of volunteers who have enlisted in the military service of the United States." This system of paying bounties to volunteers and state aid to their families continued until the end of the war.

The selectmen in 1866 reported that Chilmark had furnished twenty-six men for the war, which undoubtedly is only the number of residents of the town who were in the military service. The town clerk, under date of Jan. 16, 1871, wrote as follows: "As to the number of men furnished, we cannot tell. All we know, we filled our quotas and paid some $5000 in bounties for volunteers." The truth is, Chilmark furnished about sixty men for the war; for after having filled every demand made upon it by the President, the town had a surplus of one over and above all demands.[1] One was a commissioned officer. The whole amount of money appropriated and expended by the town on account of the war, exclusive of state aid, was $5,151.79. The amount of money raised and expended by the town for state aid to soldiers' families during the four years' of the war, and which was afterwards repaid by the Commonwealth, was as follows: in 1861, $25.71; in 1862, $132.00; in 1863, $104.00; in 1864, $232.72; in 1865, $90.44. Total amount in four years, $586.87.

During the years 1861–63, and until the 17th of March, 1864, Gosnold was a part of the town of Chilmark, and its war history up to that date forms a part of the history of that town. Only one person enlisted from Gosnold, and he served until the close of the war. The town raised $155.14, after its incorporation, for support of the war.[2]

The maritime interests of the Vineyard suffered directly and indirectly by the war on account of the depredations of

[1]The selectmen in 1861 were Horatio W. Tilton, Tristram Mayhew, Stephen D. Skiff; in 1862, Tristram Mayhew, John W. Mayhew, Smith Mayhew; in 1863, Tristram Mayhew, Samuel T. Hancock, John Hammett; in 1864, Herman Vincent, Horatio W. Tilton, William Norton; in 1865, Herman Vincent, Tristram Mayhew, Moses Adams.

The Town clerk in 1861–62 was Josiah W. Tilton; in 1863-64-65, James U. Tilton. The town treasurer in 1861 was Allen Tilton; in 1862-63-64-65, Benjamin Manter.

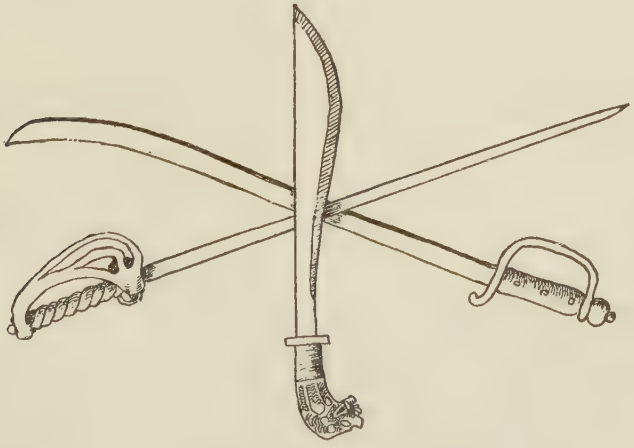
[2]Shouler, II, 168. The selectmen for 1864–65 were Abraham C. Whitney, John W. Gifford, and Benjamin B. Church. The town clerk was Samuel E. Skiff.

the Confederate cruisers. The ship *Ocmulgee*, of Edgartown, four hundred and fifty-eight tons, valued with outfits and oil on board at $51,000, was the first vessel burned by the Confederate privateer *Alabama*, Sept. 5, 1862. The *Ocmulgee* was commanded by Capt. Abraham Osborn, now living on South Water street.

A list of those who served in the Civil War, 1861-5, credited to the Vineyard in the military or naval establishments, will be found in the appendix to this work.

SPANISH-AMERICAN WAR.

The recent brief conflict with Spain furnished very little opportunity for service except for the existing naval establishment and a limited number of troops in Cuba and Porto Rico. No troops went from the island, and the activities of the people were necessarily enlisted in moral rather than material support of the war. Organized committees of ladies prepared articles of utility and comfort for the soldiers in this campaign. Four young men from the Vineyard enlisted during this brief war, viz:—Herbert Rice, Morton Mills, Manuel Nunez and Stanley Fisher, the last named serving in the Philippines. One of the earliest casualties of the war, the death of Ensign Worth Bagley, U. S. N., is of local interest, as his ancestors were of an old Edgartown family.



CROSSED WEAPONS.

CUBAN MACHETE—FILIPINO BOLO.

CHAPTER XXVIII.

Whale Fisheries.

The daring business of catching and killing whales is of very ancient origin, if we may judge from the occasional allusions to it, in the early literature and the pictorial history of the Anglo-Saxon race. It was a sport and occupation of the sea kings of the north, who sought this giant of the deep, not only for its oil, but used its flesh for the food, which they obtained from the tongue. That it furnishes the inhabitants of the Arctic circle with subsistence is well known. It is not probable that, at this early period, the bone was deemed of much importance, but in the fifteenth century it became an article of commerce, and was regarded of great value. The tail of every whale taken by her subjects was reserved for the special use of the Queen of England. Nor were the people of the northern latitudes alone in the development of this business. The Portuguese followed it in the equatorial region, and the Dutch, always famous for their maritime enterprises, prosecuted whale fishing for a long period. To them is attributed the improvement, if not the invention of the harpoon, the use of the reel and line and the lance.

The Indians found here by the first settlers were really the pioneer American whalemen. In their frail birch-bark canoes they attacked these monsters of the ocean with an audacity that astonished the English planters. Their light craft were the models of the first whaleboats of the white men, and to this day the Yankee whaleboat, the most seaworthy light craft afloat to-day, is a replica of the sharp, double-prowed canoe in all its essential characteristics. The first settlers on our coast were not fishermen by occupation, most of them having been drawn from the agricultural and mechanical classes among the yeomanry of England, but their new home proved but a barren soil, compared with the garden richness of the land they had left, and the unproductive nature of the earth on the new England shores forced them to turn to the sea for part of their sustenance. Their attention was early drawn to the greatest of all the denizens of the deep, the mighty whale, as they saw the dusky aborigine in hot chase of the prey. In those days whales were exceedingly plentiful

in our waters, and "drift" whales, so-called, were common spectacles upon the beaches of New England, carried up there lifeless, after some titanic struggle, to dry and decay in the sun and winds. They were also easy of approach, apparently tame, according to the testimony of the early voyagers. Captain John Smith, in his exploration of our coast in 1614, found them so numerous and neighborly in their habits, that he employed some of his spare time in the task of catching them. Another observer, emigrating to New England, a few years later, observing these great schools playing round this vessel, wrote in his journal that he saw, at the end of his voyage, "mighty whales spewing up water like the smoke of a chimney, and making the sea about them white and hoary, as is said in Job, of such incredible signes that I will never wonder that the body of Jonas could be in the belly of a whale."

Whale fishing is indissolubly connected with the name of our neighboring island of Nantucket, but she was not the first in the field of this enterprise, which has lent such a picturesque coloring to the annals of our merchant marine.[1] Long Island, Cape Cod, and Plymouth had been for years pursuing these leviathans of the deep, before Nantucket began her career in this field of human endeavor, until she gradually drew from the "seven seas" of the known earth the livelihood denied by her own sterile soil and contracted acres. Our own settlement was not more than ten years old before the subject of whales found mention in the records. At first it related to "drift" whales, set on shore by the tide and winds. The earliest reference to this is under date of April 13, 1653: —

> Ordered by the town, that the whale is to be cut freely, four men at one time and four men at another; and so every whale, beginning at the east end of the town.[2]

From that time forward we may date the inception and progress of the present art of capturing this marine mammal. They could be seen close in shore, not entirely stranded, and boats could easily encircle and capture them. Then watchmen were posted along shore to give warning of their approach, and from these small beginnings grew the actual occupation of hunting for them in deeper waters. The value of these

[1] In 1672 the proprietors of Nantucket entered into an agreement with one James Lopar "to carry on a design of whale Citching." (Nantucket Records, Vol. I.)

[2] Edgartown Records, I, 149. William Weeks and Thomas Daggett had been chosen whale "cutters" the previous year.

"drift" whales was sufficient to cause them to be reckoned a part of the common rights of the proprietors of the soil, and rules and regulations were adopted for their division. In 1658, when the elder Mayhew bought Chickemmoo, the Sachem sold with the land "four spans round in the middle of every whale that comes upon the shore of this quarter part and no more."[1] This claim of the Indian chiefs to the rights of flotsam and jetsam upon the shores of their domains was similar to the sovereign rights obtaining in civilized countries, and was admitted by Mayhew upon the Vineyard. When land was thus bought from them these "privileges" were particularly enumerated, and in turn when the land passed to another the "rights of fish and whale" were always included. When a new proprietor was admitted, likewise, he was granted a share of fish and whale, and such rights or "accommodations" were mentioned as late as 1676, when the lands and inheritances of a proprietor were recorded. This right was the frequent subject of litigation among the settlers and Indians. In 1679, William Vinson complained against Job and Nataquanum alias Prisilla "for detaining an yard and half square of a whale belonging to the said Vinson. The jurie find for the plaintiff the full worth of one yard and a half of Blober and cost of sute and twelve pence damage."[2]

The inventories of some of our early settlers give evidence of the utilization of the whale for domestic purposes. Richard Arey's estate, in 1669, showed "Half a Barrell of Oyl" and doubtless the "great Kittells" belonging to John Bland, and the large "Iron Pot," listed in the inventory of John Gee, a fisherman, of the same date, were for trying out the blubber of whales.[3] It will thus be seen that the Vineyard was among the first of the colonies to make use of the whale as a commercial industry. As late as 1690 the people of Nantucket were in the infancy of the art, of which later they became masters. In that year, finding that the people of Cape Cod had made greater proficiency in the art of whale catching than themselves, they sent thither and employed Ichabod Paddock to instruct them in the best manner of killing whales and ex-

[1]Dukes Deeds, I, 355.

[2]Dukes Court Co. Court Records, Vol. I. In 1662 the town of Eastham voted that a part of every whale cast ashore should be appropriated for the support of the ministry. The early records of this island contain references to drift whales coming ashore in 1672 and 1685. (Deeds, V, 246–8.)

[3]Edgartown Records, I, 40, 41, 50.

tracting their oil.[1] The latter was the principal material in the whale which they sought at first. The process called "saving" the whales after they had been killed and towed ashore, was to use a "crab," an implement similar to a capstain, to heave and turn the blubber off as fast as it was cut. The blubber was then put into carts and carried to try-houses, which in the early days were placed near their dwelling houses, where the oil was boiled and fitted for home or commercial use. There was a try house at the swimming place before 1748, the location of the Butler homestead, the significance of which will be referred to later on.[2] As the whales became less tame, through the growth of the business of hunting them, the Vineyarders had to go further out into the sea for them, but this did not take place for many years. Lookouts were erected on the shore to locate their game, a tall tree being utilized or a stout spar set up, with cleats affixed, and a seat devised from which the welcome shout, "There she blows!" could be heard by the waiting crews. As an instance of the extent of the yield in early times it is stated that in 1726 there were eighty-six whales captured, the greatest number on record, while one day's "bag" amounted to eleven.[3] These whales were known as the "Right" whale, whose scientific name is *Balaena Mysticetus*, the whale with the bone, now so valuable. The Spermaceti whale, or *Physeter Macrocephalus*, was not found for many years until they had penetrated more southern waters.[4]

THE FIRST KNOWN VINEYARD WHALERS.

The distinction of being the first whaler on the Vineyard cannot be awarded with certainty, before 1700, but there is on record, immediately thereafter, an account which gives us the first name of a whale fisherman among our inhabitants. The entry is as follows: —

Martha's Vineyard 1702–3 The marks of the whales killed by John Butler and Thomas Lothrop — one whale lanced near or over the shoulder blade, near the left shoulder blade only; — Another killed woth an iron for ward in the left side marks SS; and upon the right side marked with a pocket knife T. L.; — And the other an iron hole over the right shoulder

[1]Macy, "History of Nantucket," 42.

[2]Dukes Deeds, VIII, 153. There was also one at Homes Hole quite early.

[3]Macy, "History of Nantucket," 44.

[4]The first spermaceti whale came ashore at Nantucket about 1712. (Ibid., 48.)

blade, with two lance holes in the same side, one in the belly. These whales wer all killed about the middle of February last past, all great whales between six and seven and eight foot bone, which are all gone from us. A true account given by John Butler from us and recorded.[1]

This places John[3] Butler (1650–1738), as our first known native whaler on record, with Thomas Lothrop, husband of Richard Sarson's daughter, as his mate, and doubtless the "tryhouse" above referred to was once his property. That Butler had been engaged in this occupation for some time, and was an expert is amply evidenced by the number of his catches enumerated in one month, and we may conclude that it had been his business for a considerable time before 1700 even.

In this industry the settlers brought to their assistance the superior knowledge of the Indians of the habits of these fish, and every boat's crew had in it a goodly proportion of natives to guide and manage their boats when the struggle was on. Because of this, the settlers were enabled to fit out a greater number of boats than they could have otherwise done.[2] The most active Indians were selected as steersmen, and some were even allowed to head the boats. In time they became experienced whalemen, capable of conducting any part of the business. This situation developed, particularly when the Vineyarders began to go out farther for their prey, "deep" whaling as distinguished from "shore" whaling, in small sloops and schooners of twenty to thirty tons, involving absences of several weeks. About this time we begin to find the trade of "cooper" attached to the names of residents in documents, a necessary adjunct to the prosecution of the business of whaling, as hogsheads and barrels were required to contain the oil prepared for the market. This outlet was found in Boston, of course, as the great commercial centre of New England at that period. Increased results, growing trade, and larger profits demanded further facilities, and the whalers were encouraged to increase the size of their vessels, and to make longer voyages and seek more distant seas in pursuit of both the "right" and spermaceti whales. Meanwhile the occasional stranded monster would afford the inhabitants an easy prey, and often a law suit. In Pain Mayhew's "Common-

[1]Edgartown Records, I, 107.

[2]In 1715 there were six vessels engaged in whaling from Nantucket, which produced £1100 sterling, or about $20,000 of our money value.

place Book," about 1720, is found an "account of the Kings whale," which was one drifted ashore, and so belonging of right to the king, by ancient law.

The court records of 1724 contain the proceedings in a suit begun by Pain Mayhew, Jr., against Jabez Lumbert of Barnstable, whale fisherman, concerning an agreement made that year as to a joint whaling trip in Barnstable Bay, between Cape Cod and Boston, which was referred to as "a great voyage." In 1725, Samuel Merry, John Tilton, and four others took a whale near Noman's Land, making twenty-six barrels of oil, which brought them to court for a settlement two years later. The Vineyard being an island which could support agricultural industries as well, did not depend upon whaling and the fisheries solely, as its chief occupation, as Nantucket was obliged to do, but in the proportion as its sons undertook the calling, they stood in the foremost group of men who carried its name into distant seas. And it now seems remarkable to what limits they went in their little vessels of small tonnage. From Greenland to the Guinea coast they were to be seen in the first half of the 18th century keenly scenting the haunts of those monsters of the deep, far from the hospitable shores of men of their race. The following schedule will show, as nearly as can be ascertained, the times when the whale fishery commenced at the places named below, prior to the Revolution: —

Davis Straits (Greenland),	1746	Coast of Guinea, Barbadoes,	1763
Baffin's Bay	1751	Western Islands,	1765
Gulf of St Lawrence	1761	Brazil,[1]	1774

One of the successful whalers of the middle of that century was Captain Peter[5] Pease of Edgartown, born in 1732, and a sailor from his boyhood. He was one of the dauntless mariners of his day, and from his account books we gather the details of some of his voyages made in the frozen waters of the North or the tropical regions near the equator, in search of the rich products of the deep. We first hear of him in 1762, at the age of thirty, as master of the sloop *Susanna*, on a voyage to the capes of Virginia, from whence he took his cargo

[1]Macy, "History of Nantucket," 65. The business was also carried on in shorter voyages to the Grand Banks, Cape de Verde Islands, Gulf of Mexico, Carribean Sea, and the Spanish Main. Sometimes these voyages were made in brigs, but until the Revolution the American whaler was seldom larger than one hundred tons. Some of them carried three or four boats and a crew of thirty men.

to Boston.[1] The next year he made a voyage to the West Indies, and the following entry in his books is worth transcribing: —

Nov. 27, 1763. Sloop Susanna, Peter Pease, from Martha's Vineyard to Barbadoes. Arrived Dec. 23. Had a shot from the fort for not dousing our foresail at the sight of the King's colors. Next morning went to the Captain of the fort to make restitution for the shot, and to pay the anchor money, and settled all. Took a walk in the town at ten saw a man put in the pillory for robbing and cheating.

The supplies taken by him for this voyage of six months' duration in the sourthen latitudes is shown in the following list entered on his books: —

ACCOUNT OF STORES

For Sloop *Susannah*, Capt. Peter Pease, from Martha's Vineyard to the West Indies, whaling, Nov. 1763.

7	Barrels Beef,	3	files,
4	" Pork,	1	Tea pot,
3	" Flour,	1	coffee pot,
1	" Molasses,	5	Bushel Salt,
1	" Rum,	1	Crow bar,
½	firkin Butter,	3	Compasses,
130	feet pin boards,	1	pitch fork,
30	Irons,	1	inch auger,
1	Spade,	4	Bushels Beans,
1	side good leather,	3	" Meal,
2	good pots,	4	" Turnips,
12	Codfish hooks,	2	" Potatoes
1	pr. Canthooks,	2	" Salt,
3	padlocks,	16	" Corn,
1	Iron ladle,	12	Lances,
1	Iron shod shovel,	120	fathoms cordage,
1100	lbs. Bread	250	copper nails,
56	" Sugar,	1	pewter basin,
4	" Chocolate,	16	Runner hooks,
2	" Tea,	1	Barrel Tar,
1	" Pepper,	1	hatch bar,
50	" Cheese,	1	Tea kettel,
56	" Rice,	1	Scraper,
14	" Candles.		

[1]He is the person referred to in the following journal of the *Betsey of Dartmouth*, fishing on the Grand Banks: —

"(1761) August 6th. Spoke with two Nantucket men; they had got one whale between them, they told us that Jenkins & Dunham had got four whales between them, and Allen & Pease had got 2 whales between them Lat 42 57." (Ricketson, History of New Bedford, 62.)

The names of Jenkins, Dunham, Allen, and Pease are all Vineyard families, but we have no sure means of identifying them, though probably Peter Pease is intended, and perhaps Joseph Jenkins of Edgartown and Shubael Dunham of Tisbury, both of whom were sea-faring men.

Further entries in his books show voyages made each year succeeding.

When spring returns with western gales,
And gentle breezes sweep
The ruffling seas, we spread our sails,
To plough the wat'ry deep.

Thus an old whaling song tells of the annual call to the bosom of old Ocean felt by those hardy mariners. Further quotations show his work: —

July 15, 1764. Sloop *Susanna*, Peter Pease, for Grand Banks in company with Capt. Josep Pease.

Aug. 14. Spoke Capt. Joseph Huxford, whaling. Arrived Oct. 10, 1764.

May 13, 1765. Schooner *Lydia*, Peter Pease, of Martha's Vineyard. Returned Sept. 30, 1765. Nantucket & Grand Banks. Same vessel & same destination left Edgartown.

This last was a voyage to Greenland, and the stores shipped for a northern trip, as shown by his accounts, stand as a contrast to the previous list, especially in an increase of the quantity of rum, and justify another quotation from the old whaling song above referred to, written by John Osborne of Sandwich (born 1713), and probably the oldest ballad on the subject:—

For killing northern whales prepared
Our nimble boats on board
With craft and rum, (our chief regard),
And good provisions stored.

DISASTROUS EFFECTS OF THE REVOLUTION.

The Revolutionary war gave almost a finishing stroke to the business of whaling in America. When the war began there were in the whole American fleet of whalers between three and four hundred vessels of an aggregate of about 33,000 tons, manned by about five thousand seamen. Of these perhaps a quarter belonged to Nantucket and the Vineyard, of course the greater part credited to the former island. For ten years preceding the war the number of vessels in this region, with the quantity of oil obtained, is shown in the following table: —

Date	Vessels	Barrels	Date	Vessels	Barrels
1763	60	9,238	1768	125	15,439
1764	72	11,983	1769	119	19,140
1765	101	11,512	1770	125	14,331
1766	118	11,969	1771	115	12,754
1767	108	16,561	1772	98	7,825

At this time the industry was in its infancy in New Bedford, the first merchant to engage in it there being Joseph Russell, about 1760, while our island and Nantucket had had almost a century's experience before that date.

The following extract from a table, a part of a report made to Congress, by Thomas Jefferson, shows the actual state of the whale fisheries on the Vineyard, between the years 1771 and 1775: —

Vessels fitted annually for the Northern catch	12
Tonnage of same	720
Number of seamen employed	166
Barrels of spermaceti oil taken annually	900
Barrels of whale oil taken annually	300

From this account it will be seen that the vessels averaged sixty tons each for the Arctic voyages, manned by an average crew of thirteen. This table does not seem to include those engaged in the industry in southern latitudes. The report makes the following comments on the values of the oil and bone at that period. —

> The average price in the market, for a few years previous to the war was about forty pounds sterling per ton, for spermaceti oil; and fifty pounds sterling for head matter. The average price of whale was about seventy dollars per ton. A whale producing about one hundred and twenty barrels of oil will generally produce about two thousand pounds of bone. A whale producing fifty or sixty barrels of oil, will generally produce nearly ten pounds of bone to the barrel. The bone was chiefly exported to Great Britain, the price about half a dollar per pound.

Computing the capacity of a barrel at fifty gallons, and the weight at 350 pounds per barrel, we can arrive at an equivalent of 140 tons of spermaceti oil at £40 per ton, making a total value of £6400 for this product annually for the Vineyard. The bone can be eliminated from the reckoning. This sum was equivalent to $32,000 at that time, which, in consideration of the relative values of money, then and now, and estimating it at three to one, we may conclude that the yearly value of the whale fisheries to the Vineyard, at the outbreak of the Revolution, was about $150,000. This was the prosperous period of the industry, both for our island and Nantucket, and such a lucrative business in the aggregate had excited the jealousy of England from the time of its growth into importance, commercially considered, as well as from its national value as a nursery of American seamen.

The policy of England to cripple this valuable industry and transfer its headquarters to her ports was evident during the war of 1776. John Adams wrote in 1779: "whenever an English man-of-war or privateer has taken an American vessel, they have given to the whalemen among the crew, by order of government, their choice either to go on board of a man-of-war and fight against their country or go into the whale fishery." As a result of this policy, he declared that he knew of seventeen

WHALERS AT EDGARTOWN WHARF
DURING THE "FORTIES."

vessels then engaged in the whaling business, off the coast of Brazil, of which "all the officers and men are Americans."[1] After the Revolution both England and France made determined efforts to transplant the business to their shores, and by the offer of alluring subsidies secured the services of some who had been ruined by the war, or whose knowledge was always for sale to the best market. William Rotch transferred his business thither for a while, but later returned to

[1]The freeholders of Tisbury, on Feb. 1, 1781, voted "to make application to the General Court for Liberty to Whale Provided those so Disposed be at the whole cost of same." (Town Records, 238.)

the familiar scenes of his earlier life in New Bedford. Some went to Dartmouth, Nova Scotia, some to Milford Haven, England, but like all islanders, they soon returned to their ocean-bound home where they found greater rewards awaiting them in the development of their calling under congenial skies, and beneath their own flag.

As the business grew and larger vessels came into use, the shallow harbor of Nantucket would not accommodate their deeper draft, and it became necessary to seek better water. Consequently some fitted out at Edgartown, while others found a home port at New Bedford, which soon became almost as famous in the annals of whaling as Nantucket itself. But the assurance of safety and success did not come with the close of the Revolution, for the wars of France and England followed soon after, and the disastrous events preceding our second war with great Britain, 1812–15, put heavier burdens on the whaling industry than ever before. This is described in detail under the chapter dealing with that period, and need not be repeated here, as the whaling fleets suffered with all our maritime industries on the high seas, until the close of the war, when the English government was whipped into acknowledgment of our place in the conquest of the ocean as the highway of unrestricted commerce.

EMPLOYMENT OF INDIANS.

Reference has been made to the employment of the natives of the island in this industry. A writer, who visited the Vineyard one hundred years ago, thus narrates the conditions surrounding this employment: —

> Ship owners come to their cottages, making them offers and persuading them to accept them; and so rarely is Gay Head visited for any other purpose, that this was supposed at the light house to be my errand. This business of inviting the Indians is a sort of crimping, in which liquor, goods and fair words are plied, till the Indian gets into debt, and gives his consent. Taking the history from the mouths of the white people only, it appears that there is often much to be complained of in the business of the voyage, both in the Indian and in those with whom he connects himself. On the one hand great advantage is taken of his folly, his credulity and his ignorance. On the other, he torments the ship or share owner with his indecision and demands, till the moment of the sailing of the ship. First, he agrees to go, and accordingly receives some stipulated part of his outfit; then he "thinks he won't go;" and then he is to be coaxed and made drunk. Again he "thinks" he "won't go" unless

such and such articles are supplied; and these articles he often names at random for the sake of inducing a refusal. One Indian was mentioned to me that he thought he would not go unless five pounds of soap were given him; and another that thought the same unless he received seven hats. The Indians find these voyages as little to their ultimate benefit as they are found by those I have lately mentioned; and their obstinate addiction to spirituous liquors makes their case still worse. Hence an Indian that goes to sea is ruined and his family is ruined with him.[1]

The French traveller, Crevecoeur, who visited our island during the Revolutionary period, refers to the employment of the natives of the Vineyard in the whale fishery. "They often go, like the young men of the Vineyard," he says, "to Nantucket and hire themselves for whalemen or fishermen; and indeed their skill and dexterity in all sea affairs is nothing inferiour to that of the whites."[2] This also was undoubtedly true, and between these observations of well known writers the just estimate may be formed. Certain it is that up to the most recent times, scarcely a vessel sent out under the auspices of Vineyardmen to the Arctic, but what contained in her crew some hardy descendant of the Nope branch of the Algonquian race. The whale fishery as an occupation engaged the activities of the oldest and best families among our people from its inception, not only in the capacity of financing the undertakings, but in the actual work itself. Side by side with these natives in the boats went the flower of Vineyard youth. The following scrap of commercial paper, of the date of 1790, gives evidence to this effect, the writer being the leading political and military person on the island in his generation: —

Edgartown June 1, 1790.

Sir:

Pleas to pay to Mr. Timothy Coffin the whole amount of my son Frederick's Voyage that he may obtain with you this Present Season in the Sloop Free Mason & his receipt Shall be your full Discharge for the same

& oblige your Friend & Hum. Sevt.

BERIAH NORTON.

Capt. Joseph Peas.

This serves also to show the way in which the business was conducted. It was the first of the co-operative methods of work where a number of men engaged to share the proceeds upon certain percentages, according to their duties and re-

[1]Kendall, "Travels," II, 196. This was in 1806.

[2]Lettres d'un cultivateur Americain, 159.

sponsibilities. Each man was engaged for a "lay" or share, which is well illustrated in the accounts of the voyage of the ship *Lion*, in 1807. The vessel secured oil valued at $37,661, of which one-eighteenth, or $2,072 went to the captain, as his share, in lieu of regular pay; one twenty-seventh or $1,381 to the first mate; one thirty-seventh or $1,008 to the second mate; one forty-eighth to each of two leading men in the crew; and one seventy-fifth to each of the other white able seamen. The color line was drawn in those days, also, for the men of dusky skin did not receive more than one-eightieth or one ninetieth as their share. This custom of sharing obtains to this day in the small remainder of the once numerous force engaged in the great industry which now braves the winters of the Arctic, for the still profitable returns to the lucky vessel.[1] The balance, after expenses were paid, went of course to the owners of the vessels, and in the instance cited above, the profit to them, after paying shares and expenses, was $24,252 on that trip, or about two-thirds of the gross proceeds.

EXTENSION TO THE PACIFIC.

Whaling in the Pacific ocean dates from 1791, when the *Washington*, Captain George Bunker, first displayed the grid-iron ensign in the harbor of Callao, Peru, and became the pioneer of the numberless craft which made that port a common rendezvous for Yankee whalers in after years. This region was sought for the sperm whale in the south seas, where among the thousand reefs and islets of that archipelago, the little venturesome craft of Nantucket and the Vineyard braved the dangers of unknown shoals and known cannibals on inhospitable shores.[2] These craft scarcely exceeded two hundred and fifty tons burthen, and the voyages lasted for eighteen to twenty-four months. War vessels of European nations, bound on what they thought were voyages of discovery, would find some enterprising whaler or sealer from these two isles of the Atlantic, calmly riding at anchor in the lea of a coral atoll which they were about to claim for their sovereigns by right of first discovery. And upon questioning these absurd little apple-bowed craft, the crestfallen commanders would learn that this was merely a safe harbor which they had long frequented for repairs, after still further voyages to the remoter

[1]Starbuck, "History of American Whaling"; comp. Marvin, "American Merchant Marine," 140.

[2]One of the islands of the Gilbert group is called Nantucket.

Antarctic regions.[1] The development of the business in this locality naturally opened up further penetration into the then almost unknown equatorial seas of the Pacific, and in the next thirty-five years the famous "Off-Shore Ground" of the southern ocean became the scene of some of the richest catches in the annals of this mighty fishery. Thence the scent led further north into the waters about the Japanese archipelago, and by 1822 there were thirty American whale ships busy among the great schools of spermaceti monsters that swam those seas. The three following decades were the golden age of our whalemen, for the ship *Ganges*, Folger, master, in 1835, took the first "right" whale on the Kodiak ground, and thus brought the north-west fishery into prominence. It only required a few years to develop this branch of the industry, and by 1843 the first bow-head whales were captured off the coast of Kamschatka, and in 1848 the bold and relentless Yankee whalemen pushed their adventurous prows into the narrows of Bering's straits, and gave chase to their game in the frozen waters of the Arctic. Here was found a field which appealed to the imaginative spirit of the dauntless seamen of our island. Exactly a century before their ancestors had plowed through Davis' straits into the waters of Greenland, and now they had "doubled the Horn" to enter the undiscovered waters of the Arctic on the opposite shores of the continent in pursuit of the same prey. Much of it reads like a romance, but they were born to it and could not be denied. Crevecoeur, in his visit to our island, made the following observations upon the maritime vigor of the population, in 1782: —

> The island therefore is become a great nursery which supplies with pilots and seamen the numerous coasters with which this extended part of America abounds. Go where you will from Nova Scotia to the Mississippi you will find almost every where some native of this island employed in sea-faring occupations. Here are to be found the most expert pilots, either for the great bay, there found, Nantucket shoals, or the different ports in their neighbourhood. In stormy weather they are always at sea, looking out for vessels, which they board with singular dexterity, and hardly ever fail to bring safe to their intended harbor.[2]

Such were the progenitors of the men who sailed into unknown seas in the next century, and continued in the waters of the Pacific the pursuits successfully followed by them in the Atlantic.

[1]North American Review, 1834.
[2]Lettres d'un cultivateur Americain, 159.

HAZARDS OF THE OCCUPATION.

In the fifty years covering the period 1767–1827, during which time Parsons Kingsbury and Thaxter kept a record of persons dying in Edgartown, there are entries of one hundred and thirty casualties among those who went "down to sea in ships and did their business in great waters." Of these thirteen are specifically named as occurring in whaling voyages, but it is certain that many of the others were engaged in that occupation when they met their deaths. The first mentioned was ——— Weeks, who died Oct. 2, 1769, "by a wound received from a whale." Richard Sprague was killed "by a whale" in 1772; Ansel, son of Prince Daggett, was "drowned at the Straits" in September, 1789; Sprowel Dunham died in August, 1807, "while on a whaling voyage in the Indian seas"; Charles Norton died April 3, 1818, drowned, "a whale stove the boat & before relief could get to him he sunk"; John Crossman died May 30, 1818, "on a whaling voyage"; and Silas, son of Zephaniah Butler, was drowned in the Pacific ocean, December, 1824.

The other six lost their lives in the ships *Globe* and *Lady Adams*, of which mention will be separately made. In 1767, Parson Kingsbury records "this year there were about 18 persons lost at sea," a loss not after equalled in one year during the half century embraced in the above account. Of the one hundred and thirty deaths, seventy-two are entered as "foundered," "lost at sea," or "drowned"; forty died in the "West Indies," probably of yellow fever, or other tropical disease; six were reported to have perished accidentally, falling from a mast, or knocked overboard by a boom, and Tristram Cleveland was "eaten up by an alligator in Batavia harbor." If the other two towns furnished an equal death roll in that same period, there were about four hundred deaths "at sea" from the Vineyard in that half century.[1]

In a little enclosure on the heights overlooking the harbor of Vineyard Haven, back of the U. S. Marine Hospital, is a moss-covered slate stone bearing an inscription which has amused hundreds by the quaint verbiage of the obituary poetry which concludes the epitaph: —

[1]The earliest gravestone recording the death at sea, in the Lambert's Cove burying ground, is erected to the memory of Anthony Luce, who died March 20, 1769, aged thirty-six years.

John and Lydia
That lovely pair
A whale killed him
Her body lies here.

These lines, more fortunate in the clearness of statement than in poetic beauty, tell of the tragedy of the industry we are considering. John Claghorn of Eastville, son of Thomas, the innkeeper of that village, had married Lydia, daughter of Dr. Elisha West of Homes Hole, living just across the Lagoon, in February, 1770, he at the age of twenty-four and she one year younger. Before twelve months had passed both were dead, he a victim of the fury of one of the mighty monsters he was endeavoring to kill. When once aroused, this marine mammal knew no obstacle too great or too little to curb his rage. Sperm whales have been taken upwards of eighty feet long, and it was one of these toothed cetaceans which rammed and sank the American ship *Essex* in the South Pacific in 1819,— one of the most extraordinary incidents in the history of navigation. This kind of whale is believed to be the most dangerous to attack, and when the *Essex* was cruising a thousand miles off the coast of South America, an immense specimen of the genus, estimated about ninety feet long, was sighted dead ahead. Instead of sinking, as is their habit under the circumstances, the monster made a run for the ship and drove headlong at the bows, just forward of the fore chains. The ship trembled as if she had struck a rock, and was brought up so violently that she shook from stem to stern. The whale passed under the vessel, scraping her keel as he went. The mate set the pumps going as he found the vessel had received a death thrust. The whale in the meanwhile had rounded to about a quarter of a mile off, and was lashing the water and opening and closing his jaws with great fury. Suddenly one of the crew shouted: "Here he is! He is making for us again!" The mate turned, and saw the giant cachalot coming once more towards the injured ship with tenfold fury and vengeance in his aspect. Before any defense could be used, the monstrous head of this monarch of the sea struck her oak-ribbed bows and crushed them in as if they were sheet iron. The officers and crew had just time to get into small boats, when the *Essex* rolled over on her beam ends, full of water.[1] Another

[1]Marvin, "American Merchant Marine," 152. The sufferings of the crews of the three boats, shipwrecked in mid-ocean, make one of the most hideous tales of the sea. They started for the coast of South America, the last week of November, and

ship, the *Ann Alexander*, in 1850, was similarly wrecked in the South Pacific, after two of her boats had been smashed by the monster in succession. The captain had been able to haul his vessel round once or twice to avert the infuriated attacks, but the third time, the captain stood on the knight-heads, determined to finish the awful contest with the iron he held in his hands. With the speed of a locomotive the whale dashed towards the ship and struck her a terrible blow abreast the fore-mast, and she began to go down by the head. Five months later the belligerent spermaceti which destroyed this vessel was killed, and the harpoon hurled by the captain was found in his mighty carcass and fragments of the ship's timbers were imbedded in his great head. These instances are recited here to show the terrible power of the marine animals which our sea-faring kinsmen have hunted for two centuries, and the dangers to which they have been subjected. But while these are isolated cases of great disaster, the destruction of small boats was a frequent and familiar occurrence. Either end of the monster was dangerous for the boatmen, for he would crush the small boats with his jaws or thrash it into splinters with his terrible tail.[1]

The perils and uncertainties of the whaling business, and other forms of industry connected with the sea, is well illustrated in the case of Captain Marshall Jenkins of Edgartown, who was engaged in these hazardous occupations before the Revolutionary war. He had one remarkable venture which found record in the newspapers of the pre-Revolutionary time. This occurrence is thus described: —

> We learn from Edgartown that a vessel lately arrived there from a whaling voyage; and in her voyage one Marshall Jenkins, with others, being in a boat which struck a whale, she turned and bit the boat in two, *took Jenkins in her mouth and went down with him;* but on her rising threw him into one part of the boat, whence he was taken on board the vessel by the crew, being much bruised; and that in about a fortnight after, he perfectly recovered. This account we have from undoubted authority."[2]

after the storms, hunger, thirst, and perils of the deep had reduced their numbers from thirty to eight, Captain Zimri Coffin of Nantucket rescued these living skeletons three months after the titanic combat in which the leviathan had come off victorious.

[1]In the "Nimrod of the Sea" the author records a lively battle with a sperm whale of fighting instincts, encountered off the Rio de la Plata, in which four whale boats in succession were crushed in the jaws of the monster, and finished with the deadly blows of his tail.

[2]Boston Post Boy, Oct. 14, 1771. It is stated that the marks of the whale's teeth were borne for the rest of his life, a veritable evidence of the truth of this remarkable tale of the deep. (Vineyard Gazette, July 20, 1888.) This story was told the author of this history fifteen years ago by an "old salt" of Edgartown.

Associated in business with him were his elder brother, Lemuel Jenkins, and his brothers-in-law, John Pease and Ephraim Pease. There seems to have been no lack of energy and vigorous enterprise on the part of the owners. Still fortune did not favor them. Disaster followed disaster. After the whaling season was over, one of their vessels, a schooner of seventy-five tons, was sent to the eastward, under the charge of Abraham Preble and Beriah Pease. They loaded the vessel with lumber, but in coming home the men, vessel, and cargo were all lost. Ephraim Pease, in one of their vessels in the West India trade, got on the rocks and lost vessel and cargo. The men were saved. Cornelius Marchant was in charge of a brig of theirs to the West Indias. The brig was taken, and vessel and cargo condemned. Some of the men got home. Thomas Coffin, in one of their vessels, the brig *Sea Horse*, loaded with salt from the West Indies, when in sight of Long Island, was taken by the English. The brig and cargo were condemned; a total loss. Another of their vessels which had a valuable cargo on board, bound to the West Indies, was taken the second day after sailing from the Vineyard. To these severe disasters another was added; a brig of theirs, lying in Edgartown harbor, was burnt by the British. It is no wonder that after such repeated losses, they should seek their fortune in another direction, and relinquish forever all interests in navigation. Accordingly, in the month of October, 1786, Lemuel Jenkins and his brother Marshall Jenkins, with their families, removed from Edgartown to Hudson, New York.[1]

TRAGEDIES OF THE SEA.

These were the special perils of the occupation itself, to which came in the nature of events the ordinary perils of the deep, — storms, collision, founderings, hidden reefs, wrecks on savage isles, and the innumerable dangers of navigation. But in addition to this there happened mutinies and murders which are directly attributable to the business of whaling, as it had to be carried on during weary voyages, with no diversions in port, the crew fed on monotonous diet, and the absence of wholesome recreation. In January, 1824, the history of the whale fishery was blotted by one awful tragedy, in which several Vineyard men lost their lives. The *Globe* of Nantucket, commanded by Captain Thomas Worth, was in the

[1]Vineyard Gazette, May 11, 1888.

South Pacific ocean on a whaling voyage, with Thomas Beetle as mate, while among the crew were Nathaniel Fisher, son of Amaziah of Edgartown, Gilbert, son of John Smith, Jr., and a son of Abishai Lambert of Chilmark. Samuel B. Comstock of Nantucket, one of the crew, became engaged in a friendly wrestling match with Fisher, who was third mate, and being readily defeated, swore revenge. Comstock led the crew to mutiny against the officers, and after killing Captain Worth and First Mate Beetle, they threw Lambert and Fisher overboard, took charge and steered for a secluded island to strip and destroy her. The ringleader, Comstock, was killed by his first assistant, one Silas Payne, after a disagreement. Parson Thaxter says: "Gilbert Smith, when the mutineers were on shore, cut the cable, put to sea with six of the crew, and got safe to Valparaiso." Of the ten mutineers left on the island eight were massacred by the natives. From the simple cause detailed above grew the most revolting tragedy that ever stained the decks of one of our whalers. But while this terrible catastrophe took place under the auspices of men of our own kindred, there were instances of treachery and bloodshed attributable to the passions of foreigners occasionally shipped with our crews. At first the only alien on board these ships was the Indian of our island, but towards the middle of the last century, as the whales became scarce, and the "shares" less profitable, the owners were obliged to fill the forecastle with the "floaters" along the docks. "The Portuguese of the Western Islands, the negroes of the Cape Verdes, and even the savages of the Pacific archipelagoes were drawn into our service," says one writer, "until an American whaleship was a kaleidoscope of colors, as well as a Babel of tongues."

A tragic experience growing out of these conditions befell the ship *Sharon*, commanded by Captain Howes Norris of Eastville. On Sunday, Nov. 6, 1842, while the crew of the ship was busily engaged in the small boats chasing whales several miles off, three Kingsmill islanders who, with the captain and a boy, were the only persons aboard, murdered Captain Norris in their usual treacherous manner. They had stolen upon him from behind and decapitated him with one swift blow of that terrible weapon, the cutting spade. The captain's headless trunk lay on the deck, and the boy had hidden himself in the rigging aloft for refuge when the boats returned. Three howling savages, thirsting for more blood, met their astonished sight. Armed with harpoons, cutting

spades, axes, hammers, and belaying pins these wild-eyed savages, now aroused to the highest pitch of frenzy, dared them to come aboard. It was a situation that appalled the bravest, and the officers and men lost their nerve. Not one would lead them, except the brave third mate, young Benjamin Clough, who volunteered to board the ship single handed. Under cover of darkness, he managed to climb into a cabin window, found the dead captain's cutlasses and muskets, and was loading the firearms, when he was discovered by one of the savages. A terrible hand-to-hand conflict followed, during which Clough received a severe wound, but managed to disable his foe. A second savage, aroused by the struggle, rushed to the scene and hurled a cutting spade at Clough, almost severing his arm, while at the same moment Clough shot his new assailant through the heart. The third savage, seeing the fate of the other two, leaped overboard, but swam back and climbing aboard, secreted himself in the forehold. The cautious crew, now assured of the safety of the decks, boarded the ship and joined the intrepid third mate. The last savage was soon secured and all further danger was ended. It is gratifying to record that Mate Clough sailed on her next voyage as Captain Clough, and that he became one of the most successful of the masters sailing out of New Bedford.

Under date of April, 1825, Parson Thaxter records the deaths of Fordam Pease aged twenty-two and Charles Coffin aged nineteen years, and in the remarks which usually follow his entries, occurs the comment: "They sailed in the ship *Lady Adams*. She has long been despaired of; it is thought they were lost about midsummer, 1823. They were very promising young men." This is all that was ever known of this whaler. She was last spoken off the coast of Japan, which at that time was a forbidden, as well as a forbidding shore.[1]

The first ship from Edgartown to engage in whaling was the *Apollo*, which sailed on July 5, 1816, under the command of Captain Jethro Daggett, bound for the Pacific. The ship *Hector* was under several Vineyard masters, and was called the "luckiest whaleship afloat." From 1826 to 1853 she brought into port 19,697 barrels of sperm oil. She was suc-

[1]In the year 1860 there were the following whaling craft hailing from Edgartown: Ships Almira, Champion, Europa, Mary, Navigator, Ocmulgee, Omega, Richard Mitchell, Splendid, Vineyard, Walter Scott; Barks American, Ellen, Eureka, Louisa Sears, Rose Pool; Schooners E. A. Luce, Washington.

cessively commanded by Captains Clement Norton, John O. Morse, Thomas A. Norton, James Gray, George Manter, Peter Smith and Henry Norton. Clement Norton was credited with having assisted in taking, during his sea service, 30,040 barrels of oil. He had sailed over a million miles, went twelve voyages as master, and never lost a spar larger than a topsail yard. An Edgartown man, Captain Charles W. Fisher, is credited with the distinction of capturing the largest sperm whale ever killed, which yielded 168 barrels of oil, while master of the *Alaska* in 1884.[1]

The great disaster to the whaling fleet, which has remained in the memories of the people of the Vineyard since its occurrence, happened in September, 1871, in the Arctic ocean. Thirty-one ships were lost, but the crews were saved after suffering great privations from hunger and cold and exposure. Edgartown lost two ships, the *Mary* and *Champion*, in this wholesale wrecking of the industry. The *Europa* of Edgartown, Captain Thomas Mellen, aided in bringing the crews down from their perilous position.

EDMUND BURKE'S TRIBUTE TO OUR WHALERS.

The eloquent tribute of Edmund Burke to the early whalemen of New England, in his famous speech before the House of Commons, in behalf of the American Colonies, has often been quoted; but it may here fittingly close our review of an industry which engaged the activities and enterprise of our island from its first beginnings.

> Look at the manner in which the people of New England have carried on the whale-fishery. Whilst we follow them among the tumbling mountains of ice, and behold them penetrating into the deepest recesses of Hudson's Bay and Davis' Strait — whilst we are looking for them beneath the Arctic Circle, we hear that they have pierced into the opposite region of polar cold — that they are at the antipodes, and engaged under the frozen serpent of the south. Falkland Island, which seemed too remote and romantic an object for the grasp of national ambition, is but a stage and resting-place in the progress of their victorious industry. Nor is the equatorial heat more discouraging to them than the accumulated winter of both the poles. We know that whilst some of them draw the line and strike the harpoon on the coast of Africa, others run the longitude, and pursue their gigantic game along the coast of Brazil. No ocean but

[1]One of the most successful whaling voyages on record is that of ship *Gladiator*, of New Bedford, which arrived in April, 1854, having taken 6200 barrels of oil and 95,000 pounds of bone in forty-four months.

what is vexed with their fisheries; no climate that is not witness to their toils. Neither the perseverance of Holland, nor the activity of France, nor the dexterous and firm sagacity of English enterprise, ever carried this perilous mode of hardy enterprise to the extent to which it has been pushed by this recent people, — a people who are still, as it were, in the gristle, and not yet hardened into the bone of manhood.[1]

[1]Speech in Parliament on Conciliation with America, March 22, 1775.

A CRITICAL MOMENT.

HARPOONING THE "RIGHT" WHALE.

CHAPTER XXIX.

Travel and Taverns.

by ferry, packet, and steamboat.

The necessities of travel in the early days, between the island and the mainland, found but little that was convenient for the wayfarer either in taverns or transportation. Those intending journeys to or from the island had to await some "convenient opportunity" of a coastwise vessel to take him as a chance passenger, for there was no regular communication between the Vineyard and the nearest point of the cape for many years after the settlement of the island. In 1665 we get the first glimpse of the increased travel back and forth, when the townsmen of Falmouth licensed an inn-holder, "in regard that it doth appear that there is great recourse to & fro by travelers to Marthas Vineyard."[1] Nothing further appears upon our records to show that this increased travel was given the accommodation of a stated ferry, and if any existed it was operated by some person at Wood's Hole. That such an one was in use in 1700 is shown in our court records of that date, when "the fery at homes hole" is mentioned, and it is probable that it was licensed by the people of the cape town. Doubtless this was unsatisfactory, because not under the jurisdiction of our authorities, for early in 1703 the following action was taken to provide for a regular service: —

> Leift Isaac Chase is appoynted by this Courte to keepe a publike fery for the transporting of man and beast from Marthas Vineyard to Sickanesset alias falmouth and the fees allowed for said ferriage viz: — six shillings for a man and a hors or three shillings for each person or hors forew'd to s'd Suckanesset: but if he doth cary but one hors over sd ferriage that he shall have the sume of five shillings.[2]

For many years Isaac Chase had been keeping a tavern at Homes Hole, and he was the most natural person to combine the two functions. How long he exercised this dual public duty is not known, but in 1716 his son-in-law, Benjamin Weeks of Falmouth, is called "ferryman" and it may be inferred that Chase gave the business over to the younger man.[3] It is how-

[1]Freeman, "History of Cape Cod."
[2]County Court Records, Vol. I.
[3]Deeds, III, 148.

ever more probable that ferries were operated from both sides of the Sound, owing to the distance and the difficulty of communication. In 1726, a year before the death of Chase, Samuel Barker of Falmouth was licensed by our County Court as ferryman between "homses hole & woodses hole," and the following fees were allowed: "Every man or woman, 3s; Every horse, 3s; Ox, 5s; Every other beast, 4s; Every sheep or goat, 4d."[1]

In 1729 Lieut. Joseph Parker of Wood's Hole was licensed as ferryman by that town.[2]

In 1741 another ferry was established by our county authorities, to run from Lambert's Cove to Wood's Hole, and John Cottle was appointed the first ferryman. How long this additional line was operated is not known.[3]

In 1742 Abraham Chase was given the license to run the old ferry from Homes Hole, and the following fee table was adopted: "one man or woman, 5s; one man and horse, 8s; two men or women & horse, 11s; 1 man or woman, 2 horses, 11s; More persons at 4s each; Sheep 8d; Pair of Oxen, 1s., 6d. & prorata; Cowes, 7s."[4] It will be seen that this is a considerable increase over the previous schedule, and it is probable from subsequent events that this tariff was not sufficient to reimburse the operator. Chase did not keep up his franchise regularly, and by 1750 the service was practically abandoned to the actual necessities of travel, rather than a regular routine of trips across. To remedy this state of affairs twenty-three of the leading men in the three towns addressed a memorial to Governor William Shirley, the Council, and the House of Representatives, setting forth their grievances, and asking aid of the province for providing a remedy. This petition is as follows: —

The memorial of us the Subscribers inhabitance of Dukes County Humbly Sheweth that we have Laboured under Grate difficulty for several years past for want of a Stated ferry across the Vineyard Sound which has in a grate Measure deprived us from our equal Comerce with the rest of the Province, and although the Court of General sessions of the peace have offered to State the ferrage both for Men & beasts at a much hire rate than Usule yet Nobody appears to take it, Though Some that live handy to the harbour would willing undertake to keep it upon the

[1]County Court Records.
[2]Early History of Falmouth, p. 51.
[3]County Court Records.
[4]Ibid. Comp. Douglass, Summary, I, 403.

terms offered but are not of ability to purchase a boat & other things Seutable for the desine: And therefore your memorelests humbly pray That your Excellency & honours will take the premises under your wise Consideration & pas an Act for the Procuring of a Suitable boat & wharf for the ferry at the publick charge of the Province or County or both, as your Excelency & honours Shall se fit, Or releve us from the difficulty we Labour under by Such other way or meens as your Excellency & honours in your grate wisdom shall Think best, & your Memorialists as in deuty bound shall ever pray.[1]

The General Court, in answer, passed an act embodying the relief asked for, the text of which is as follows: —

Whereas there is a provision made by Law for the Justices in their Quarter Sessions throughout this Province to License persons to keep ferries & State the fares or prices of each ferry both for man and beast, and to take bond of each ferry-man &c. But no provision is made by Law to enable the Justices in their Sessions to lay a Tax on any County for the Upholding & maintaining of Ferrys either by Building boats, wharfs, ways &c. Where there is no particular person or persons who will be at the cost thereof: By means whereof the S'd County of Dukes County is wholly destitute of a ferry from s'd County (which is an Island), to the main Land wherby many Inconveniences Daily happen to those that have Occasion to go to & from S'd County ———

Be it therefore Enacted by the Governour, Council & house of representatives that the Justices of the Court of Gen'l Sessions of the peace at any of their sessions hereafter to be held in & for s'd County of Dukes County are hereby Enabled and Directed to raise monys & to Assess the Inhabitants of said County of Dukes county & their Estates as well for the building of Ferry boats making & maintaining suitable wharfs & ways for s'd ferry ways for the Convenience of keeping a ferry in s'd County in as full & Ample a manner as the Justice in s'd Quarter Sessions are by Law already Enabled to do for Defraying the Necessary repairs of Bridges, prissons, the maintenance of poor prisonners, and all other proper County Charges & under the same regulations & restrictions.[2] (April 19th, 1754.)

The ferry was now in the position of an institution receiving state aid, in the form of a subsidy at its establishment, but it continued to be run as a private venture, in so far as the collection of toll was concerned. Even then it does not seem to have become a paying institution, for Elisha West, who was licensed as ferryman in 1756, petitioned the General Court in 1760 for payment of certain ferriage for troops transported, and in it he states that "the Income of our ferry does not pay the Charge of Boats."[3]

[1]Mass. Archives, CXXI, 300. It is dated Dec. 1, 1753.
[2]Ibid., 301.
[3]Ibid., LXXX, 10.

In 1758 West's license was enlarged in scope so as to permit him to operate "so far Eastward as Highanes and Westward as Dartmouth and thereabouts in Monument Bay." Upon the expiration of his term he was succeeded by Jonathan Manter, 1761, who held the franchise for ten years. During the Revolution, if is doubtful if there was any regular ferry service owing to the dangers of traffic, and the records are silent on the subject. In 1784 Isaac Daggett was licensed to keep a ferry "to the Continent and Nantucket."

It will not be necessary to follow further in detail the vicissitudes of the ferry from year to year, except as organic changes occur, or new features develop. At some time prior to 1782 a ferry was established between Edgartown and the mainland, according to a visitor to our island at that date. He records that "a good ferry is established between Edgar (town) and Falmouth on the main, the distance being nine miles." It is doubtful if this means the use of Edgartown harbor as the island terminus, as Eastville was then a part of Edgartown, and the landings were probably made at that point for the whole island.[1] Ebenezer Smith was appointed to keep the county ferry in 1819, "according to the ancient custom and usages."

THE PACKET SERVICE.

After the close of the Revolutionary war and the development of the postal facilities by the new government, there came a demand for better transportation service and some regular method of delivering the mails. When this was accomplished is not definitely known, but probably by 1800 regular boats began to run between New Bedford and the Vineyard, and this also accommodated the neighboring island of Nantucket, to which as early as 1807 the line was extended. Edgartown was the terminus for this place, and the service was, it is believed, tri-weekly, the schooners taking the course through Quick's Hole into Buzzards Bay.[2]

In 1837 there was daily service of this line between New Bedford and Edgartown, which could only have been accomplished by two boats leaving at the same time, one from each

[1]Crevecoeur, Lettres d'un Cultivateur Americain, p. 159. There is no reference to it in the County Records.

[2]Kendall, "Travels," II, 199, 200.

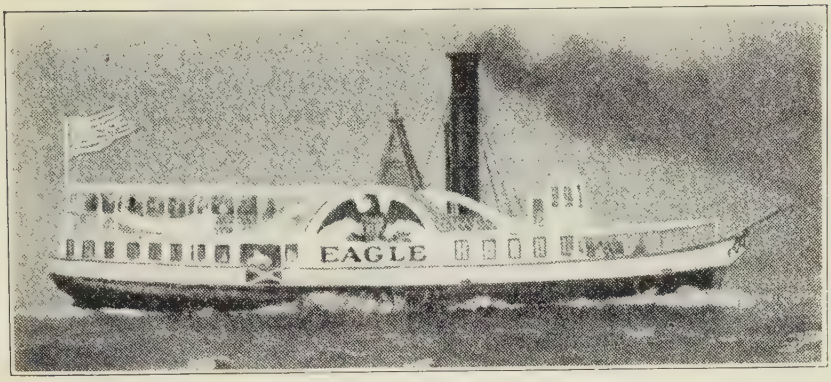
place.[1] The name of the first boat or the order of their runs on the route are not definitely known, and the most that can now be said is to give a list of the vessels which plied between the Vineyard and the mainland. The earliest known boat is the sloop *Ann Eliza*, Capt. John Merry, followed by the *Eclipse*, Capt. William Harding; *Oliver Cromwell*, Capt. Samuel Cromwell; *Hero*, Capt. Caleb Thaxter; *Amethyst*, Capt. William Harding, Jr.; *Passport*, Capt. Holmes W. Smith; *Escort*, Capt. H. L. Cleveland; a second *Passport*, Capt. Frank Pease; schooner *Independence*, Capt. Grafton L. Daggett; *Helen Snow*, Capt. H. L. Cleveland; *Abby B*, Capt. Grafton L. Daggett. These boats carried both freight and passengers, and made such trips as could be made depending upon weather conditions, but it was a pretty hard storm which could keep them in port on Saturdays, when the homeward trip was due.

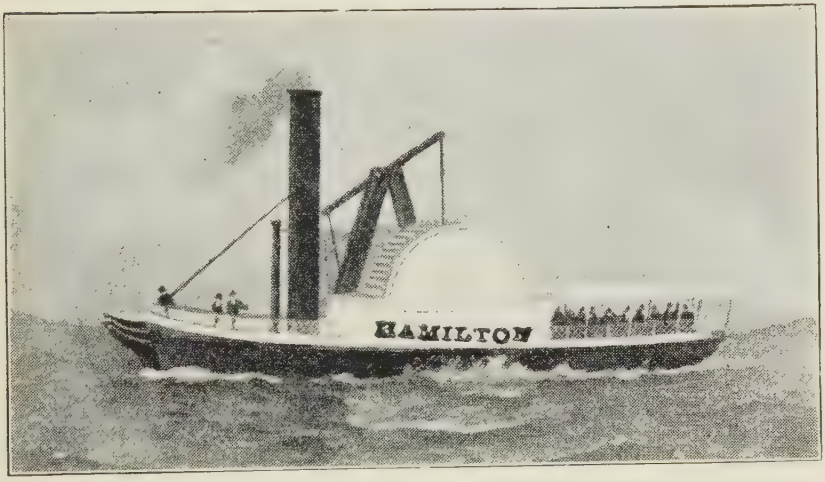
THE STEAMBOAT SERVICE.

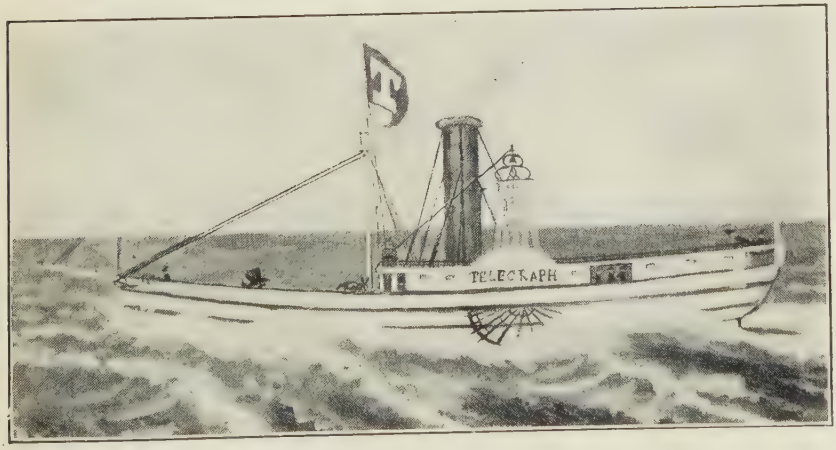
When the first boat with steam power began to operate a stated service between the Vineyard and the mainland is not known, and being a private enterprise no records are left to tell the tale. That it began somewhere in the "thirties" is the testimony of those having recollections of the matter, and the first boat was called the *Marco Bozzaris*, commanded by Captain Barker, which made the run to and from New Bedford and Edgartown, touching at Homes Hole. She was followed by the *Telegraph*, with the same commander, and it should be said that Nantucket was made a part of the route of these steamers, the Vineyard being an intermediate port of call, as now. The next in point of sequence was the *Massachusetts*, Capt. Lot Phinney, master, which had the same run for a period, but later dropped Edgartown and only stopped at Homes Hole on her way between Nantucket and New Bedford. Passengers from Edgartown made connections with the boat by stages run by John Pease and J. A. Baylies. The next steamer was the *George Law*, and she was soon followed by the *Naushon*, built under the superintendence of the late Capt. Holmes W. Smith, for the run between the Vineyard and New Bedford, and she became a rival of the *Massachusetts*, which was kept for the Nantucket service.[2] The *Naushon* was a

[1]Devens, "Sketches of Martha's Vineyard, etc.," p. 9.

[2]The Nantucket and Cape Cod Steamboat Co. was first organized to run between Nantucket and Hyannis.







THREE EARLIEST STEAM PACKETS

VINEYARD-NANTUCKET ROUTE

1818–1833

From "The Story of the Island Steamers." By permission of H. B. Turner.

fast boat, and such was the rivalry of the two interests, that her captain had no regular times of leaving the Vineyard, but would wait till the *Massachusetts* hove in sight, and when she got about up to Hawes Shoal the *Naushon* would steam out and run for the wharf at Homes Hole to pick up the passengers ahead of the rival, and generally did the trick. The Nantucketers called the Edgartowners "Old Town Turkies," an allusion to the frequency of herrings in the diet of the people of Edgartown, and the Nantucketers were called "Scraps" on account of the whaling phrase "blubber scraps." One day, as was the custom, a race was on between the two down from New Bedford, and the *Massachusetts* burnt tar to force speed, but the *Naushon* passed her rival as they rounded East Chop, and the steward of the latter hoisted a herring on a pole as a pennant of victory.[1] The next steamer was the *Metacomet*, a new boat one hundred and seventy feet long and of three hundred and ninety-five tons burthen, and she arrived in Edgartown harbor for the first time on Sept. 28, 1854, under the command of Capt. Benjamin Simmons. It does not appear that she continued long on this route as she was not in service after 1856, and her place was probably taken by the *Canonicus*, which is the next in point of time to make the run to the Vineyard. How long she remained in service is not known to the author, but she soon had a sister boat to take care of the growing traffic. The *Eagle's Wing* was built in 1854, of four hundred tons burthen, at a cost of $52,000, and was at once placed on this route as an alternate boat with the *Canonicus* and *Metacomet*. She was under the command of the late Capt. Benjamin C. Cromwell, and made tri-weekly trips between New Bedford and the Vineyard, leaving Edgartown on Mondays, Wednesdays, and Fridays at 9 A.M. She continued in service until burned in Providence river July 24, 1861, and a new boat was immediately provided for to accommodate increasing travel. This new boat was named the *Monohansett*, after one of the small islands in the Elizabeth group, and her name awakens in every Vineyarder affectionate recollections of a staunch craft that carried thousands of our island people to and fro in their journeys without a mishap. The steamer *Monohansett* was built at the yard of Thomas Collier in New York for what is now the New Bedford, Mar-

[1]The *Naushon* was sold to the New York *Herald* about 1848 and renamed the *Newsboy*.

tha's Vineyard & Nantucket Steamboat Company. She was begun in January, 1862, and finished in May of the same year, the work being carried on under the supervision of Capt. Benjamin C. Cromwell of Vineyard Haven, her designer. Her dimensions were: length, 182 feet; beam, 28 feet; depth nine feet six inches; her registered tonnage, 489 gross.

The *Monohansett* took her place on the Vineyard route in the summer of 1862, and made her first trip to Edgartown June 1. August 13 she was chartered by the United States for thirty-five days for $500 a day. October 1 she returned to these waters and resumed her place on the Vineyard route, remaining until Aug. 23, 1863, when she was again chartered to the government for service in the department of the South. She was used on the Potomac, carried troops to Newbern and Hilton Head in the Carolinas, plied on the James river, and from August, 1864, until the close of the war was headquarters boat at City Point. During that period she was used by General Grant as a dispatch boat. In the summer of 1874, when Grant, then president, made his visit to our island, it was the *Monohansett* which carried him up from Cottage City. Since the war, the *Monohansett* spent most of her time on the Vineyard route, although at different periods she plied between Boston and Provincetown, Plymouth and Marblehead; carried excursionists from Harlem to Coney Island and Rockaway, and ran between Greenport, Long Island, and New London.

Her home was, however, on the route for which she was designed, and when in 1901, she was sold to do duty in her old age in alien waters, she promptly ran ashore and died of a broken back and doubtless a broken heart. Every islander, who has at some time in his life been carried to the Vineyard in this famous craft, will be glad to look upon the picture of the old *Monohansett* as she appeared when she made her last trip on this route. Hundreds greeted her as she swung out for the last time from the wharves of Edgartown, Oak Bluffs, and Vineyard Haven.

Increase of travel, especially in the summer season, as the Vineyard came to be known as a resort, necessitated additional transportation facilities, and the *Martha's Vineyard*, 515 tons, built in Brooklyn in 1871, came on this route. She alternated with the *Monohansett* until 1886, when the further demands of the traveling public required another steamer to care for the growing summer traffic. The *Nantucket* was

STEAMER "MONOHANSETT" ON HER LAST TRIP

WEST CHOP IN THE DISTANCE

built that year in Wilmington, Delaware, of 629 tons burthen, and was operated in conjunction with the older vessels. In 1891, another boat was added to the line, called the *Gay Head*, still larger, being of 701 tons burthen, and built in Philadelphia. She has been used almost exclusively for the summer business of the company. The latest addition is the *Uncatena*, of 652 tons burthen, built at Wilmington in 1902, and named for one of the islands of the Elizabeth group. These last four named are now in active service throughout the year, according to the requirements of summer and winter travel, on the old packet route between the Vineyard and New Bedford, and extending to our neighboring island. The regular trips are daily round trips between Edgartown, Oak Bluffs, Vineyard Haven, and New Bedford, while the summer season brings all the vessels into service to fill a schedule which calls for four trips each day between the points mentioned.

For a number of years, about 1890–2, a small steamer was chartered each summer to run between Vineyard Haven, West Chop, and Woods Hole, to accommodate the local travel at those points, but the plan was abandoned after several years' trial. This, however, is the natural route of travel from the Vineyard to the mainland, and this short and easy trip will be, without doubt, the next step in the development of travel facilities for the population of this island, a return to the first plan of Isaac Chase, the original ferryman of the Vineyard.

STEAM RAILROAD.

This subject would not be complete without reference to our only railroad, though now but two lines of rust indicate its location and existence. It was built as a feeder for the Old Colony Railroad Co., and was laid from Oak Bluffs wharf to Edgartown village and thence on to Katama. The first train of cars drawn by a locomotive was run over this road Aug. 22, 1874, and it was in operation for about fifteen years. It was then abandoned, and the right of way and property has been sold.

COUNTY HIGHWAYS.

Travel between the towns, as population increased and new settlements developed, required the establishment of roads throughout the island under the jurisdiction of the county authorities. The contour of the island and the lay

of the towns made it necessary to establish three great highways to connect the settlements of Edgartown, Tisbury, and Homes Hole.

The first road to be laid out or traveled was the "Mill Path" connecting the settlement at Great Harbor with the mill set up on the "river" in Takemmy. This path doubtless followed the old Indian trail between Nunnepog and Takemmy, skirting the heads of the inlets on the south shore. This "path" was probably in existence long before the purchase of the four associates in 1669, and is the oldest county highway on the island. It did not follow originally the exact line of the present road, which was laid out in the last century, but ran the same course substantially. The continuation of it beyond old Mill River to the "School House Path" of early times, and the south road in Chilmark, makes the highway of travel from Edgartown to Gay Head.

The "Old Town" or "Ferry" road from Edgartown to Homes Hole came into existence in 1700 as a result of a presentment by the Grand Jury indicting the county for neglect to provide a way. The court record reads as follows:

> Ordered that whereas the grand jury hath presented this County for want of a convenient Roade from Edgartown to The fery at homes hole the Court appoynt Left Isaac Chase and Left Samuell Sarson to view and consider where there may be a convenient way layd out to sd homses hole and make return to the Court to be holden in March next.[1]

Some sort of a road was then laid out, probably a cart path staked off and cleared.

In October, 1760, in response to "sundry requests," a committee was appointed to investigate the condition of this highway, and on Jan. 20, 1773, a committee of five, appointed by the Court of Common Pleas, made report of a new survey and layout of this old road.[2]

The "Homes Hole Road" designates an old county highway leading from West Tisbury to Homes Hole. It was scarcely more than a "path" for carts, and is first mentioned in 1701, though it had been existing, probably, from the date of settlement of West Tisbury. The exact course of it cannot be determined, as there never was an official survey, but it followed in a general direction the road which now leads from West Tisbury, through Middletown to Lam-

[1]Dated Oct. 1, 1700. Court Records, Vol. I.
[2]Ibid., C. C. P., under date above given.

bert's Cove, thence across the Chickemmoo region to the existing state highway, west of the head of Tashmoo. In December, 1770, a number of the inhabitants of Tisbury petitioned for the official layout and acceptance of this road. The recently constructed state highway connecting Tisbury, West Tisbury and Chilmark follows, in part, the old roads laid out two centuries ago between these towns.

OLD TAVERN DAYS ON THE VINEYARD.

Whoe'er has travelled life's dull round
Where e'er his stages may have been
May sigh to think he still has found
The warmest welcome at an inn.

Shenstone.

Under the colonial laws of Massachusetts each town was obliged to keep a "house of entertainment" for the convenience of strangers, and in 1656 each town was made liable for not keeping an "ordinary," as taverns were called in those days. The Vineyard, being a practically independent political colony until it came under the jurisdiction of New York, was not subject to this law of the Massachusetts colony, yet our island more nearly reflected the customs and spirit of Puritan Massachusetts than the roystering liberalism of the duke's New York province. Being out of the line of travel, there was not so much demand for public houses on the Vineyard as in towns situated on the king's highways, but when a stranger happened to arrive on the Vineyard the necessity of a tavern for his comfort and entertainment existed in greater relative proportion than on the mainland, for his only other resource was to proceed on to Nantucket or retrace his steps to America, unless charitable people opened their private houses and gave him bed and board.[1]

As years went on intercourse with the Vineyard increased, and travelers came down on horseback from Boston by the old "bay path" through Braintree, Scituate, Plymouth, and Sandwich to Falmouth, and at each town they found a convenient tavern except at Falmouth. Not until 1665, was the want in the last-named town remedied.[2] This ordinary was

[1]Rev. Michael Wigglesworth, in 1653, records in his diary a storm-bound detention at the Vineyard, en route, New London to Boston, and that he found "a safe harbor in friends houses during that long storm."

[2]On February 7th of that year Mr. Isaac Robinson was licensed to keep an ordinary in Falmouth.

probably located at or near Wood's Hole, the landing-place for the ferry which plied between the Vineyard and the Cape. The frequent and natural choice of the locations of a tavern was at a ferry landing, and usually one person combined the duties of ferryman and innkeeper.

The first record of any legislation regarding taverns on the Vineyard is found in the "General Laws," made at the first General Court held at Edgartown, June 18, 1672, after the island had become a part of the duke's New York government. The following is the law: —

> Any Quarter Court shall have Power to Grant License unto such as they shall think fitt to keep a House of Publick Entertainment, to sell Liquor, Wine, Beer or any like Strong Drink by Retail with such Limitation and Custom as to such court shall think meet.

The license to keep an ordinary did not carry with it the permission to sell "strong drink," and a separate one was required for that purpose. It is needless to add that the innkeeper provided himself with this valuable authority to furnish entertainment for his guests. This often resulted in disorderly occurrences in the tap rooms of the taverns, and on Oct. 28, 1675, the Quarter Court found it necessary to pass a law covering promiscuous sale of strong drink in these public houses. It reads thus: —

> If any person shall be found in drinke at any publique House of entertainment, if the master of such house cannot make it appear that such person had not the drinke at their house he shall be fined ten shillings to the treasurie.

Special laws were also made regarding the sale of strong drink to the Indians, the penalty for which was made sufficiently large to act as a restraining influence against this traffic. Many, however, could not resist the temptation of profit, and the early court records abound in frequent entries of the infliction of the penalty on those who transgressed the statutory enactment.

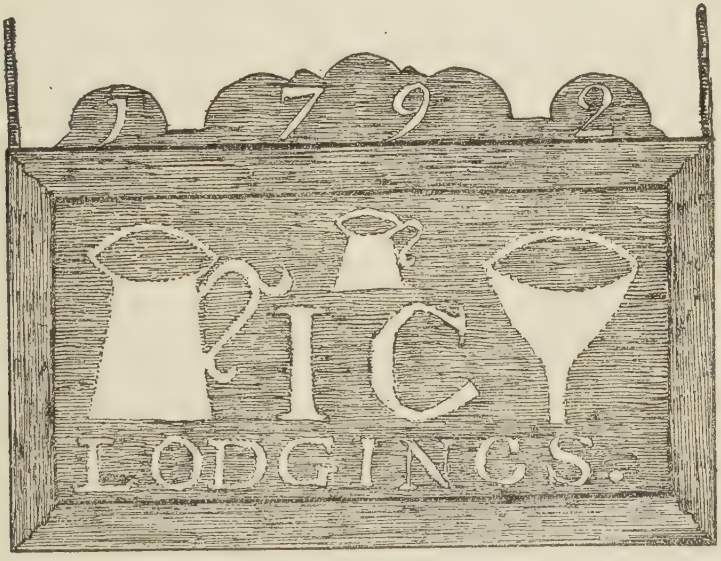
Not all the towns availed themselves of the privilege of a licensed inn, however, for in 1692 we read that "some Towns thinck it inconvenient to have such houses," a condition which prevailed in Chilmark, for example, and provisions for the sale of liquor by private persons was made in consequence.

It is probable that the early taverns of the Vineyard were not houses specially constructed for that use, but were the

dwelling houses of the owners, of which a spare room or two were available for the transient guest, with probably an adjoining building or "leanto" used as a store and tap room where the guests could sit on the "bench" and smoke, drink, and play cards, and hear the village gossip from the convivial patrons of this portion of the ordinary, who resorted there nightly for these comforts and consolations,

"Where graybeard mirth and smiling toil retired."[1]

It is doubtful if any of them were distinguished by such picturesque and fanciful names as were applied to many of the



JOSEPH CLAGHORN'S TAVERN SIGN,
HOMES HOLE.
1792

early colonial taverns, a custom derived from our English progenitors. It would be interesting to know that Chase's ferry tavern was called the Quaker's Hat, that Cathcart's was the Beehive, or that Worth's was the Spouting Whale, but it is safe to infer that they were simply known as "Chase's," "Cathcart's," and "Worth's."

[1]In 1783, either in a burst of official activity or a wave of morality, nearly all of the innkeepers on the island were "pulled" with many of their guests for permitting and playing "at an unlawful game with cards;" but each indictment was quashed, and that ended the raid on our taverns.

The taverns had in them much of that on which we can dwell with affectionate interest. The convivial phase was only incidental to their better features. They were always provided with a latch-string hung out for every belated traveler. "A house of sin, you may call it," says old Bishop Earle, "but not a house of darkness, for the candles are never out." The sentimental memories which cluster around these historic inns is rather one of good cheer, warm hospitality, and a mug of hot flip as a fitting close to a day's sojourn with Widow Chase at Homes Hole or Widow Sarson at Edgartown.

Many of the picturesque features of the taverns on the mainland which were situated on the great highways of travel were lacking to the hostelries of the Vineyard. No stage coaches drawn by four horses came dashing up the road to crack of whip and sound of horn, reining up in front to leave letters and passengers, exchange horses for the next lap in the route, and to patronize the table and tap room. But what they lacked in the romantic they made up in the comforts so grateful to travelers. We can picture to ourselves the clean-sanded floor of the living room, and the chamber with its high "four poster," the feather bed with snowy linen, clean, but oh so cold! pillows of down, counterpane of blue and white, all crowned with curtains of dimity or the more pretentious damask. But they are all gone. The past holds them in scant and loosening grasp. With them went the landlord of song and story. He deserves more than can be said of him here and now, but we will close the scene with his last encomium, the epitaph, as it was written of John Doggett, a native of the Vineyard, who dispensed tavern hospitality in his later days.

Traveller!
If ever dram to thee was dear,
Drop on John Doggetts grave a Tear,
Who when alive so well did Tend
The Rich, the Poor, the Foe, the Friend:
To every knock, and every call
He said "I'm coming," unto all.
At length Death knocks! poor Doggett cry'd
And said, "I'm coming, Sir!" and Dyed.

Further references to the taverns of ancient days in the several towns will be found in the histories of each, and if the reader at this time wishes to pursue this subject to its local surroundings, he may turn thereto and go with the author as he makes the rounds of the old taverns in each of the Vine-

yard towns, where both shall be their guest for a sufficient space to know their names and find brief entertainment as well as rest, for Combe says: —

> How oft doth man by care oppressed
> Find in an inn a place of rest.

TELEGRAPHS, CABLES, AND TELEPHONES.

Allied to the subject of travel is that of communication between the island and the mainland in the early days, and its later development. Over a century ago there was a system of telegraphy in operation from the Vineyard to Boston, by means of signal stations on the hills along the coast, by way of Falmouth, Sandwich, Plymouth, Marshfield, and thence to Scituate and Hull.[1] The following advertisement appeared in the Salem *Gazette* of Sept. 14, 1802: —

TELEGRAPHE.

Merchants and others concerned in Navigation are respectfully informed, That the subscriber will recommence the operation of his Telegraphe by the first of October next. All persons who may wish to obtain by the Telegraphe, or by the Telegraphe and by the Mail, first intelligence of arrivals at the Vineyard — or of arrivals at foreign ports — or who may wish to pass orders directing a vessel at the Vineyard to sail from thence to any particular port — or to wait there for further orders — or who may wish to learn the contents of a cargo — or whether a friend is on board of a particular vessel here, &c &c. may be accommodated.

The terms are lodged (for the convenience of all concerned) at the Post Offices in Boston, Salem, Newburyport, Portsmouth and Portland, and will be lodged at the Post Office of any other port, if desired. Agents are appointed in all the ports named above, to accommodate such as may wish for immediate intelligence from the Vineyard.

The terms contain different rates of fees.— If a man applies for first intelligence of an arrival at the Vineyard, by the 20th of September inst. or three weeks before the day of such arrival, HE shall have such intelligence at the lowest rate. An applicant has nothing to pay until the Proprietor or his Agents shall announce first intelligence of an arrival or other first intelligence desired.

Masters of Vessels will enter their arrivals at the Vineyard free of any expense, that the Proprietor (and owners, if *they* please) may have immediate knowledge of such arrivals.

JONATHAN GROUT, *Patentee*

Boston, September 14, 1802.

It is not known how early this "telegraphe" system had been in operation before 1802, as it appears by the notice that

[1]Sandwich has a "Telegraph Hill" in its limits.

it was a re-establishment of one in previous use. The character of it may be surmised as a combination of the semaphore and flag system, with a signal code devised by the "patentee." It is an indication of the importance of the Vineyard at that period in mercantile and maritime circles.

For a number of years a semaphore staff signal service was in operation between this island and Nantucket (about 1845), the staff being erected on Sampson's Hill, Chappaquiddick, and later on the Highlands of East Chop. The introduction of the magnetic telegraph and the development of the same for ocean service by cables brought this primitive method into disuse. In 1857 a submarine cable was laid by Mr. S. C. Bishop, between Nantucket and the Vineyard, via Maddaket and Tuckernuck. It was not successful, though irregular service was rendered by it, when it was in repair. After four years of interrupted operation, through repeated breaks, it was, in 1861, abandoned as a means of communication. The U. S. Signal Service of the government, to perfect its work of forecasting the weather, laid a cable from Nantucket to the Vineyard, and thence by Cedar Tree Neck across the Sound to the Elizabeth Islands, and on to Wood's Hole. This was completed in November, 1885, and offices for the local officials were opened in Oak Bluffs in May, 1886, in Edgartown in June, 1886, and in Vineyard Haven in November, 1886, and the public were accorded the privilege of using the wires for the transmission of private despatches, when not in use for government work. The cable was so frequently broken by the anchors of vessels riding in the Sound that deeper water was found necessary, and in June, 1888, a new cable was laid across from Gay Head to Naushon. At this same time the Edgartown office was abandoned and re-established at Gay Head. The Oak Bluffs office was only kept open for one year (1886), and with the abandonment of Gay Head, likewise, Vineyard Haven became the sole station on the island. This office was successively in charge of H. H. Curley, Max Wagner (later First Lieutenant, U. S. V., killed in the Philippines, 1900), and William W. Neifert, all of the general service. The office at Vineyard Haven was discontinued June 1, 1900, and the lines bought by the Martha's Vineyard Telegraph Company.

In 1887 the Bell Telephone system was installed on the Vineyard, and several years later an independent line was established by Dr. C. F. Lane; both are now in operation.

Long distance service was perfected in 1902 by the first-named company, and communication with all points reached by them may be held.

OUR EARLIEST FERRY.

REPRESENTATION OF INDIANS CROSSING VINEYARD SOUND IN A CANOE MADE BY BURNING OUT A TRUNK OF A TREE.

(From an early map.)

CHAPTER XXX.

Life in the Vineyard Towns During Colonial Times.

FROM THE CRADLE TO THE GRAVE.

The history of the making of a nation or a land does not consist entirely of a recital of its political relations, a story of its wars, or a description of its material wealth and the development of its natural resources. The story of the English race is not alone a tale of its civil and foreign wars, the heroic deeds of its kings and nobles, nor the prowess of its arms on sea or land. These considerations, of course, have their place in the story of a nation's growth; but above all the simple tale of the people themselves, of the ways in which they lived, the houses they occupied, the things that clothed them, the articles that fed them, the implements employed in their daily existence,— in brief, the domestic life of the people is of even greater interest than the political or the military. Politics and wars occupy but a small part of the life of the people, while the social side is of ever present interest and importance in the development of the characteristics of a race. The subject which can be touched upon only in a fragmentary way, owing to the infinite details which enter into a discussion of this sort, relates to the life of our ancestors during the first century or more of their existence on this island, and it is based largely upon studies of the early records of the Vineyard. If not an exciting tale, it will at least have the merit of resting on a good foundation.

The conditions of life which obtained on this island were not in any sense at great variance from that lived by colonists in other sections of New England, but certain local conditions obtained which had a particular significance and effect not found elsewhere. We shall briefly see in the cursory view which we can take in the limited space at disposal how the people here in colonial times lived and died, and may be able, after a review of their surrounding circumstances, to gain a clearer insight into the daily life that obtained in that period.

The people who settled this island were of pure English stock, almost without exception, and the life which they led

here was that of the yeomanry of England at the same period, modified only by local circumstances and that absence of class distinction which formed the basis of the social fabric in the mother country. It was a democracy of the simplest type, at first, strongly tinged with a theocratic character, which affected a return to the Mosaic forms of law and morals, but there was little display on the Vineyard of that extreme kind of intolerance which was peculiar to the Puritan of Massachusetts. These early islanders brought with them their English customs, lore, and ideals, and in their own way applied them to their changed surroundings.

THE FAMILY.

The institution of marriage as a part of the social system was separated as far as possible from any relation with the Church. It was held to be a purely civil institution, which could be completed by civil magistrates as well as by an ordained minister. This had been the policy adopted by the colonists of Massachusetts Bay, as a part of their plan of freedom from religious customs and rites, and it was followed by the people of the Vineyard with consistent adhesion to extreme Protestant views. Hence we see that the solemn act of matrimony, the keystone of our social system, was performed by a Justice of the Peace or an esquire, with as much frequency as the village parson.

It was a part of this system in colonial times for the persons intending marriage to give notice of same to the town clerk some time in advance, usually two weeks, and this official was required to post a public notice of such intention, in order that objections might be made if any one held them. Besides this formality, the banns were read in the meeting-house on Sundays on consecutive weeks, and if no one appeared to forbid the banns the last obstacle to the consummation of the hopes of two fond hearts was removed.

It was the custom in the colonial days for the bride's father to give her a "marriage portion" or dower, and this was usually in the form of a lot of land for a homestead. Often this was held to be her share in her father's estate, and wills frequently referred to this as a reason for small bequests to those children who had married. In some instances the son was started in life in the same manner as the daughter, and an example of these arrangements is seen in the indenture

made between Benjamin Norton of Edgartown and Joshua Daggett of the same place, on the occasion of the marriage of Nicholas Norton to Martha Daggett. Benjamin Norton agrees to give his son two ten-acre lots and some meadow, and Joshua agrees to give his daughter the value of £25 in estate.[1] But this dower was not always forthcoming and the lack of it was the origin of a custom which it is to be hoped was more honored in the breach than in the observance. The dowerless bride was held to be naked of this world's goods, and as a penalty or reminder of her unfortunate state was obliged to be married in a semi-nude condition. These were known as "Shift marriages," sometimes called also "Smock marriages," for the reason that the woman was clad only in a chemise or smock. This kind of a marriage was reserved by law and custom for widows. By it the new husband was relieved of any debts of his predecessor, and began life with his widow-bride free from incumbrances. It was the custom for the woman thus clad to cross the king's highway and then be married. An instance is recorded in the records of Edgartown in 1757: "Elijah Webster of Lebanon and Elizabeth Trapp of Edgartown were married March 28, 1757. The said Elizabeth appearing naked excepting her shift at the time of marriage."[2] It seems scarcely credible that such a proceeding could have taken place in a civilized community as late as 1757, and yet it was not an uncommon event in other parts of New England until the beginning of the 19th century, and one occurred in England in 1860! These sacrifices of modesty to the cupidity of the new husband for the purpose of evading debts were an old English custom. It is believed, and so we hope, that they took place after dark, but we can imagine that there was little of gayety about a wedding for a woman like Elizabeth Trapp who had to parade across the highway on a cold March night, thinly clad in her chemise as a preliminary requirement. Another form of shift marriage was this: The bride was immured in a closet, disrobed during the ceremony, her hand thrust out of it as the door was held sufficiently ajar to permit this portion of her body to take part in the sacred rite of matrimony.

It was not till well into the 18th century that marriages were solemnized by clergymen almost exclusively. It took our forefathers here and elsewhere over a century to make this

[1]Agreement dated Aug. 4, 1709, Dukes Deeds, II, 257.

[2]Edgartown Vital Records, p. 185.

concession to the church and religion. Ministers were never licensed to solemnize marriages in Plymouth Colony, and in Massachusetts, previous to the union in 1692, the magistrates retained this office in their own hands with peculiar jealousy. In 1647 the Rev. Peter Hobart of Hingman was invited by one of his own church, who was about to be married in Boston, to accompany him and preach on the occasion. But the magistrates being informed of the circumstances forbade it. In their veto, one reason assigned was, "We are not willing to bring in the English custom of Ministers performing the solemnity of marriage, which Sermons at such times might induce."[1]

CHRISTENINGS.

The advent of a child into the family circle was accomplished through the friendly supervision of the neighborhood midwife, and the kindly assistance of sympathetic matrons, as there was not at call in the early days the skilled physician to preside over such functions. If the event was a safe delivery of the mother and child, the next thing in the order of time was the care of the infant's spiritual welfare. Except in the Anabaptist, or pedo-baptist families, it was the custom to bring the child to baptism, usually within seven days after its birth, but this privilege was only extended to the children of persons actually comprised in its covenanted membership. It sometimes happened that only one of the parents was in "full communion" with the church, and the child was baptized as the daughter, for instance, of Jane, the wife of John Brown, the father not being a member of the flock. The older divines held in the first coming over to New England, that none but children of "visible saints" should receive this rite, but in the course of time those outside the church were so numerous that it was found that this practice was leaving the majority of the children without baptism. When Parson Homes took charge of the Chilmark parish, in 1715, he found but two male members on the books. The large proportion of adults attended public worship, but they were not accounted members, although they had been baptized in childhood. It would seem that the Vineyard churches held quite strictly to the stringent rules of this practice, for the church records of all show the admission of parents to membership, immediately followed by

[1]Winthrop, Journal, II, 314.

the baptism of all their children, in a bunch, some well along in their "teens," who had thus been deprived of the rites in their infancy. This is not the place to discuss the intricacies of the measures adopted by the different church synods to meet this condition, particularly the "Half Way Covenant," designed for the benefit of those who had been baptized, but who had not "owned the covenant." Should their children be baptized? The question split the churches, and there began the cleavage between the liberal and orthodox elements, which kept the ecclesiastical fires burning fiercely for a century. However, having got our child baptized somehow, we will now consider his environment as he progresses through life.

PRIMOGENITURE.

In the family the eldest son was accorded special consideration on account of primogeniture, and this had not only a social but a financial advantage. As an indication of this position held by the first born may be cited the gift by John Butler to his two sons, Gamaliel and Malachi of a pew in the Edgartown meeting house. He provided that "the said Gamaliel being Eldest to have the highest or upper end of said Pew and said Malachi being younger shall have the lowest end."[1] In material value, when the father's estate came to be divided, a double portion became his. For example, if there were five children, the property would be divided into six parts, of which the eldest son would be awarded two. A knowledge of this will help to settle many disputed questions of heirship and children.

SOCIAL DISTINCTIONS.

In colonial times there were well-recognized class distinctions, of which evidences are found in our records similar to those observed in other colonies. These related primarily to the same standards respecting quality and birth as obtained in Old England. The ruling family on the island, the Mayhews, were probably descendants of a cadet branch of an armigerous family, as elsewhere related, and the head of it was called Thomas Mayhew, Esquire, and when referred to in his official capacity was called "Worshipful." Official positions also created social distinctions for the holder, if he was

[1]Dukes' Deeds, VI, 85, dated May 3, 1732.

not already distinguished by right of birth. The next in social scale were given the prefix of Mister, or more properly Master, and whenever this appears it can be taken for granted that it was not bestowed by accident or in the manner in vogue at the present time. It meant that the person was of gentle birth, or a scion of a family established in learning or politics. The next lowest in the scale were given the title of "Goodman," while the consort was known as "Goodwife," or in the abbreviated form of "Goody." This class represented the large body of the people known as the yeomanry or peasantry in England. The lowest in the social grade were without distinction or prefix, and appear in the records as John Smith or William Brown. This, however, cannot be universally applied, as much depended upon the clerk recording minutes of the meetings of the inhabitants, or other official proceedings. An instance of this is found in a curious fall in the social scale of Thomas Burchard of Edgartown, who was "Mr." in 1653, "Goodman" in 1663, and plain Thomas Burchard in 1673, when he was in disfavor with the Mayhew regime, and the clerk making the entry a partisan of that family.

These distinctions were maintained in all walks of life, religious and secular, until the period of the Revolution, when the leveling of all ranks to a common basis was enunciated in the Declaration of Independence, and all men were declared as "born free and equal." Since that time everybody has become an esquire and a "Mister."

At feasts and at funerals, in those days, there was alike a recognition of ranks and orders. Sewall tells us how ministers, magistrates, and distinguished strangers were disposed at the dinner table, and how the viands and beverages of the feast were sorted to suit the company, according to social rank. The wives partook of the status of the husband and were called Mistress, Goodwife, or plain Sarah Brown, and in like manner, sons and daughters of these respective parents held the quality of their fathers and mothers. Clergyman, of whatever previous rank, were accorded special distinction on account of their superior learning and were always classed as of the first grade in the social scale.

DIVORCES.

Dissolution of the marriage tie was extremely rare on the island for the first hundred years of its existence, and for that matter, during the century following. Only two cases have

come to the notice of the author within the first named period. The first case in the jurisdiction of the colony of the Massachusetts Bay was heard in 1636, but it was not until 1670 that our first case occurred. This was that of James Skiff *vs.* Elizabeth Skiff, the charge being desertion.[1] James Skiff had recently come from Sandwich to settle in the new township of Takemmy, being one of the four original patentees, while his wife had run away with another man "for to be her husband." The following is the record of the decree of divorce: —

August 3 1670 att the Vineyard:

Att a General Court held upon the Vinyard To his Ma'tie our sov'r lord the Kinge:

Whereas James Skiffe, late inhabitant of Sandwich, but now att the Vineyard, hath petitioned and sued for bill of divorce from his wife: whereupon this p'sent Court hath taken it into serious consideration and having received sufficient testimony that the late wife of James Skiffe hath unlawfully forsaken her lawful husband, James Skiffe, and is gone to Roanoke, in or att Virginia, and there hath taken another man for to be husband and wee having received several testimonies of it:

Therefore know all men by these p'sents that the authoritie of this Court hath granted unto the said James Skiffe a lawfull of divorce from the former woman, namely Elizabeth the daughter of Mr Neighbor Cooper, inhabitant of Boston: that James Skiffe is free from the aforesaid woman, which was his lawfull wife: and that the aforesaid covenant of marriage is now dissolved and of noe affect.

THOMAS DOGED,
clarke to the Court att the Vineyard

HOUSES.

The dwellings were probably log huts at first, built in the manner of construction familiar to all. The cracks and chinks were daubed with clay and the roof covered with salt hay laid in the form of a thatch. In the early divisions of land in Edgartown there were "thatch lots" set apart for each of the proprietor's holdings, and they were held as such and passed from owner to owner under this designation as late as 1680. The inflammable and unclean character of this material rendered it unsafe and unsanitary, and so soon as a carpenter was added to the list of mechanics in the community wooden

[1]She was daughter of James Neighbor, a cooper of Boston, and she had eloped with William Wills who, in 1672, was living in Carolina. (Savage, Gen. Dict., III, 267.)

In 1750 Capt. Timothy Daggett of Edgartown was granted a legal separation and maintenance from his wife, if she refused to return to his bed and board. (Dukes Co. Court Records.)

shingles were split or hewn out of the logs and superseded the old thatches. These shingles were fastened on with wooden pegs at first, and later as the village smithy appeared on the scene wrought-iron nails were pounded out by hand, and a more permanent covering secured for their habitations.

Of course the houses were single storied — most of them of the "low double" variety — and at first they had mud chimneys, held by straw bonds, baked by the sun or at least roughly made by a crude kiln capable of making but a few bricks at a time. Clay pits were of considerable value, and usually when one was found it was reserved for a general town use. The first mention found of a brick kiln is about 1700 at Chickemmoo, but undoubtedly one must have existed before that. A chimney is mentioned as early as 1659.

For windows it is not probable that glass was at first obtainable by the early settlers. It is mentioned as early as 1652, in connection with the construction of a church for the Indians in the items of allowances for expenses. The first means of letting in light was by the use of oiled paper set in frames by which they secured translucency but not transparency. As a substitute bleached linen cloth was sometimes employed for the purpose. Glass had to be imported from England, and was in small panes affixed usually by leads within a wooden sash operated on hinges.

The village smithy furnished the simple hardware trimmings for the house, such as hinges and bolts or latches — they were crude affairs laboriously pounded out of iron and made to do duty in absence of other better "fixins" imported from England or found in Boston.

Fire places constituted the only means of heating houses. Stoves, air-tight and otherwise, are modern abominations. The general fuel was wood at first, but peat was used as a substitute later in some places. Peat is mentioned as early as 1788, and is still used by some of the inhabitants of Gay Head.

HOUSEHOLD FURNISHINGS.

Chamber furniture. — The bed was always the centre of interest and importance in the chamber, being a tall posted structure reaching to the ceiling, and the bed raised high from the floor. The feather bed held a place of honor from the first years of the settlement to a time in the recollection of some of our oldest inhabitants. These were dressed with

pillows, encased in "beers" and bolsters, similarly covered, both of which were filled with the same material, soft downy feathers from the goose. The sheets were both of cotton and linen, and the four posts were draped with valances. One inventory shows a bed with "Curttains & Valence" as early as 1665, together with a carpet on the floor. This same gentleman indulged in "Venus" or looking glasses, chests of drawers with sundry "fine linnen," and other evidences of gentility somewhat unusual. Beds were among the most valuable possessions of the settlers, and they were specifically mentioned as bequests in wills, usually among the first articles to be given to this or that favorite child. An idea of their relative value may be gained from the appraisements of the estates of the first comers. In 1665 one was valued at six pounds, equal in our money at the present time at least $125, and another, with blankets and coverlid, at double that sum in our money. In 1715 five beds belonging to Simon Athearn were valued at $1000 in our present money, an average of $200 each, or the then value of a pair of oxen, or a good young horse. The warming pan, a device for heating their beds, was brought by them from England, where it had been long in use. In the old "Babees Book," we read the advice to "put of your clothes in winter by the fireside, and cause your bed to bee heated with a warming panne." The earliest mention of them is in 1665, valued at ten shillings. A white blanket was priced at sixteen shillings five pence in 1669, or about twenty dollars of our present money.

UTENSILS.

Most all of the domestic utensils for household use were of brass, copper, or iron. Brass kettles, copper pots, and iron skillets made up the list of articles available for the colonial housewife in her kitchen. Dining dishes were generally of pewter, comprising platters, porringers, saucers, and mugs, while occasional pieces of "Chany," Holland or Old English crockery were displayed on the trenchers of the upper classes, as evidences of wealth or taste. Table cloths and napkins are mentioned in 1665, and the inventory of one prominent townsman of Tisbury included the following luxuries in household furnishings for his table: 4 table cloths, 23 napkins, 1 silver tankard, 6 silver spoons, 1 silver cup, 1 chafing dish, and 1 silver porringer.

The early settlers probably had little employment for artificial lights. Life was not strenuous then, and the open fireplace at evening, with an occasional pine knot thrown in, added luminosity to the genial glow and warmth of the blazing logs. Of course the tallow candle was the luxurious artificial light of colonial nights, and it is not necessary to recite the methods of making that well-known domestic article — the "tallow dip." The well-to-do people of that period indulged in wax candles, made of the barberry, sometimes called the candle tree, wax. The scarcity of this bush on the island made it a luxury, and only when a distinguished guest, such as the judges, who came from Boston, on some important mission, were they brought out to shed their gentle beams on the sand-covered floors. As the whale fisheries was one of the pursuits of the people here before 1700, it is highly probable that whale oil was employed in some form of primitive lamp and used by the settlers to penetrate the gloom of their long winter evenings. In giving some testimony in 1662, William Vincent referred to a person who "had Lighted the Lamp," at the time referred to in the case, and we can suppose it was made to burn with that kind of oil.

LITERATURE.

The reading matter enjoyed by the people of the Vineyard in colonial times, as shown by the inventories of their personal property, was, it must be confessed, of a rather doleful variety. It was characteristic of the period, however, and no special significance is to be attached to it. Most of the books were heavy theological disputations, soporific sermons, "last dying words" of some convicted felon who had grown in grace as the day of execution neared, commentaries on the Scriptures, and such like volumes. They were neither cheerful nor elevating, and the bulk of them have gone to the paper mill years ago.

A few books were written here and published in the first hundred years after the settlement. The earliest literary productions were by the younger Mayhew, written within the first ten years of the settlement and were in reality letters descriptive of his labors among the Indians. They were printed in small quartos, and published in London by the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel, and are now very rare.

The first pretentious book written here was by Matthew Mayhew, published in 1695, entitled "Conquests and Triumphs of Grace," with an account of the Indians of Martha's Vineyard. It is a small octavo — now extremely rare — only one copy known in America, at present in the magnificent private library of the late J. Carter Brown. It is a fairly good account of the mission work of the Mayhews, together with an interesting description of the Indians themselves.

The Rev. William Homes of Chilmark published several sermons about 1720 to 1740, one of which, delivered in Tisbury in 1719, was lately offered for sale. It was entitled: "A Discourse concerning the public Reading of the Scriptures by the Lords People in their Religious Assemblies."[1]

The book, however, which is best known and is by far the most important of all the literary productions of the Vineyard, is the serious and solemn "Indian Converts," by Experience Mayhew, published in 1726. It is a book of about two hundred pages, and passed through several editions.[2]

The work consists of biographical sketches of the Indians of the Vineyard, who became converted to Christianity under the missionaries. It is divided into three sections,— Indian Men, Indian Women, and Indian Children. This last section putting as it does into the mouths of boys and girls of the Algonquian race some of the ponderous logic of Puritan theology, as evidence of their acceptance and belief in the new religion, draws somewhat deeply on our credulity. Fortunately for the permanent value of the book, he gives us some biographies of the bad Indians of the Vineyard, and it must be admitted that their devotion to the "firewater" of the whites and faithfulness to their own pawwaws or medicine men adds a not-unwelcome human touch to this valuable colonial book.

As an instance of the scarcity of books at that period, it may be said that Samuel Sarson, who was one of the wealthiest "swells" of his time, who died in 1703, had but four books among his personal estate. Bibles of the King James version, with occasional copies of the "Vinegar" and "Breeches" texts, were the most valuable books in the colonial libraries. Simon Athearn had two Bibles when he died, which were

[1]At the suggestion of the author the Duodecimo Club of Vineyard Haven purchased this copy and presented it to the Public Library in that village.

[2]It is rare, in good condition, and fetches about $10. The author has a copy minus the title page. The late Davis Smith had a copy some years ago, and Mr. William J. Rotch recently secured a good copy, which is now in his possession.

THE

Conquests and Triumphs

OF

GRACE:

BEING

A Brief Narrative of the **Succeſs** which the **Goſpel** hath had among the *INDIANS* of *Marthas' Vineyard* (and the Places adjacent) in *New England.*

WITH

Some Remarkable *Curioſities*, concerning the *Numbers* the *Cuſtomes*, and the preſent Circumſtances of the *INDIANS* on that Iſland.

Further Explaining and Confirming the account given of those Matters by Mr. **Cotton Mather** in the Life of the Renowned Mr. **John Eliot**

By MATTHEW MAYHEW.

Atteſted by the Reverend Mr: *Nath. Mather*, and others

Whereto is Added

An Account concerning the Preſent State of Chriſtianity Among the *Indians*, in other Parts of *New-England:* Expreſſed in the *Letters* of ſeveral Worthy Persons beſt acquainted therewithal.

LONDON, Printed for Nath. Hiller, at the *Princes Arms* in *Leaden-hall-ſtreet*, over againſt St. *Mary Axe*, 1695.

(Size of original, within lines, 3 1-16 x 5 5-16 inches.)
Title page of the first book published by a Vineyard author, 1695.

appraised at five pounds, or an equivalent of $25 in our present currency, of about $100 as reckoned by the relative value of their money at this day. The books of Experience Mayhew were so few that they were only valued in 1759 at four pounds, four shillings.

To Ezra Covell of Edgartown, a "merchant taylor," belongs the honor of making the first provision for a public library on the Vineyard. After disposing of his estate "to the uttermost penny" to his wife, he made the following contingent bequest: —

> And if it should be that we both depart the world at one time then all that I have given her shall be bestowed in Bibles or other good Bokes for the use of the children in the above mentioned Edgartown.[1]

In a codicil to this will, two years later (1698), he rectified this improbable contingency of their simultaneous death and provided "that if she should decease so soon after him, that she neither wills nor disposeth of it, then the same to be to the uses within named."

PAPER AND WRITING.

The scarcity of paper in colonial times made it necessary for the exercise of economy in literary scribbling, correspondence, etc. Paper mills were few and far between in this country before 1700 — most of the paper was imported. This enforced economy of paper led to the use of contractions in writing which we have observed in records of the period. All our early public records, in fact, are full of contracted spellings for this reason, the penmanship usually very fine and cramped, to save paper. As paper became more plentiful, the science of orthography ran riot in the extra space afforded, and enlarged forms of words, with wonderful spellings, took the place of the shortened symbols of the preceding generations. As an example of this later variety is the spelling of "Feburywary" for the second month, in the Chilmark records.

Ink was of home manufacture. Old iron scraps were placed in a decoction of nut galls, producing after a period the tannate or gallate of iron, the best and most permanent medium for record writing.

Pens were of course made of quills plucked from the farmyard goose and cut by the user as needed. With this equipment

[1]Will dated April 29, 1696. Probate Records, I, 15.

Jonathan Dunham, John Mayhew, Ralph Thacher, Experience Mayhew, and Josiah Torrey, indited their sermons for the benefit of their earlier generations then living on the three towns on the Vineyard.

It will be noticed that the documents reprinted in this history, whenever copied from the ancient records, do not have the familiar "ye" for *the* when that word occurs in the text. In the struggle for literal accuracy in the transcription of early records it is the general custom to write "ye" for "the" in manuscripts, and it seems desirable to call the attention of persons accustomed to this habit to say that it has no foundation in orthography or orthoepy. In copies from gravestone inscriptions, where a perfect reproduction is possible in all the forms of the letters, the use of "ye" may be pardonable, but unless we undertake to have a special font of type to represent the early forms of written letters it is absurd to single out the word "the" for misrepresentation as "ye." The letter "c" occurring in the middle of a word in the handwriting of the times of the Pilgrim settlements looks like a "t," as near as can be represented in type, but no one adopts it as a substitute, else we should have people selling "atres" of land. No one seriously supposes that our ancestors went about speaking of "ye house" and pronouncing it as spelled. The Century Dictionary says on this point: "Modern archaists often affect *ye* for *the*, and many pronounce it as it looks, ye." The custom arose, as explained there, from the printers of the latter English period using a "ye" to represent the Anglo-Saxon and early English "pe" (the), as near as can be shown in modern type, because they had no form in type exactly like the character for "th" in the Anglo-Saxon.

It is a matter of common observation that many early settlers were accustomed to use a "mark" instead of a signature, and it is a question whether it indicated illiteracy, indolence, or economy in ink. In some cases it is fair to assume the first where the station and avocation of the person would warrant that conclusion. It is evident that men made a "mark" who could write and instances of this kind are not uncommon. It often happened that wills were signed with a "mark," which should not be taken as a evidence of inability to write, but to write at that time, because of sickness, the document being signed when very aged, or in stress of disease. A case like this relates to one of our early settlers which caused

a descendant much chagrin, but a fine signature was found in a petition which indicated he could write a bold, free hand. It would be interesting to know if this habit of signing with "marks" obtained to any extent among those who could write but were unable or unwilling to for one reason or another.

COLONIAL VISITORS.

Social life, as exemplified by the intercourse of the people themselves with each other and with others who visited the island during the first hundred years after its settlement, has left but few traces upon which to base definite conclusions. Lying as it does in the great highway of commerce between New England and the South, the Vineyard was then as now a resting place for almost all traffic bound east or west. Hence it must have been a common event for passengers in the coastwise packets to come ashore and pass their leisure hours and days at the taverns or at the houses of the "quality" of Edgartown and Homes Hole. The first visitor of whom we have knowledge was Mr. Andrew Forrester, steward of the Lord Stirling, in 1647, who came to look after his principal's property. In 1653 came Rev. Michael Wigglesworth, author of the celebrated poem of horrible prophecies, "The Day of Doom," on which our ancestors fed for religious consolation. In 1657 the Quaker preacher, Christopher Holder, tried his luck in proselyting here, but with disastrous results. The well-known Indian "Apostle" John Eliot, was a guest of the elder Mayhew, at the ordination of the first native preacher. In 1692 Major General John Walley visited the island on a political mission. These are the known visitors, but it is such a small list that we can surely say that many more of the celebrities of the day paid our island a visit, when passing by in their passage to and from the western settlements along the coast.

Fortunately for our purposes there are extant the journals of four voyages to the Vineyard made in 1702, 1706, 1712, and 1714, by the eminent jurist and citizen of Boston, Judge Samuel Sewall, and his son of the same name, in which they record scenes and events of their visits which give us the best pictures of the social conditions on the Vineyard, at that period. They will bear inserting in full in this section to aid us in depicting the life of the people as observed by them, and how

they fared during their stays on the island. The first visit was made by the father, and the record of it is as follows: —

April 6, 1702. Go to the Ferry House; His Boat is at little Wood's hole: travel thither; there embark and have a good passage over in little more than an hours time. Refresh at Chases, from thence rode to Tisbury. First man I speak with is Joseph Daggett; he tells me (Robert) Kithcart keeps an Ordinary: we go thither, the Day Light being almost spent. Mr. (Isaac) Robinson's son helps us and bears company awhile. (Edward) Milton visits us. Get to Weeks about 1 p.m.

Tuesday April 7. Mr. Sheriff Allen having visited us over night in his way from the old Town comes to see us this morn. Then visit Major (Matthew) Mayhew, then Exper(ience) whose wife lyes in of a son. Dine at Major Mayhew's, then rode to the Gay-head Neck, to Abel's wigwam, where was pleased with the goodness of his house especially the Furniturs, demonstrating his Industry. . . . Visit Mr. Thacher in our return. 'Tis a pretty while within night by that time we get from our Quarters at Mr. Allen's where sup with the Sheriff, his wife Major Mayhew, Mr. (Josiah) Torrey, Experience Mayhew. Have a very good Chamber and Bed to lodge in, one of the best in Chilmark.

Wednesday April 8. Japhet, Jonathan and Stephen came to me: I have much discourse with them: try to convince Stephen of his Anabaptistical Errors; Jonas and he have a Church of about 30, ten men. Gave Japhet two Arabian pieces of 8–8 to buy corn. Mr. Experience Mayhew proposes to me as a thing very expedient that some short Treatise be drawn up and translated into Indian to prevent the spreading of the Anabaptisticall Notions. Mr. (Ralph) Thacher and Mr. Thomas Mayhew and Mr. (Simon) Athern accompany me in my way towards Edgartown. Dine at Mr. Athern's; his wife not 14 when he married her. . . . On the Rode first Mr. Mayhew and then Japhet, tell me the story of Japhet's birth. Get to the Town about 3 p.m. Visit Mr. Diman. (this is probably an error for Dunham) Go aboard and visit Capt. Jonas Clay, sick of Gout. Lodge at Parson's. (probably meaning at Parson Dunham's)

Thursday April 9. Breakfast at Major Mayhew's. Major Mayhew and his Brother accompany us to (Isaac) Chases, where meet with Experience Mayhew and Mr Allen the Sherriffe. Chases Boat not come. By the time I got over 't was near sunset.[1]

The second visit was made by the elder Sewall four years later, and the short record of it is as follows: —

Sept. 2, 1706. Embarked for the Vineyard: but by stormy rough weather were forced back again to Wood's hole.

Sept; 3. Went to the Vineyard with a fair wind, and from Homes's Hole to Tisbury and I to Chilmark, to Mr. (James) Allen's.

Sept; 4. To Gay head, Mr Danforth, I, Mr. Thomas Mayhew, Major (Nathan) Bassett.

Sept; Din'd at Mr. Mayhew's; went to Homes's Hole to wait for a Passage to Rode-Island or Bristol. There lay wind bound.

[1]Diary, III, 397.

Sept; 8. Mr. Danforth and I go to Tisbury Meeting. Mr. Josiah Torrey preach'd forenoon: Mr. Danforth after noon. Return'd to (Isaac) Chases to Mr. Bromfield.

Sept; 9. Monday, embark'd with a scant wind.[1]

The persons accompanying Judge Sewall were, probably, the Rev. Samuel Danforth and Edward Bromfield of Boston, the latter of the governor's council. The visit was made, it would seem, on account of the missionary work at Gay Head, in which Sewall was greatly interested.

The next visit was made in 1712 by the younger Sewall, in company with Lieutenant Governor William Tailer, Colonel Penn Townsend of his council, and some others. The journal contains the following record of his proceedings: —

Satturday, (October 4th,), sett forward for Seccunnessett. Baited at Fishes. Dined at Demiks. There send Boy for to see for the Ferry Boat. After Dinner proceeded to the Ferry. Gott aboard betwixt 4 and 5. Gott ashore about 9 a Clock at night. From thence walked one mile ½ to Chases, then ridd to Sheriff Allen's. gott there by 12 a Clock at night. Lodg'd there. Col Townsend Mr Barnard and myself; Gov'r Taylor & Maj'r Thaxter at the Ferry Place.

Sabbath Day went to meeting at Chilmark at Mr. Thatcher's Church: Mr Barnard Preached all Day. Lt. Gov'r lodg'd att (Robert) Kithcarths, with Maj'r Thaxter (probably Major Samuel, grandfather of Parson Thaxter).

Monday morning sett forward for Gay Head, with Lt. Gov'r, Col Townsend, Maj'r Mayhew, Maj'r Skiff Mr. Sheriff Allen, Maj'r Thaxter, Mr. Barnard, Capt. (Zaccheus) Mayhew, Experience Mayhew, Mr. Benjamin Allen. When came to the Indian Meeting House, These Maj'r Skiff and myself gave livery and seizen. Abel gott 80 sheep and 400 Lambs. Brave Land 6 oxen 6 cows 2 or 3 horses. Remember to gett Testiament for Eliaz'r Allen, at the Vineyard.

Tuesday October 7. Went from Sheriff Allens and Din'd at Mr. Kithdarcth's, where I met with Mr. (Simon) Atturn & Mr. Torrey. Went for Edgartown. Lodg'd at Mr. (John) Worth's.

Wednesday night. Lodged at Mr. Worths. Had a great dispute about Chappaquiddick, the Sachem appearing before us and Mr. (Benjamin) Haws his Attorney for him. Mr. Turner plead for the English for their fight in the Herbage The Island right over against the Harbour. Mr Worths house.

Thursday night. — Lodged at Homes' Hole.

Friday morning betimes gott aboard of the Ferry Boat. Gott ashore on Secconnessett side at Wood's Hole by 9 in the morning. 5 Horses. The 4 Gentlemen came in the next boat.[2]

The fourth and last of these interesting visits was made by the elder Sewall in 1714, and like the others related to the

[1]Diary, II, 166.

[2]Diary (printed in N. E. Gen. Register).

business of the society for the Propagation of the Gospel among the Indians of New England, of which Sewall was an active promoter. The entries in his journal are as follows: —

Second-day April 5, 1714. . . . In our Passage we were becalmed, and the Tide against us so that we were 2½ hours getting over. Were fain to row to the West side of Onkakemy Bay, where we landed, the sloop coming to an Anchor. Our Horses were forced to leap into the Sea. By that time had tackled them was duskish.

Major Thaxter discovered some men and Horses, as he thought, upon the Beach at a distance. When came to them found Thomas Paul a lame Indian on Horseback with his net on his shoulder, to catch Fish by night. Upon my speaking to him to Pilot me, he left his net and did it very well. We were ready to be offended that an Englishman Jonathan Lumbard, in the Company spake not a word to us, and it seems he is deaf and dumb. Got to Mr. Allens a little before 9 at night.

Third-day. April 6. I am something indisposed, resolved not to goe abroad. Mr. Thomas Mayhew, Mr. Allen, Father, Mr. Haws and others come in to see us. Mr. Mayhew writes a Letter in Indian to Saul, which I subscribed myself, to notify the Indians of the Gay-Head to come together some thing before noon. I would speak with them after Mr. Mayhew's Lecture. I writ a Letter to Mr. Mayhew of the same import, sent them by Mr. Haws, who is going to Nomans Land. Discours'd Mr. Mayhew largely of the Indian affairs. I was glad to hear that the Gay-Head Indians had of their own account, met together and run a Fence across the Neck. Mr. Mayhew had advised them to it many years agoe, but they did it not until this Spring Mr. Mayhew was with them at their consultation. He tells me a Ditch four foot wide and two deep which he effected the last, will cost but 6s. per Rod. Mr. Torry and Cathcart dine with us, and Mr. Homes who boards at Mr. Allen's to teach School.

In the Evening Mr. Ralph Thacher had his son Ralph call and Wellcom me to the Island. They tell us of a Governour coming over for us: had been gone three weeks; to take Ireland in his way. They had this News from Mr. Otis of Sandwich. They reckon a Ship is come in from England. Mr. Otis read the Letter. They lodg'd at Fish's last Monday Night. After they were gone, Mr. Experience Mayhew came in to see me, and invited us to Dine or Sup with him after the Lecture in our Return home.

Mid-week, April 7, 1714. Very serene, Sunshiny morning, the most pleasant we have had since we came from home.

Indian Boy Josiah Hassit Jun'r Psalm Book.

Abel Sacachassauet, Promised (sent a New Testament, July 5, 1714).

Major Thaxter and I went to the Gay-Head, accompanied by Mr. Thomas Mayhew, Mr. Josiah Torrey, Mr. Ebenezer Allen, Mr. Robert Cathcart, Mr. Benjamin Haws, Mr. John Dennison, Mr. Robert Homes, David Sinclair. Major Skiff and Mr. Experience Mayhew we took in our way. About one hundred Men and Women were gathered together besides Children. Mr. Mayhew directed Joash Pannos, Minister of Gay-Head to begin with Prayer; then, Mr. Mayhew preached from Ephes. I. II.— who worketh all things after the Counsel of his own Will.

Sung 4 verses of the 111th Psalm. Mr. Torrey set the Low-Dutch Tune. Mr. Mayhew gave in the heads of his Sermon in English; a good Discourse. Isaac Ompane concluded with Prayer. I enquired if any one could read English; proclamation was made. At last only two young men were produced. I set him to read in my Psalm-book with red Covers, and then gave it him. Promised a Testament to the 2d.

Fifth-day, April 8, 1714. at Mr. Ebenezer Allen's in Marthas Vineyard sent for Mr. Benjamin Mayhew, who has land adjoining the Gayhead neck. I informed him that the Gay-head Indians have made their Half of Fence, on the side towards the Sound, and desired him to make his Half, that the Neck might be closed; which he agrees to. And he is promised that his so doing shall not alter any Lease he has of Sam Osowit for about 10 or 12 acres just within the Neck. To Sarah Japhet, widow, 12s. to help Fill her Land. Bethiah, Nicodemus' widow, who died at Port Royal, is her daughter, and dwells with her. Bethiah has one sone, of 22 years old, who is helpless by reason of Sickness; have one Servant 17 years old. April 8, was exceeding dark at one Time in the morning. I have hardly seen such Thick Darkness. Great Rain, considerable Lightening and Thunder before Night.

Sixth-day, April 9, 1714. Fair Weather: Cold Northerly Wind. Visit Abel's widow. Go to the top of Prospect Hill, from thence to the Sound and by Mr. Thomas Mayhew's direction viewed the River falling into the Sound, and the shoar all along to the end of the 327 Rods which extends South-ward to the middle Line, containing about 1000 Acres which belongs to the Corporation.

April 10, 1714. The wind being excessive high we did not goe to Holmes' Hole, but view'd Watsha neck all over, being conducted by Mr. Simon Athern and B. Haws: find much of it good for Herbage and Tillage. Sat awhile in the Wigwam where Elizabeth, Stephen Spokes' Widow dwells: eat roste Alewive and very good Hasty Pudding. Gave the Widow at coming away 10s. Get to Mr. Worth's between 3 and 4. Demanded rent of Mrs. Worth for the Neck. Went to Mr. Mat. Mayhew for a copy for another Letter of Attorney of his Father.

Seventh-day, April 10, 1714. The last night was very Cold. Plenty of Ice was to be seen in the Road between Mr. Allen's and Cathcarts past Ten a clock in the fair sunshine.

Edgartown: April 11, 1714. Serene Day. Ps 90. 1–6. L. By Mr. Samuel Wiswall, A.M. . . . In the evening visited Mrs. Lothrop. As we went we met Capt. Dogget and Mr. Mat. Mayhew coming to see us. Mrs. Lothrop has 8 children. They are all well. Mr. Wiswall eat with us between 4 and 5 p.m. Their custom is not to dine. Capt. Dogget expresses a great desire Mr. W. may continue with them. fears lest he should be discouraged and remove. Would have me endeavor to persuade him to stay among them. Two sloops sailed yesterday; one for Boston, the other for Woods' Hole.

Second-day April 12, 1714. Major Thaxter and Mr. Dennison go to Mr. Mayhew for the Letter of attorney and an extract of the Deed. Yet our Landlady scruples paying arrears. Thinks I may be able to demand only what has grown due since my Lord Lymerick made conveyed his lands and Lordship to the hon'ble Company whereof Sir William Ashurst is Governor.

Rode to Holmes' Hole, accompanied by Mr. Jno. Worth, Capt. Doggett, Mr. Matthew Mayhew, Benjamin Haws, John Tolman. Came of about 25 minutes past 10, m. To Job Soumauau, Schoolmaster at Christain Town, ten shillings. Had a good passage over with young Mrs. Daggett of Attleborough.[1]

AMUSEMENTS.

The state of living and the habits of life attendant upon the settling a strange country, almost a wilderness, did not allow of any general relaxation from the work of fishing, trading and tilling the soil. The early settlers left behind the sports and pastimes of old England, and did not renew them here because they did not have the place or time to give to their enjoyment. It is safe to say that few outdoor games were ever played here in the 17th century, and such amusement as they sought was in the pipe and bowl and spinning yarns at neighborhood gatherings. The possession even of cards, dice, and other gaming implements was prohibited in the other colonies,[2] and the indulgence in cards in this insular jurisdiction may be supposed to have been interdicted, though no laws to that effect are recorded.[3] From negative inference we are led to believe card-playing was indulged in by some of the settlers. The games of cards known in those days were Primero, Trump, Gresco, Port, Noddy, Gleek, and others not known to the present generation. Whist, or as it was formerly written Whisk, was not developed till the next century. Matthew Mayhew, in a document dated 1675, showed his familiarity with the game of cards by referring to the tactics of his opponents: "Every card they play is an Ace and every Ace a Trump." Twenty years later, when the "outs" were recommending Simon Athearn for the place of justice, they solemnly averred that he was "no card player,"[4] a statement that was probably intended as a covert allusion to Mayhew's liberal views of such things.

CONVIVIAL AND RELIGIOUS TIPPLING.

If drinking liquor can be called an amusement, it is certain that a considerable number of the people, from the clergy

[1]Diary, II, 432.

[2]Conn. Rec., I, 289, 527: Mass. Col. Rec., I, 84.

[3]In England it was forbidden any householder to permit card-playing in his house under the penalty of six shillings and eight pence for every offence. (Stat. Anno II, Hen. VII, Cap 2.)

[4]Mass. Archives, CXII, 435.

down to the serving-man, indulged their spare hours to an appreciable extent. Beer was brewed on the island. There was a malt-house at Edgartown before 1700, and the vessels that touched here in their voyages to and from St. Kitts, Barbadoes, and Jamaica, furnished the rum and *aqua vitae* to those who indulged in "strong drink." The use of liquor was well-nigh universal in the 18th century. I need only cite its regular appearance at ministerial ordinations, church raisings, funerals, and weddings, as pertinent evidence on this point.

In the limited sense of games, however, we are without definite information, and yet it is to be presumed that a people who came from "Merrie England" with its storehouse of sports, playful and athletic, did not forget entirely how to relax in innocent and healthful pastimes.

TOBACCO.

Tobacco-smoking, or as it was then called "Drinking Tobacco," was indulged at the Vineyard soon after the settlement. Probably the Indians used some kind of a weed before the advent of the whites. Traffic in tobacco is mentioned as early as 1659, and from that time forth occasional references to it appear. Being a maritime place, where old sea-dogs were wont to congregate, it would have been surprising if the weed were not an article of use and traffic. In 1700 it was stated that smugglers "land Great part of it (tobacco) at Martins Vineyard or at Elizabeth Island where it is Housed, not paying the Collector if they are Discovered above ¼ the Duty of the 1 penny p. pound Sterl."[1] The cultivation of tobacco was also undertaken here about the middle of the eighteenth century. In a suit at law in 1767, Thomas Arey *vs.* Seth Dunham, the plaintiff stated that he raised this plant on his land at Tom's Neck (Chappaquiddick), and alleged that the defendant carried away "about one hundred Plants of Tobacco."[2]

The taverns of the Vineyard would not have had a natural appearance about them if the pipe and bowl had not found vogue here among the colonists. As a rule, its use was frowned

[1]Edward Randolph to the Board of Trade, 5 Nov. 1700. (State Papers. P.R.O. V. 48.)

[2]Dukes County Court Records. Tobacco is raised in Connecticut at the present time in a climate less favorable than our island conditions.

upon by the Puritans, and laws restricting its use were made in most of the colonies. But it was not the Puritan alone who

> "Abhorres a sattin suit, a velvet cloak
> And sayes tobacco is the devill's smoke."

It will be remembered that King James I had a violent personal antipathy to tobacco, and wrote an extravagant pamphlet against it, entitled "A Counterblaste to Tobacco," and his influence and that of his followers at court was employed to prohibit its use.

Of him it was written:

> "In quilted doublet and great trunk breeches
> Who held in abhorrence tobacco and witches."

"BEATING THE BOUNDS."

There is an old English ceremony, how old no man knows, for it was derived from the Romans, of making an annual perambulation of one's property and examining, repairing, and publicly declaring the boundaries of the same. It was the custom of the Romans to erect a statue of their god Terminus, at each corner of their property, and in these yearly walks round to decorate the image with flowers and offer libations to him. He was sculptured as a legless person to show that he never moved. In England this annual ceremony is limited to a public procession about the bounds of an estate, parish, or city, headed by some representative of the owner or corporation officials, accompanied by whomsoever chooses to join in the affair. This is known as "beating the bounds," because the boys of the locality are furnished with long willow branches and strike the bound stones with them when they are reached, to point out to all concerned the extent of the property claimed. It is done to this day, even in London, and is the occasion of a jollification, in which the boys partake of a feast at the expense of the municipality. This custom was continued here by our forefathers, but the name given to it was "perambulating the bounds," and was unaccompanied by any form of hilarity. Indeed it was a serious and solemn business, like all their life work, and the selectmen of the towns, which had adjoining division lines, met, soberly walked round the landmarks, saw that they were in place, and "renewed" them in their respective town records by an entry to

that effect. A sample of this record is here given from the Tisbury book, and is like others in the abutting townships: —

February the 10th 1740 Wee the Subscribers being the Selectmen of the Towns of Tisbury and Chilmark, being Mett in Order to Perambulate & Renew the Bounds between the sd Towns and accordingly Wee agree to Renew a Rock lying in the Wash of the Sea on the North side of the Island; and a Great Rock Lying at the East End of the Midle Line. Commonly known by the Name of the great Rock; and further to a Stake with a heap of Stones round it at a place Commonly known by the name of Cases field And to a black Oake Saplin Markt at the North side of the Road a Little to the Westward of the House of Mr Eliashib Adams. All which we find to be the Bounds Renewed by the Select men hereto

SAMUEL LUMBERT, SHUBAEL LUCE } *Selectmen of Tisbury*
SILVANUS ALLEN, ELIASHIB ADAMS } *Selectmen of Chilmark*

COMPUTATION OF TIME.

The reckoning of time among our ancestors was accomplished by rather crude means. It is doubtful if there was a clock or watch on the island for the first fifty years of the settlement. None appear in the inventories at that period. Sun dials, hour glasses, and noon-notches cut on window and door sills on the southern side of the house were the only means they had of knowing the hour or measuring the time. Occasionally the hours would be cut on the window sill, so that the house-wife could tell when to expect the men to return from the fields. This would be of service only on sunshiny days. Hour-glasses were used for the pulpit, to mark the length of the sermon, and give the parson a hint that his sands were fast running away. Calendar time, as they reckoned it, requires particular explanation.

From 1607, the practical beginning of the colonial period, up to March 25, 1752, "Annunciation" or "Lady's Day," just after the Vernal Equinox, was New Year's day. March 24 was the last day of the year, and the months ran from March as the first month to February as the twelfth month. The prefixes to names of months Sept-ember, Oct-ober, Nov-ember, and Dec-ember indicate this respectively for the seventh, eight, ninth, and tenth months; July and August, likewise, were anciently denominated Quintilis and Sextilis, fifth and sixth, their present names having been bestowed in compliment to Julius Cæsar and Augustus.

For a part of this period, from 1607 to 1752, double dating was the common practice for the months between January 1

and March; this was an attempt to try to give dates for a year beginning March 25, and at the same time for a year beginning January 1. This had led to much confusion, and a great many times to much embarrassment; and, where double dating was not used, the reading and recording of dates has often been very erroneous and misleading. The change was made to January 1, or rather the change, which had been made long before in some of the European countries, was finally adopted and became the universal practice for Great Britain and her colonies, in 1752.

Almanacs were also very scarce, until the 18th century, and then one copy would answer for the whole neighborhood. Just how they kept sure reckoning of the days and months, without these aids to calculation, is hard to understand. As many of the months were named for pagan deities, the Puritans would not use those names, and called them by number, March being the first as already stated. This lasted during the 17th century. Our records abound in allusions to this system of enumeration, "because they would avoid," says Lechford, "all memory of heathenish and idols names." The Quakers still use this method of designating the months, as well as the days of the week.

AGRICULTURE.

While modern machines for the use of the farmer have robbed "haying" of its most picturesque features, yet now as then the scythe was the first implement in the hands of the tillers of the soil.[1] A scythe was valued at about ten shillings on the Vineyard in 1663; a sickle at two shillings in 1669; and a pitchfork at a shilling the same year. The ploughing and all heavy farm work was done by oxen, while the hand implements have not been altered to any extent at the present time, except in the combination of lightness with strength,

[1]It may not be generally known that the most valuable improvement made upon this implement for centuries was by one of the first iron-workers of Massachusetts, more than two hundred years ago, in the very infancy of the colony. In the year 1646 the general assembly of that province granted to Joseph Jenckes, of Lynn, connected with the first iron-works in that colony, the exclusive privilege for fourteen years "to make experience of his abillityes and inventions for making," among other things, of "mills for the making of sithes and other edge-tooles." His patent "for the more speedy cutting of grasse" was renewed for seven years in May, 1655. The improvement consisted in making the blade longer and thinner, and in strengthening it at the same time, by welding a square bar of iron to the back, as in the modern scythe, thus materially improving upon the old English scythe then in use, which was short, thick, and heavy, like a bush-scythe.

since the introduction of steel. The regular crops on the farm consisted of hay as the principal product, with necessary sowings of "Turkey wheat" (corn)[1], rye and oats. Here and there barley was preferred. Salt grass was a great desideratum for the cattle, and meadow grass of this kind was highly prized by the early settlers.

DOMESTIC ANIMALS.

There is considerable misapprehension as to the time when domestic animals were brought to the Vineyard. It is generally supposed that they were not found on the island for many years after the arrival of the first settlers, but the records are the best evidence of their use quite early, and the following instances of their first mention shows when each kind appears in chronological sequence: Cattle in 1651; hogs in 1652; horses in 1653; sheep in the same year; goats in 1668; and domestic fowl, such as hens, ducks, and geese, before 1660. Dogs are referred to in 1661, and this must have been a native breed of canine, belonging to the Indians, and raised by them for hunting purposes.

It is probable that domestic animals of all kinds were brought here still earlier than those dates. Doubtless the settlers had horses, cattle, and sheep within the first year or so of the landing and beginning of the plantation. Otherwise the necessary cultivation of the soil and the clearing of land could not be accomplished. They were driven down from Boston by the "Bay Path" so-called, through Plymouth and Falmouth, thence to be ferried over the sound in the little sailing vessels of the period. Small stock, such as sheep, hogs, and goats, may have been brought here by sailing vessels from the Bay towns.

Values on domestic animals at that period are found to be ranging as follows: 1665, horses, £4; 1715, a mare and colt, £12; 1718, horse, £9; 1719, horse, £7; 1680, oxen, per pair, £5; 1703, £6; 1715, £10; 1718, £6; 1669, cows, £3 to £4; 1715, £3.10; 1680, sheep, per score, £3; 1703, £4; 1715, £6; 1665, goats, per score, £5.10; 1665, turkeys, 2s. 6d.; geese, each, 1s. 6d.; and hogs, 10s. each. Money

[1] "There grows in several parts of Africa, Asia, and America a kind of corn called Mays, and such as we commonly call Turkey wheat. They made bread of it which is hard of digestion, heavy in the stomach, and does not agree with any but such as are of robust and hail constitution." Lemery, "Treatise on Foods" (1704), p. 71.

was valued in those times at about four or five times its present purchasing power, and by multiplying these figures that much the value of farm animals to the settlers may be ascertained.

EAR MARKS.

In connection with the subject of domestic animals may be mentioned the system of identification employed by the settlers to indicate ownership. All cattle ran at large as there were few fences. Not until 1664 was there a "general fence" to corral their herds. It became necessary therefore to provide some way of telling one's own animals. The device employed in England of cutting the ears was resorted to, and the private "ear marks" of the owners were registered in the books of each town. As examples of these "marks" may be mentioned, slits, crops, ha'pennies on one or the other ear or both. Crops were cuts across the tip of the ear; ha'pennies were half circles cut on the edge, and slits were longitudinal cuts which divided the free portion into two parts. The poet Spencer thus alludes to it: —

> "For feare least we like rogues should be reputed,
> And for eare-marked beasts abroad be bruted."

The lack of fences to corral cattle was made up in part as time went on by the growth of hedges, in some places, and by the digging of ditches in others. Cattle, however, strayed for miles, and often were lost in the woods or swamps. Indeed, some went wild for lack of care and long absence from their homes, and it became necessary to kill them.

CURRENCY AND EXCHANGE.

There was very little actual money in circulation among our ancestors, and it commanded a high premium. It is probable that the salary of Thomas Mayhew the younger, of fifty pounds yearly, as missionary, was the largest amount of specie accumulated by anybody in the course of a year. The medium of exchange was corn, which was rated at a certain price per bushel, and in addition to this any article of merchandise was accepted at current values in the settlement of accounts. Wampum, the money of the Indians, would be accepted under certain conditions. Robert Pease, the town

weaver in 1656 was to have "such pay as the town can raise among themselves, except wampan."[1] In 1659 a verdict was rendered to be paid "half in wampam current and halfe in corne."[2] Again the next year, a verdict specified "any pay wampon excepted."[3] Another required settlement with "Indian corne at 3s. per bushel."[4] The first body of laws passed by the General Court of the Vineyard in 1672 decreed that "all charges of the Court shall bee paid in Money, corne or feathers."[5] At that date goose feathers ranked high as merchandise. Simon Athearn was fined in 1674–5 for his part in the "Dutch Rebellion," of which one half was to be paid in "produce," all indicating the scarcity of coined money at that period. References in the early records to "crowns," "shillings" and "pence" doubtless mean the English coinage of the time, which was brought over here by the emigrants, to which may be added the "Pine Tree" shillings, issued by the colonial authorities of Boston. This same condition of trade and barter existed in all the new settlements for many years, until the beginning of the next century, when the freer communication between the Mother country and the colonies resulted in the larger circulation of actual money. There was also added the Spanish pillar dollar, in silver, which became quite as much of a standard as the coinage of the realm. Indeed, by the time of the Revolution, it was the basis of comparison of values of the Continental currency, issued as paper money. It was called a "piece of eight," because it had the value of eight reals, Spanish coin.[6] The depreciation of the paper issues of the provincial authorities during the Revolutionary war became the cause of constant appeals upon the subject by the clergymen of the three towns, who were paid in that currency. It is made a part of the ecclesiastical history of each town, and will not be separately discussed here. It is, however, the place to explain the financial situation dependant upon that circumstance, which affected all alike, and it will only be necessary to present a table to show the relative value existing between the paper issue of the province and

[1]Edgartown Records, I, 137.

[2]Ibid., 134.

[3]Ibid., 147.

[4]Ibid., 145.

[5]N. Y. Col. Mss. (Deeds, I, 78).

[6]When Sewall visited the island in 1702, he "gave Japhet two Arabian pieces of Gold and Stephen two pieces of 8–8 to buy corn." (Diary, III, 397.)

the Spanish milled dollar at the dates mentioned in the following table: —

VALUE OF 100 SPANISH MILLED DOLLARS IN CONTINENTAL CURRENCY.

1777		1778	
Jan. 1	$100	July 1	$425
Feb. 1	107	1779	
Mar. 1	109	Jan. 1	742
Apr. 1	112	Feb. 1	868
May 1	115	Mar. 1	1000
June 1	120	Apr. 1	1104
July 1	125	May 1	1215
Aug. 1	150	June 1	1342
Sept. 1	175	July 1	1477
Oct. 1	275	Aug. 1	1630
Nov. 1	300	Sept. 1	1800
Dec. 1	310	Oct. 1	2030
1778		Nov. 1	2308
Jan. 1	325	Dec. 1	2593
Feb. 1	350	1780	
Mar. 1	375	Jan. 1	2934
Apr. 1	400	Feb. 1	3322
May 1	400	Mar. 1	3736
June 1	400	Apr. 1	4000

There was also an earlier form of paper money issued by the provincial authorities, which received the names of old, middle, and new tenor, from the dates of which it was put into circulation. Old tenor dates prior to 1737, middle was issued 1737–40, and new tenor was currency of any date subsequent to 1740. Each bill bore a declaration that it should be equal in sterling coin to the amount named on the face of the bill, but they became depreciated in value, in the course of time, and contracts for salaries were drawn up upon the basis of old or new tenor, according to agreement. It became the source of endless bickering between the ministers and the people in the settlement of their salaries, in the middle of the 18th century, as will be noted in the ecclesiastical history of each town.

PRACTICE OF MEDICINE.

In a letter dated Nov. 18, 1647, the younger Mayhew tells us of an incident in his work of Christianizing the Indians. "A Sagamore," he says, "called *Towanquattick*, had his eldest sonne, whose name is *Sachachanimo*, very sick of a Feaver: this young man sent for me to come to him and when I came

his father and himself desired me to pray for him, the which I did in their owne language, and promised to come againe unto him shortly if he mended not, and use some other means also for his recovery: When I came againe unto him, I found him very ill, asked him (together with his friends) whether they were willing I should let him blood? acquainting them that we used so to do in such cases. After some consideration they consented thereto, notwithstanding the *Pawwaws* had told them before that he should dye, because he sought not unto them: so I bound his arme, and with my Pen-knife let him blood, he bled freely, but was exceeding faint, which made the Heathen very sad, but in a short time, he began to be very cheerfull, whereat they much rejoiced, &c. So I left them, and it pleased the Lord the man was in a short time after very well."[1]

We find Governor Mayhew writing to Governor Winthrop of Connecticut in regard to the illness of one of his granddaughters, in 1662, and asking him for further directions about a powder that had been sent by the latter to the child, adding "my daughter doth desire your worshipp to know whether you are willing shee should com to Conectacute, where shee may be neare you."[2] Before this, in 1658, an item appears in the accounts of the Commissioners of the United Colonies, regarding the Indian missions here, of a payment to Mrs. Joanna Bland, "for healpfulness in Phisicke and Chirurgerie."[3] This was because there were no physicians on the Vineyard at that time, nor until the last quarter of that century. There were few educated professional practitioners in those days anywhere in New England, and the clergymen usually added this knowledge and function to their principal calling, and endeavored to heal both the souls and bodies of their flocks. The first known practitioner here was Thomas West, who came to Tisbury about 1673, and whose will disposed of "books and Surgery Instruments." He also combined the profession of law with this medical skill, which was not an unusual circumstance. In the same way, Pain Mayhew and Thomas Little, both of Chilmark in the first part of the next century, are found healing the sick, and if so desired it they would draw up wills or attend to other necessary legal business

[1] 3 Mass. Hist. Soc. Coll., IV, 77.

[2] Ibid., VI, 39. John Winthrop, Jr., was a famous amateur physician in his day, and his advice was sought by his friends in all the New England Colonies.

[3] Records, Commissioners, etc., II, 205.

which necessities required.[1] Contemporaneously with them John Sanderson in Edgartown combined the practice of medicine and business of inn-keeper, and Solomon Bacon also in the same town at that period dispensed draughts, clysters, boluses, pills, and herbs, set fractures, and let blood. The practice of medicine was unrestricted to any class. Armed with Culpeper's Practice and somebody's Herbal, suffering humanity was at the mercy of neighborhood surgeons and self-commissioned physicians who could read the names of diseases, look up the symptoms, and then hunt out the nauseous remedies detailed in the Herbal. Such an one is described in a list of remedies sent to John Winthrop: —

> For the yellow Jaundise or Jaunders — Boyle a quart of sweet milke, dissolve therein as much bay-salt, or fine Sal-peter, as shall make it brackish in taste; and putting Saffron in a fine linen clout, rubb it in to the Milke, untill the Milke be very yellow; and give it to the patient to drinke."

Or for an external application, the following was advised:—

> For paines in the Brest or Limmes: Weare a Wilde Catts skin on the place grieved.[2]

When Richard Arey of Edgartown was sick unto death in 1689, "with a violent pain in his small guts, attended with continual vomiting," he was treated with an "application of fried oats & the pain removed from his Body to his stomacke." This change of place but not the pain proved ineffectual, and the next line in the diary of Mr. Homes tells us when he was "burryed." Later on, in 1715, Thomas Mayhew of Chilmark, third of the name, "had been for several yeares troubled with the distemper called the King's evil (*i. e.* Scrofula) by which he was brought neere the gates of Death," says Mr. Homes. At this time it is believed that there was no physician on the island, and in this situation the patient reverted to the native talent, the pawwaws whom his father had so vehemently denounced. "By some applications made to him by an Indian doctor," says the diarist, "he recovered so far as that he was able to ride about and look after his affairs." Thus were the discredited pawwaws accorded recognition at last at the hands of their great opponents. "After some time," the account continues, "there came a doctor to the island

[1] Pain Mayhew's "Commonplace Book" contains items for medical services, as "drawing tooth, 1 —." Thomas Little was the son of a physician of Plymouth.

[2] Packard, "History of Medicine," 20.

that thought the swelling and pain in his legs might be removed by bathing and sweating, which preceded accordingly in some measures, but after some time the swelling proceeded upwardly and he was seised with an inwerd fever and shortness of breth which prevaild upon him till it carried him off."[1] Who this "doctor" was that came to the island at that time is not known. He may have been only a peripatetic practitioner, as in a few years after we read of another Mayhew of Chilmark going to Rhode Island for the services of a physician.

NATIVE "MEDICINE MEN."

The employment of the natives for their knowledge of natural remedies was undoubtedly the common custom, but there is not much record of such practice, as a matter of fact. Experience Mayhew speaks of one Hannah Nohnosoo, the daughter of the sachem Cheshachaamog, of Homes Hole, "having very considerable Skill in some of the Distempers to which human Bodies are subject, and in the Nature of many of those Herbs and Plants which were proper Remedies against them, she often did good by her Medicines among her Neighbours, especially the poorer sort among them, whom she readily served without asking them any thing for what she did for them. Nor did she only serve the Indians this way, but was, to my knowledge, sometimes imploy'd by the English also. . . . Among the cases wherein she, by her Medicines, did good to her Neighbours, I shall particularly mention one only; Several Women, some English and some Indians, being Divers Years after Marriage without the Blessing of Children, having Barren Wombs and dry Breasts, which Persons in a Married State are scarce ever pleased with, some of these Women applying themselves to the good old Hannah of whom I am now speaking, for help in Case that thus afflicted them, have soon after become joyful Mothers of Children."[2]

EPIDEMIC DISEASES.

One reason for the absence of physicians as a part of the social life in the Vineyard in the early days was the general healthfulness of the island, a condition which it has maintained even to this day. It is a natural sanitarium. In the

[1]Homes, Diary.
[2]Indian Converts, 165.

course of time infectious and contagious diseases were introduced here and on the mainland, which required the skill of educated doctors to treat. Writing in 1662, a year of sickness throughout New England, Michael Wigglesworth, who had visited our island several years before, drops into verse to describe the case: —

New England, where for many years,
You scarcely heard a cough
And where Physicians had no work
Now finds them work enough.
Now colds and coughs, Rheums and sorethroats
Do more & more abound;
Now Agues sore & Feavers strong
In every place are found.[1]

The principal diseases to which our ancestors were subject were smallpox, consumption, and the throat distemper, now known as diphtheria. The first named was the most disastrous, because at that time there was no proper way to check its ravages. Probably every other adult person was pock-marked, so prevalent did it become.

INOCULATION FOR SMALLPOX.

Inoculation for the prevention of it, as introduced by Lady Mary Wortley Montague into England in 1721, was not practised here for forty years, as far as known, though it was done in Boston soon after the first English experiments. It was nothing less than an actual inoculation of the virus from a case into the skin of a healthy person who desired to "take the pock," and after the practice had passed through the initial stages of popular disapproval, though advocated by such men as Cotton Mather and Benjamin Franklin, it grew to be the recognized method of having what they considered an inevitable disease. Doubtless many went from the Vineyard to the inoculation hospitals in Boston harbor to obtain the treatment. Among the earliest medical men to conduct such an establishment was Dr. Samuel Gelston, who had a hospital at the Gravelly Island near Nantucket. Tisbury was the first town on the Vineyard to try the experiment, and on Aug. 8, 1763, voted that he "Be Allowed to Cary on and Practice Inoculation of the Small Pox in Soume Sutable Place at

[1]God's Controversy with New England, a poem.

Homeses hole until it Appears Evident to the Town of Tisbury that it is Prejudicial to the Interest of said Town." Besides agreeing to treat all cases of the disease which might be landed there, Gelston was further obliged to pay into the town funds six shillings for every person inoculated who was not a resident of Tisbury.[1] His contract was renewed the next year, while at the same time he was managing an establishment at Castle William in Boston harbor. There had been severe epidemics of this disease in Edgartown in 1737 and 1738, during which one Dr. Matthews had died, and again in 1764, and this Gelston made application to the town of Edgartown in 1771 to erect one of his establishments on Cape Poge.[2] His proposal was declined at that time, but seven years later, in February, 1778, he again sought permission and it was granted. The location chosen was the one first suggested, and he proceeded to fulfil his designs, practised his art for several months, but failed to satisfy the people for some reason. In December of that year the town voted a disapproval of "annoculation as it is now carried on at Capeoage," and gave Gelston notice to quit on or before the first of the following May. It is probable that the disease was spread by his methods, as the selectmen were appointed a committee to take measures to prevent the further spread of the disease in the village.[3]

There was an epidemic disease, known then as the "throat distemper," probably diphtheria, which broke out at Kingston, N. H., in the spring of 1735, and gradually spread over New England during the next few years, and later extended over all the colonies. The disease was very fatal, and several thousand deaths of young people in New England are chargeable to its ravages. It lingered for several years, and the appearance of it on the Vineyard in 1740 may be traced to the general dissemination of the contagion over the New England colonies by that time.

[1]Tisbury Records, 183.

[2]Gelston applied to the selectmen of Dartmouth, in 1772, for permission to erect a smallpox hospital in that town on "anjalaca island." (Ricketson, History of New Bedford, 322.) He was a tory, and on Jan. 22, 1776, the General Court voted that he be put under bonds for his disloyal behavior, and he made his escape to Rhode Island. Being subsequently captured, he was brought back to Watertown. He was described as of Nantucket, in a hand-bill promising a reward for his capture, "a short well set man; had on when he went away a reddish sheepskin coat, dressed with the wool inside, and a scarlet waistcoat." (Groton Historical Tracts, III, 422.)

[3]Edgartown Records, I, 295, 314, 316–7. It was during this epidemic that Rev. Samuel Kingsbury died of smallpox Dec. 30, 1778.

The diary of Rev. Mr. Homes gives us the names of the diseases which carried off his neighbors and friends during his time, before 1743, and we find the frequent mention of "malignant" fever, "putrid" fever, "pleurisy" fever, together with occasional notices of "iliac passion," "violent defluxion," and other symptomatic names which do not tell us very clearly the real cause of death. Consumption, the "white plague" of New England, likewise finds frequent mention.

BURIALS.

The disposal of the dead was attended with little ceremony or waste of time by our ancestors. Usually within twenty-four hours of the time when the last breath had fled from the body the clods were falling on the coffin. According to our modern customs and views this would be heartless haste in hurrying the remains of our loved ones out of sight and under the ground. And yet their rapid interments had no such significance, nor were they accomplished so quickly for any purposes of utility, as for their lack of those modern adjuncts of funerals — the undertaker and embalmer, with their artificial methods of preserving the features of the dead for public view and the body from processes of decay. The sole idea of our emigrant ancestors and their descendants for several generations was to trim all of their religious duties and functions to such a point of thinness that they would have no possible semblance, as in this particular instance, to the rites and ceremonies of the English Church. So the loved in life got short shrift in death. No funeral services were held nor prayers said. It savored too much of "Popery." As soon as the sad event occurred, neighbors and friends were selected to act as under-bearers, while the village carpenter was hurriedly constructing a pine coffin without ornament or lining to contain the corpse. This was then placed on a wooden bier, with arms, and at the appointed hour four bearers supporting it on their shoulders walked to the place of sepulture, being relieved at intervals by a shifting of the number. The dead were then actually borne by the living, and not, as now, driven, still less trotted, to their resting-places. The well-to-do and those high in station indulged in pall bearers. A black velvet or broadcloth pall with dependent tassels at the four corners was draped over the coffin, and the tassels were held by honorary pall bearers in the march to the grave.

The modern use of this term is applied to persons who bear the casket during any portion of a funeral ceremony, and is without the significance originally conveyed.[1] Burials on the Vineyard usually occurred in the late afternoon or evening, and often at night by the aid of torches. It contributed much to the gruesomeness of the entire proceedings. Scarves, gloves, and rings were presented on the occasion, with the same reference to social and personal considerations.

Hearses, as a means of conveying bodies to the cemetery, is of less than a hundred years duration.[2] In 1824, "the blue bier" is mentioned at Edgartown as used first at the funeral of a person dying early in that year.

DIVISIONS OF ESTATES.

In their wills the early settlers gave away their real and personal belongings with great precision. Clothing, hats, shoes were disposed of by name to the beneficiaries. John Brown gave away his best feather bed to one, his next best to another; while Jane Jones, with similar detail, gave away her best petticoat, her next best petticoat to her daughters, or near relatives, according to age. And so most of the personal effects were passed on to surviving heirs or kin.

In similar fashion the Probate Court would divide real estate. The property of Christopher Beetle was divided in 1750 somewhat as follows, among his six children: To one was set off half the lower rooms in the house and a third of the cellar; to a second one-half the upper rooms and a third of the garret; to the others the remaining portion of the rooms, cellar and garret were similarly divided. When the Court got to the well, it gave the eldest son two shares and the rest a half of a third. Each was allowed to use the walk from the front door to the road-way, according to the respective value of each interest! It would seem from this that it would require of the occupants of the rooms and the users of the well and walk some pretty close mathematical calculations to determine how much half of a third of a well might be, and how many steps each could take on the walk. The fence was equally divided. In the

[1]On the 7th of April, 1800, the Edgartown selectmen were instructed to obtain "at the expense of the town, as soon as conveniently may be provided, for the use of the town a decent pall for use of burials." (Edgartown Records, II., 83.)

[2]The first use of a hearse in Plymouth did not occur until 1820 (Davis, Ancient Landmarks, 132).

division of the estate of Zaccheus Mayhew, in 1775, the administrators made the following minute provision for the widow: "the East front Room in the Dwelling house of the s'd Zaccheus, the Bed Room & Buttery adjoining, with the liberty of Baking and Washing in the Kitchen and Convenient room in the Cellar, and liberty of Water at the Well and of passing to and from the same, and liberty of carting and laying her fire wood near s'd dwelling House."

There is occasionally found in some ancient and dignified testament a provision which is rather ambiguous in its terms or application. Such an example occurs in the solemn will of Samuel Bassett of Chilmark, who makes this bequest: "I also give unto my said wife all the wood that she shall have occasion for or improve during her natural life and no longer." What use for wood she might have hereafter her death may not be so clear unless Samuel thought fires would be provided by another agency.

MEMORIALS OF THE DEAD.

There are not half a dozen gravestones now on the Vineyard which bear date prior to 1700. The oldest stone is that marking the grave of Rev. John Mayhew in the West Tisbury cemetery, and is dated 1688. The oldest in Edgartown commemorates the death of John Coffin in 1711, though one bears a still earlier date.[1] The oldest stone in the cemetery on Abel's Hill, Chilmark, is 1717, recording the death of Benjamin Mayhew, and the oldest in the Homes Hole cemetery is 1719, marking the grave of Elizabeth Chase. As far as can be judged, the earliest stones were imported from England, and perhaps cut there. They are probably of Welsh slate, and are of a finer quality of stone than the native variety, used here between 1700 and 1800. It is thought that the stones of Simon Athearn and John Mayhew are examples of the imported stone. It can hardly be said that these stones reached any high artistic standard, and such elaboration of design as they disclose exhibits that awful gruesomeness with which the colonists invested everything in life and death.

[1]This records the death and sepulture of Robert Stone, Senior, dated 1690, in the Tower Hill cemetery, but it is of a more recent and modern construction than the date indicated. The author has not identified this person as living here at that time.

OBITUARY POETRY.

The inscriptions on the stones were usually surmounted by a crude and conventional "Death's Head," set in the midst of scroll work equally ungraceful and angular in design, and beneath this some mortuary verse intended to enforce the lesson of the uncertainties of this mortal life. Examples of this form of literary and theological composition on the Vineyard may be cited here to show that our standards were not below the best efforts of the obituary bards on the mainland: —

Here Francis lies, Departed but not lost;
Like some Choice Flower Nipt by untimely Frost.
When Jesus shall appear he'll shining Rise
Like some Bright Star Beyond the AZURE skys.

Here Abigaï Lyes
That was so much Pris'd
And five of her Infant Race
Earths Favorites
And Heavens Delights
Made so by Saving Grace

Stop my friends and drop your tears
My dust lies slumbring in Saint Pears
At Martinico interred I lie
Weep for yourselves, all are to die
Here I must lie, till Christ appears
Depart my friends and dry your tears.

Here you may see how sudden was my call
For to resign my breath
A warning it may be to all
To be prepared for Death.

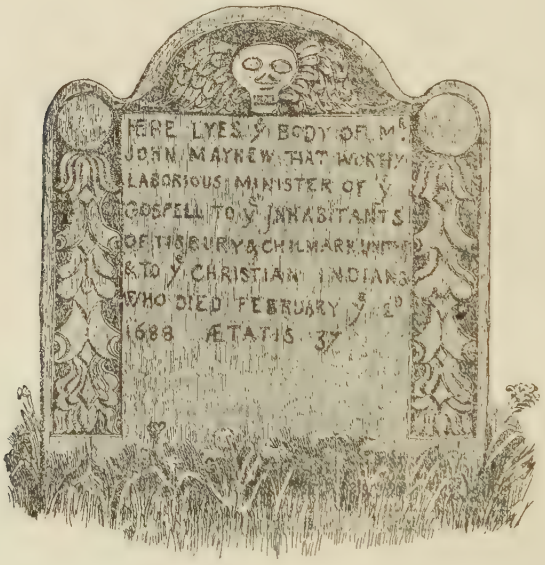
On the gravestone of John Ferguson, in the West Tisbury cemetery, the following verse describes the cause of the death of this young person at the age of eleven years: —

The oil of Vitriol he did taste
Which caused his vitals for to waste
And forced him to return again
Unto the earth from whence he came.

The attention to detail in this last verse leaves us in no doubt as to the nature of the illness which "carried him off," and in a measure compensates for the limping meter.

And having thus followed our worthy forbears from the cradle to the grave, and erected a suitable memorial stone, with an inscription thereon testifying his virtues, it is the natural and fitting place to bring our cursory review of his life to a close. Much of it is sad and severe, and yet more of

it is simple and satisfying. The almost ideal pastoral life on the Vineyard two centuries ago, mingled with the romance of those that "go down to the sea in ships and have their business in great waters," makes a combination of breezes and bucolics almost unique. To us it may seem that they must have endured an existence painfully lacking in the comforts of life. It is safe to say that it only seems so to us. That they lived and loved in their day and generation, and extracted all the enjoyment out of life is reasonably certain. A hardy and splendid race of descendants testifies to this conclusion. If Squire Benjamin Skiff of Chilmark, a good representative of his time, who died in 1717, could come back to earth and see us in our present day environment, with our electric lights, trolley cars, automobiles, steamboats, daily papers, bicycles, Sunday excursions, telephones and telegraphs, and all the other accompaniments of our modern life, doubtless he would hurry back to the gloom of his tomb on Abel's Hill, and piously exclaim, "From the pomps and vanities of *this* wicked world, Good Lord deliver me!"


HERE LYES Y BODY OF M.
JOHN MAYHEW THAT WORTHY
LABORIOUS MINISTER OF Y
GOSPELL TO Y INHABITANTS
OF TISBURY & CHILMARK UNITED
& TO Y CHRISTIAN INDIANS
WHO DIED FEBRUARY 3D
1688 ÆTATIS 37

GRAVESTONE OF REV. JOHN MAYHEW,
WEST TISBURY CEMETERY.
THE OLDEST STONE ON THE VINEYARD.

APPENDIX

JUDICIAL OFFICERS

The following lists comprise the names of those persons who have been appointed or elected to offices connected with the courts of the County since its organization in 1683 to the present time. The dates indicate the year of assumption of office or the first appearance in the records.

REGISTERS OF DEEDS

1685. Matthew Mayhew
1710. Matthew Mayhew
1726. Enoch Coffin
1782. Samuel Smith
Josiah Smith
John Sprague Smith
Tristram Holley
L. C. Wimpenny

TREASURERS

1686. Matthew Mayhew
1695. Benjamin Smith
1702. Matthew Mayhew, Jr.
1712. Benjamin Hawes
1713. Joseph Newcomb
1714. Thomas Harlock
1722. Enoch Coffin
1723. Ebenezer Allen
1740. Zaccheus Mayhew
1760. John Sumner
1762. Gershom Cathcart
1770. John Coffin
1771. Beriah Norton
1781. William Jernegan
1784. Jethro Athearn
1808. William Jernegan
1810. Thomas Jernegan
1817. William Jernegan

CORONERS

1714. John Butler
1716. Benjamin Hawes
1732. William Hunt
1762. Robert Allen
1800. William Case

CLERKS OF THE COURTS

1685. Matthew Mayhew
1690. Thomas Butler
1703. Matthew Mayhew
1722. Lemuel Little
1733. Jabez Athearn
1761. James Athearn
1775. Stephen Luce
1801. Cornelius Marchant
1807. John Cook
1809. Cornelius Marchant
Daniel Fellows
Frederic P. Fellows
Richard L. Pease
Samuel Keniston

SHERIFFS

1683. Matthew Mayhew
1691. Thomas Harlock
Thomas Trapp, Deputy
1699. Joseph Norton
Thomas Look, Deputy
1701. Ebenezer Allen
1714. John Allen
1723. Samuel Bassett, Deputy
1733. Eleazer Allen
1735. Thomas Mayhew
1743. John Norton
1761. John Norton
1772. William Mayhew
1776. Peter Norton
Benjamin Smith

JUSTICES OF THE COURT OF COMMON PLEAS AND GENERAL SESSIONS OF THE PEACE.

1683. Matthew Mayhew, Chief Justice
Richard Sarson
Thomas Daggett
Thomas Mayhew
1692. James Allen
1696. John Coffin
1699. Benjamin Skiffe
1702. Joseph Norton
1713. John Worth
Pain Mayhew
1715. Ebenezer Allen
Enoch Coffin
1718. Zaccheus Mayhew
1722. John Chipman
1733. John Allen
Samuel Norton
1748. John Sumner
1761. Ebenezer Smith
John Newman
Nathaniel Hancock
James Athearn
1762. Matthew Mayhew
1764. Josiah Tilton
1771. Joseph Mayhew
1773. Shubael Cottle
1776. Beriah Norton
1785. Thomas Cook
1790. Nathan Bassett
Benjamin Bassett
1798. Matthew Mayhew
1799. William Butler
1802. William Mayhew
Zebulon Allen
1806. Rufus Spaulding
1807. John Davis
Ichabod Norton

SPECIAL JUSTICES

1730. John Worth
Benjamin Smith
1734. Ebenezer Norton
Benjamin Smith
1742. Jabez Athearn
Samuel Bassett
1757. Ebenezer Norton
1761. Josiah Tilton
1771. John Worth

KING'S ATTORNEYS

1673. Thomas West
1691. Benjamin Smith
1733. Thomas Little
1757. Jonathan Allen

COUNTY ATTORNEYS

1780. Benjamin Smith
1799. Wendell Davis

KEEPERS OF H. M. GAOL

1727. James Hamlin
1731. Benajah Dunham
1747. John Norton
1812. James Banning

COURT OF PROBATE AND INSOLVENCY JUDGES

1698. Matthew Mayhew
1710. Benjamin Skiffe
1718. Pain Mayhew
1733. Zaccheus Mayhew
1760. Matthew Mayhew
1775. James Athearn
1816. George Athearn
1839. Theodore G. Mayhew
1872. Joseph T. Pease
1897. Chas. G. M. Dunham

REGISTRARS

1696. Matthew Mayhew
1718. Jabez Athearn
1761. James Athearn
1775. Benjamin Smith
1782. Thomas Cooke
1820. Cornelius Marchant
1838. Barnard C. Marchant
1852. Hebron Vincent
1853. Richard L. Pease
1854. Hebron Vincent
1890. Beriah T. Hillman

REPRESENTATIVES TO THE GENERAL COURT

Since the charter of William and Mary, when Martha's Vineyard was incorporated into the Province of the Massachusetts Bay, in 1691, the following named persons have represented this County in the General Court:—

[The letters in parentheses ( ) after each name refer to the towns represented.]

1692. Simon Athearn, (T).
Joseph Norton, (E).
1693. Not represented.
1694. Matthew Mayhew, (E).
1695. Matthew Mayhew, (E).
1696. Matthew Mayhew, (E).
1697. Simon Athearn, (T).
Matthew Mayhew, (E).
1698. Thomas Mayhew, (C).
1699. Not represented.
1700. Not represented.
1701. Not represented.
1702. Not represented.
1703. Benjamin Smith, (E).
1704. Not represented.
1705. Not represented.
1706. Not represented.
1707. Benjamin Skiffe, (C).
1708. Benjamin Skiffe, (C).
1709. Benjamin Skiffe, (C).
1710. Benjamin Skiffe, (C).
1711. Benjamin Skiffe, (C).
1712. Matthew Mayhew, (E).
1713. Matthew Mayhew, (E).
1714. Not represented.
1715. Benjamin Skiffe, (C).
1716. Not represented.
1717. Benjamin Skiffe, (C).
1718. Paine Mayhew, (C).
John Norton, (E).
1719. Paine Mayhew, (C).
John Norton, (E).
1720. Paine Mayhew, (C).
1721. Enoch Coffin, (E).
Zaccheus Mayhew, (C).
Joseph Newcomb, (E).
1722. Lemuel Little, (E).
Ebenezer Allen, (C).
1723. John Norton, (E).
1724. John Norton, (E).
1725. John Norton, (E).
1726. John Norton, (E).
Benjamin Smith, (E).
1727. Benjamin Smith, (E).
Paine Mayhew, (C).
1728. Benjamin Smith, (E).
1729. Not represented.
1730. Not represented.
1731. Not represented.
1732. Simeon Butler, (E).
1733. Enoch Coffin, (E).
Zaccheus Mayhew, (C).
1734. Not represented.
1735. Enoch Coffin, (E).
1736. Paine Mayhew, (C).
1737. John Norton, (E).
1738. Not represented.
1739. Not represented.
1740. John Norton, (E).
1741. Not represented.
1742. John Norton, (E).
Zaccheus Mayhew, (C).
Jabez Athearn, (T).
1743. Not represented.
1744. John Norton, (E).
1745. John Sumner, (E).
1746. Not represented.
1747. Not represented.
1748. Not represented.
1749. Not represented.
1750. Not represented.
1751. Not represented.

1752. Not represented.
1753. Not represented.
1754. Not represented.
1755. Not represented.
1756. Not represented.
1757. John Norton, (E).
1758. John Norton, (E).
Matthew Mayhew, (C).
1759. John Newman, (E).
1760. John Newman, (E).
Matthew Mayhew, (C).
James Athearn, (T).
1761. John Norton, (E).
Jonathan Allen, (C).
James Athearn, (T).
1762. Not represented.
1763. Not represented.
1764. John Norton, (E).
James Athearn, (T).
1765. James Athearn, (T).
1766. John Norton, (E).
James Athearn, (T).
Jeremiah Mayhew, (C).
1767. Jonathan Allen, (C).
James Athearn, (T).
1768. William Jernegan, (E).
Matthew Mayhew, (C).
James Athearn, (T).
1769. Not represented.
1770. Thomas Cooke, (E).
Jonathan Allen, (C).
James Athearn, (T).
1771. Not represented.
1772. Thomas Cooke, (E).
Matthew Mayhew, (C).
1773. Jonathan Allen, (C).
James Athearn, (T).
1774. (Provincial Congress held at Salem):
Joseph Mayhew, (C).
Ransford Smith, (T).
1775. (Provincial Congress held at Watertown):
Beriah Norton, (E).
James Allen, Jr., (C).
Nathan Smith, (T).
1776. Thomas Cooke, (E).
Joseph Mayhew, (C).
Shubael Cottle, (T).
1777. No representation on account of the Revolution.
1778. No representation on account of the Revolution.
1779. No representation on account of the Revolution.

Since the adoption of the State Constitution in 1780, this county has been represented in General Court annually by the following named persons, of whom 39 were from Edgartown, 20 from Chilmark, 40 from Tisbury, three from Cottage City, one from West Tisbury and one from Gay Head, viz:—

1780. Not represented.
1781. Not represented.
1782. Not represented.
1783. Samuel Norton, (C).
Ebenezer Smith, (E).
Shubael Cottle, (T).
1784. Benjamin Bassett, (C).
Shubael Cottle, (T).
1785. Benjamin Bassett, (C).
Benjamin Allen, (T).
Wm. Jernegan, (E).
1786. Matthew Mayhew, (C).
Benjamin Allen, (T).
Wm. Jernegan, (E).
1787. Not represented.
1788. Not represented.
1789. Benjamin Allen, (T).
1790. Wm. Jernegan, (E).
1791. Benjamin Allen, (T).
1792. Benjamin Bassett, (C).
Wm. Jernegan, (E).
1793. Benjamin Allen, (T).
1794. Matthew Mayhew, Jr., (C).
1795. Matthew Mayhew, Jr., (C).
Wm. Jernegan, (E).
1796. Matthew Mayhew, Jr., (C).
1797. Matthew Mayhew, Jr., (C).
Beriah Norton, (E).
1798. Matthew Mayhew, Jr., (C).
1799. Matthew Mayhew, Jr., (C).

Representatives to the General Court

1800. Matthew Mayhew, Jr., (C).
Wm. Mayhew, (E).
1801. Matthew Mayhew, Jr., (C).
Wm. Mayhew, (E).
1802. Not represented.
1803. Benjamin Allen, (T).
Wm. Mayhew, (E).
1804. Wm. Worth, (E).
1805. Jethro Worth, (E).
Shubael Dunham, (T).
1806. Thos. Cooke, Jr., (E).
Shubael Dunham, (T).
1807. Thos. Cooke, Jr., (E).
John Davis, (T).
1808. Not represented.
1809. Martin Pease, (E).
John Hancock, (T).
1810. Thos. Jernegan, (E).
1811. Simon Mayhew, (C).
Samuel Wheldon, (E).
John Hancock, (T).
1812. Robert Hillman, (C).
Timothy Daggett, (E).
1813. Timothy Daggett, (E).
1814. Not represented.
1815. Not represented.
1816. Not represented.
1817. Not represented.
1818. Not represented.
1819. Not represented.
1820. Peter Norton, (T).
1821. John Hancock, (C).
Wm. Jernegan, (E).
1822. Not represented.
1823. Wm. Jernegan, (E).
1824. Not represented.
1825. Not represented.
1826. Daniel Fellows, Jr., (E).
John P. Norton, (T).
1827. Daniel Fellows, Jr., (E).
1828. Harrison P. Mayhew, (C).
Charles Butler, (E).
1829. Charles Butler, (E).
John P. Norton, (T).
1830. Smith Mayhew, (C).
Leavitt Thaxter, (E).
Daniel Look, (T).
1831. Smith Mayhew, (C).
Eliakim Norton, (T).
Leavitt Thaxter, (E).
1832. Smith Mayhew, (C).
1832. Eliakim Norton, (T).
Leavitt Thaxter, (E).
1833. Harrison P. Mayhew, (C).
Leavitt Thaxter, (E).
Daniel Look, (T).
1834. Ephraim Mayhew, (C).
Chase Pease, (E).
John Holmes, (T).
1835. Ephraim Mayhew, (C).
Timothy Daggett, (E).
Leavitt Thaxter, (E).
Daniel Look, (T).
1836. Stephen Skiff, (C).
Wm. Coffin, (E).
Timothy Daggett, (E).
Thomas Dunham, (T).
1837. Mayhew Cottle, (C).
Thomas Bradley, (T).
Wm. Coffin, (E).
Daniel Davis, (E).
Wm. Davis, (T).
1838. Mayhew Cottle, (C).
Thomas Bradley, (T).
Abraham Osborne, (E).
1839. Benjamin Davis, (E).
Chase Pease, (E).
Thomas Bradley, (T).
1840. Daniel Flanders, (C).
Daniel Davis, (E).
Elihu P. Norton, (E).
Bartlett Allen, (T).
Asa Johnson, (T).
1841. Heman Vincent, (C).
Abraham Osborne, (E).
1842. Richard L. Pease, (E).
Walter Hillman, (T).
1843. Heman Vincent, (C).
Alfred Norton, (T).
1844. Not represented.
1845. Smith Mayhew, (C).
Joseph Mayhew, (E).
Matthew P. Butler, (T).
1846. Stephen Skiff, (T).
1847. Samuel Osborne, (E).
Jonathan Luce, Jr., (T).
1848. Sirson P. Coffin, (E).
1849. Heman Arey, (E).
Wm. A. Mayhew, (T).
1850. Heman Vincent, (C).
Heman Arey, (E).
Jonathan Luce, Jr., (T).

1851. Heman Vincent, (C).
Sirson P. Coffin, (E).
Wm. S. Vincent, (T).
1852. Wm. Vincent, (E).
Charles B. Allen, (T).
1853. Samuel Keniston, (E).
Charles B. Allen, (T).
Thomas Barrows, (T).
1854. Ephraim Mayhew, Jr., (C).
Geo. R. Marchant, (E).
David Tilton, Jr., (T).
1855. Samuel G. Vincent, (E).
Hiram Nye, (T).
1856. John Vincent, (E).
Nathan Mayhew, (T).
1857. John Vincent, (E).
Henry Bradley, (T).
1858. Not represented.
1859. Joseph W. Holmes, (T).
1860. Alexander Newcomb, (T).
1861. Allen Tilton, (C).
1862. Edgar Marchant, (E).
1863. Wm. H. Sturtevant, (T).
1864. Wm. H. Sturtevant, (T).
1865. Samuel Osborne, (E).
1866. Daniel Davis, (E).
1867. Daniel Davis, (E).
1868. Charles Bradley, (T).
1869. Charles Bradley, (T).
1870. John Wesley Mayhew (C).
1871. Nathaniel M. Jernegan, (E).
1872. Nathaniel M. Jernegan, (E).
1873. David Mayhew, (T).
1874. David Mayhew, (T).
1875. Beriah T. Hillman, (C).
1876. Richard Holley, (E).
1877. Richard Holley, (E).
1878. Benjamin Clough, (T).
1879. Benjamin Clough, (T).
1880. Stephen Flanders, (C).
1881. Tristram Cleveland, (CC).
1882. Tristram R. Holley, (E).
1883. Tristram R. Holley, (E).
1884. Everett Allen Davis, (T).
1885. Everett Allen Davis, (T).
1886. Beriah T. Hillman, (C).
1887. Oliver E. Linton, (CC).
1888. Edwin D. Vanderhoop, (GH)
1889. Cornelius B. Marchant, (E).
1890. Cornelius B. Marchant, (E).
1891. Ulysses E. Mayhew, (T).
1892. Ulysses E. Mayhew, (T).
1893. Asa Smith, (C).
Wm. A. Morse, (T).
1894. Otis Foss, (CC).
1895. Otis Foss, (CC).
1896. Otis Foss, (CC).
1897. Otis Foss, (CC).
1898. Wm. S. Swift, (T).
1899. Wm. S. Swift, (T).
1900. Benjamin G. Collins, (E).
1901. Benjamin G. Collins, (E).
1902. Benjamin G. Collins, (E).
1903. Herbert N. Hinckley, (T).
1904. Herbert N. Hinckley, (T).
1905. John E. White, (E).
1906. Ulysses E. Mayhew, (WT).
1907. Ulysses E. Mayhew, (WT).
1908. Ulysses E. Mayhew, (WT).

From the above it will be noted that for a period of two hundred and sixteen years the county has not been represented at forty sessions. The longest continuous hiatus was 1746 to 1756 inclusive, but since 1859 there has been no break in the yearly representation of this county to the General Court.

MILITIA LISTS, 1757

The following lists of those males able to bear arms in the several towns in the year 1757 are the earliest ones of this character now known to be in existence. They are valuable to establish the residences of persons living on the Vineyard one hundred and fifty years ago, and quite worth the space as a census of the able-bodied citizens at that date. The "alarm list," as distinguished from the militia list, comprised those who were ready to go to the front upon an "alarm" sent out by the Colonel.

The lists are arranged alphabetically for convenience of reference, but the spelling of the names and other words follow the original literally.

[Mass. Arch. XCV, 209]

A List of the Foot Company of Melitia in Edgartown under the Command of

Lieft Colonell JOHN NORTON, (*Captain*)

Elijah Butler, *Sergeant* — Benjamin Peas, *Sergeant*

Daniel Vincent, *Sergeant* — Solomon Norton, *Sergeant*

Joseph Daggett, *Drummer;* Matthew Mayhew, *Drummer*

PRIVATES

Atsatt, John
Atwood, John
Butler, Abner
Cornelius
Daniel
Elijah, Jr.
John
Matthew
Nicholas, Jr.
Samuel
Thomas
Coffin, Benjamin
David
Daniel
Richard
Covell, James, Jr.
Jethro
Joseph
Matthew
Micajah
Timothy
Claghorn, Benjamin
Thomas, Jr.
William
Crosby, Lot
Cunningham, John, Jr.
Thomas
Chase, Joseph
Cleveland, Joseph
Dunham, David
Dunham, Ebenezer
Elijah
Hezekiah
Nathan
Seth
Daggett, Brotherton
Ebenezer
George
Prince
Thomas, Jr.
Davis, David
Fish, Henry
Fish, James
Thomas, Jr.
Haden, Prince

Huxford, Joseph
Hammett, Robert
Holmes, John
Joy, Ebenezer
Jarnikins, William
Jenkins, Lemuel
Luce, Barnabas
Christopher
Paul
Marchant, Abisha
John, Sr.
John, Jr.
Seth
Silas
Mackelroy, William
Norton, David
Elijah
Elisha
Henry
Ichabod
Jabez
John
John, Jr.
Joseph
Shobal
Norton, Seth
Silas
William
Neal, Thomas
Norris, Thomas
Norton, Beriah
Cornelius
Timothy
Palmer, Amiziah
Pease, Abisha
Benjamin, Jr.
Daniel
Ephraim
Fortunatus
James
Joseph, Jr.
Peter
Prince
Shobal
Stephen
Timothy
William
Roberd, William
Ripley, Cornelius
Joseph
Smith, Benjamin
Ebenezer, Jr.
Elijah
John
Joseph
Samuel
Samuel, Jr.
Thomas
Timothy
Shaw, James
Stuard, Samuel
Timothy
Sumner, John, Jr.
Tesker, William
Vinson, Benjamin
John
Joseph
Nathaniel
Samuel
Thomas, Jr.
William
Wheldon, Samuel
Wiswall, Samuel
Wood, Jeremiah
Yamons, Silas

[Mass. Arch. XCV, 211]

AN ALARM LIST OF THE MELITIA IN EDGARTOWN, UNDER THE COMMAND OF

JOHN NORTON, LIEFT. COLL.

Arey, Thomas
Beetle, Christopher
Burgess, Luce
Bunker, Jonathan
Butler, Ebenezer
Coffin, Samuel
Abner
John
Cousens, John
Cunningham, John
Dunham, Shoball
Benajah, Jr.
Daggett, Benjamin
Thomas
Fish, Thomas
Finlay, Samuel
Harper, John
Kelley, Lemuel
Luce, Henry
Matthew
Marchant, Cornelius
Newman, John
Norton, Bayes
Enoch
Peter
Nathan
Isaac, Jr.
Timothy, Jr.
Judah
Silvanus
Isaac, Sr.
Stephen
Peas(e), Joseph
Malatiah, Jr.
Peas(e), John
Seth
Thomas, Jr.
Malatiah
Matthew
Beriah
Ripley, Peter
Russell, Pelatiah
Sumner, John, Esq.
Smith, Ebenezer, Esq.
Sq(u)ier, John
Stuard, Daniel
Vinson, Joseph
Barnabas
Abner
Wiswall, Ichabod
John

Militia Lists

[Mass. Arch. XCV, 210]

A True List of the Foot Company in Tisbury, excepting those who are Exempted from Military Muster.

(GERSHOM CATHCART) Captain.

Thomas Look, *Sergeant*
John Luce, *Sergeant*
Joseph Merry, *Sergeant*
Ransford Smith, *Sergeant*

Thomas Butler, *Drummer;* Joseph Cathcart, *Drummer*

PRIVATES

Athearn, Abijah
Jabez, Jr.
Simon
Allen, Thomas
Butler, John
Burgess, Jonathan
Chase, Benjamin
Jonathan
Samuel
Crosby, John
Crowell, Benjamin
Samuel
Cartwright, Bryant
Clifford, Jacob
Cottle, Shobal
Seth
Daggett, John
Isaac
Peter
Seth
Dunham, Gershom
John
Foster, Jonathan
Milton
William
Gray, Isaiah
Hancock, Josiah
Nathaniel, Jr.
Russell
Harden, Shubael
Hammett, Jonathan
Hatch, Samuel
Hatch, Eleazer
Hillman, Timothy
Lewis, Samuel
Larsha, John
Luce, Abraham
Adonijah
Abijah
Anthony
Beriah
George
Hezekiah
Israel
Jacob
Josiah
Jonathan, Jr.
Litchfield
Malatiah
Obed
Peter
Robert
Reuben
Roland
Stephen
William
Zaccheus
Look, Daniel
John
Joseph
Noah
Seth
Stephen
Lumbert, Benjamin
Lumbert, Elisha
Gideon
Lemuel
Moses
Timothy
Manter, Belcher
Jabez
Jeremiah
Jonathan
Mayhew, John
Malatiah
Norton, Shubal
Osborn, Samuel
Rand, Caleb, Jr.
Thomas
John
Rogers, Matthias
Robert
Thomas
Swain, Benoni
Smith, Joseph
Matthew
Nathan
William
Whelden, John
Waldron, Joshua
Nathan
Thomas
Weeks, Samuel
Samuel, Jr.
William

Note.—The name of Gershom Cathcart does not appear as "Captain," but as he was a militia captain at that period it is inserted in brackets under the assumption that the omission was accidental, or the document incomplete. The company must have had a captain.

[Mass. Arch. XCV, 210]

THE ALARM LIST, DRAWN BY MR. JAMES ATHARN, CLERK OF THE FOOT COMPANY IN TISBURY.

Allen, Ebenezer
Butler, David
Shubael
Case, Barnard
Cathcart, Robert
Cottle, Silvanus
Chase, Isaac
Thomas
Cohoon, William
Foster, Benjamin
Gray, Samuel
Hancock, Nathaniel
Look, Benjamin
Elijah
George
Luce, Isaac
Joseph
Timothy
Lumbert, Samuel
Manter, George
Manter, Whitton
Newcomb, Baise
Norton, Eliakim
Rand, Caleb
Robinson, Jacob
Rogers, Nathaniel
Wass, Wilmot
West, Elisha
Frank

A true List by me Jas Athearn, Clerk March 7th Annoq. Dom: 1757. Attested before me Zach^{s} Mayhew Justice of the Peace

[Mass. Arch. XCV, 208]

A LIST OF ALL THE MEN BELONGING UNTO THE COMPANY OF THE MILITIA WITHIN THE TOWN OF CHILMARK, WHO ARE TO APPEAR AT AN ALARM UNDER THE COMMAND OF

ZACCHEUS MAYHEW, *Colonel*

FORTUNATUS MAYHEW, *Leiften't*

ZACCHEUS MAYHEW, *Ensign*

ELIASHIP ADAMS, *Sergearnt*
URIAH TILTON, *Sergearnt*
JOHN BASSET, *Sergearnt*
JOSIAH TILTON, *Sergearnt*

PRIVATES

Adams, Mayhew
Allen, James
James, Jr.
Jethro
Josiah
Robert
Samuel
Silvenas
Armstrong, William
Bassett, Barachiah
Cornelius
Nathaniel
William
Boardman, Rev. Andrew
Burgess, Shubael
Cottle, Abishai
Benjamin
John
Clark, Matthew
Daggett, Solomon
Dunham, Daniel
Zephaniah
Foster, Edward
Hillman, Benjamin
David
Henry
John
Joseph
Samuel
Silas
Stephen
Hatch, Benjamin
Timothy
Hunt, Samuel
Jones, Daniel
Ebenezer
Lock, Jonathan
Luce, Levi
Lothrop, Thomas
Mayhew, Josiah
Jeremiah
Matthew
Nathan
Nathan, Jr.
Pain
Samuel
Seth
Simon
Thomas
Timothy
Zachariah
Megee, John
John, Jr.
Mott, Samuel

Nickerson, Samuel
Norton, Daniel
Jacob
Sylvester
Pease, Shubael
Sylvanus
Robinson, Isaac
Redman, Micah
Smith, Shobal
Skiff, Benjamin
Skiff, James
Nathan
Joseph
Stephen
John
Steward, William
Tilton, Beriah
Elisha
John, Jr.
Joseph
Tilton, Isaac
Matthew
Nathan
Peter
Reuben
Salathiel
Silas
Siranah (Cyrano)
William
Winpenney, William

Col. Zaccheus Mayhew's attested Return, dated March 2nd, 1757

pr WILLIAM BASSETT, *Clerk*

THE ARMY

The following list of persons belonging or credited to the Vineyard represents, as far as obtainable, the names of the persons who served in the army during the Civil War, 1861–65, with a record of their Regimental and Company assignments. Many names in this list are those of non-residents and foreigners who received bounties from the several towns for filling their respective quotas. Most of these may be readily distinguished, but they are included as part of the record of the Vineyard in this War. The list has been compiled by the author from the original records in the Adjutant General's Office, Boston, Mass., and it is believed to be as complete, as well as authentic, as it is possible to make it from the material available.

Name	Age	Credited to	Reg't	Co.	Remarks
Adams, Wm. C.	32	Tisbury	45th	H	
Anderson, Nils	30	Tisbury	11th	H	
Athearn, Eliaship A.		Tisbury	45th	H	
Barnes, John		Edgartown	42nd	D	Of Virginia
Bash, James	35	Tisbury	5th	F	Cavalry.
Beetle, Edward E.	22	Edgartown	3rd	F	
Benson, David W.	32	Tisbury	3rd	C	Cavalry [at Boston
Beaufort, Charles	23	Tisbury	3rd	C	Alien. Artillery. Enlisted
Bliss, Edward	21	Chilmark	42nd	H	
Bollen, Charles	26	Tisbury	56th	F	
Boswell, Joseph P.		Chilmark	43rd	K	
Bowles, Thomas		Tisbury	42nd	C	Of Rhode Island.
Boyd, James		Tisbury	42nd	C	
Bradley, Henry	19	Tisbury	38th	H	
Brown, John		Edgartown	42nd	G	Mariner. Alien.
Budlong, Frank L.	28	Tisbury	4th	E	Sergeant, Cavalry.
Bunker, Elihu M.	22	Edgartown	40th	D	
Buswell, James E.	28	Edgartown	3rd	F	
Butler, Hebron Vincent		Edgartown	2nd		Rhode Island Battery.
Cahill, Hugh	30	Tisbury	28th	A	[1863
Carr, John	26	Edgartown	4th	K	Port Hudson, La., June 14,
Clark, Leonard	21	Edgartown	1st	H	Of Connecticut.
Cleaveland, Thos. D.	23	Edgartown	58th	E	
Cleaveland, Chas. W.	32	Edgartown	3rd	E	Corporal.

Name	Age	Credited to	Reg't	Co.	Remarks
Coffee, John M.	30	Tisbury	28th	A	
Coombs, Isaiah S.		Edgartown	42nd	D	Alien.
Cornell, Enoch C.	34	Edgartown	1st	H	
Covell, Frank		Tisbury	42nd	G	Alien.
Crocker, Gilbert H.	18	Tisbury	42nd	H	
Crowell, Barzillai	22	Tisbury	20th	I	
Crowell, Jerry W.	25	Tisbury	3rd	C	Cavalry.
Curran, Edward		Tisbury	42nd	C	Of Rhode Island.
Curtis, James W.	41	Edgartown	5th	D	Cavalry.
Dart, Carl		Edgartown	1st	K	Of Connecticut.
Davenport, Peleg D. B.	25	Tisbury	25th	I	
Delahunt, James	44	Tisbury	3rd	K	Unassigned.
Devine, Patrick		Edgartown	48th	H	Alien.
Dexter, Thos.	25	Edgartown	47th	D	
Diamond, James	41	Chilmark	5th	I	Cavalry.
Dindy, John		Edgartown	1st	B	Of Connecticut. Mariner.
Dow, Samuel H.	34	Tisbury	3rd	C	Cavalry.
Dowling, B. S. C.	29	Edgartown	18th	K	
Eastman, John		Tisbury	42nd	G	
Ellis, John R.	22	Edgartown	40th	D	
Ellis, Wm. H.		Edgartown	42nd	D	Of New York.
Evans, Benjamin F.	24	Tisbury	6th	C	Veteran Reserve Corps.
Failey, Michael		Edgartown	48th	H	Alien.
Fall, James		Tisbury	42nd	E	Alien.
Fields, John	44	Tisbury	5th	C	Cavalry.
Filley, Chas. C.	21	Tisbury	19th	A	First Lieutenant.
Fisher, Calvin		Edgartown	28th	C	
Fisher, Cyrus		Edgartown	2nd	H	Andersonville Prison, 1864
Fisher, Geo. L.		Edgartown	28th	C	
Fisher, John P.	20	Edgartown	3rd	F	
Gahegin, Thos.		Edgartown	1st	D	
Geils, Jerod	27	Tisbury	3rd	C	Cavalry.
Getchell, James H.		Tisbury	42nd	C	
Giacomo, Gusevio		Tisbury	42nd	C	Alien.
Gleason, Jos. H.	26	Chilmark	42nd	H	Of New Hampshire.
Gorman, Wm.	23	Chilmark	42nd	H	
Gorman, James	41	Edgartown	42nd	I	Alien.
Gordon, Chas.		Tisbury	31st	H	Enlisted Boston.
Gorse, Arthur		Tisbury	45th	I	
Gracy, David	44	Edgartown	42nd	I	Alien.
Gray, Geo.		Edgartown	42nd	D	Alien.
Gregory, Samuel D.	19	Chilmark	42nd	H	Alien.
Griffin, Michael	21	Tisbury	48th	H	Third Inf., Reg. Army.
Grinnell, Oliver C.	21	Gosnold	24th	G	
Gromar, Henry	29	Tisbury	45th	H	Alien.
Hall, John	23	Tisbury	2nd	A	Mariner. Alien.
Hamblin, Cyrus		Chilmark	1st	C	

Name	Age	Credited to	Reg't	Co.	Remarks
Hammond, John W.		Tisbury	3rd	I	Of Mattapoisett.
Harrington, Wm. H.	33	Edgartown	40th	D	
Hatham, John		Edgartown	42nd	D	Alien.
Heft, John	40	Tisbury	3rd	C	Cavalry.
Hillman, Beriah T.	20	Chilmark	43rd	K	
Hillman, Benj.		Tisbury	38th	H	
Hillman, Warren T.	21	Chilmark	43rd	K	Corporal.
Hinckley, Ambrose S.		Tisbury	3rd	B	Cavalry.
Hobart, Albert I.	35	Tisbury	45th	G	
Holmes, Samuel		Tisbury	42nd	D	Alien.
Howe, Wm. W.	42	Tisbury	45th	H	
Howland, James N.		Tisbury	40th	E	
Johnson, John	24	Tisbury	56th	G	
Johnson, Peter		Gay Head	44th		Credited to Boston. [Army
Kenney, Edward	19	Edgartown			Engineer Corps, Regular
Kilcup, John W.		Tisbury	1st		Credited to Boston.
Lane, Salmon B.		Tisbury	42nd	C	
Lahiffe, Timothy		Edgartown	48th	H	Alien.
Larrabee, Geo. H.	24	Edgartown	1st		Assistant Surgeon.
Leady, John	21	Edgartown	1st	K	
Lewis, Edward R.	24	Tisbury	21st	A	First Lieutenant.
Lietch, Robert		Edgartown	48th	H	Alien.
Luce, Asa R.	29	Tisbury	3rd	C	Cavalry.
Luce, Benjamin N.	21	Tisbury	20th	I	Enlisted Edgartown.
Luce, Edward D.	41	Chilmark	24th	G	
Luce, Franklin W.	24	Tisbury	18th	E	
Luce, John N.		Edgartown	41st	C	
Luce, Leander		Tisbury	3rd	I	[1863.
Luce, Lewis P.	22	Tisbury	41st	C	Died at Baton Rouge, La.,
Main, James W.		Tisbury	42nd		Of Maine. Alien.
Malady, Thos.	23	Tisbury	61st	H	
Mathews, Thos.		Edgartown	42nd	D	
Meara, Sherman T.	28	Tisbury	43rd	K	
Mayhew, Caleb D.		Chilmark	1st		Rhode Island Infantry.
Mayhew, John S.	19	Edgartown	58th	E	
Mayhew, John W.	28	Chilmark	43rd	K	
Mayhew, Joseph B.	21	Chilmark	3rd	C	Cavalry.
Mayhew, Timothy	27	Chilmark	3rd	C	Cavalry.
Mayhew, Wm. Brandon		Tisbury	40th	E	
Merry, Wm. C.		Tisbury	32nd	I	Illinois Infantry.
Millbank, John	43	Tisbury	1st	K	Artillery.
Milligan, Chas.	23	Tisbury	2nd	B	
Moore, William	24	Edgartown	54th	F	
Morse, Edmund B.	21	Edgartown	45th	G	
Mussey, Geo. B.		Edgartown	1st	I	Cavalry Sergeant.
McCaulley, Peter		Edgartown	48th	H	Alien.
McCollum, John L.	18	Tisbury	45th	D	Musician.

Name	Age	Credited to	Reg't	Co.	Remarks
McGinty, Anthony		Chilmark	22nd	I	
McIrney, Thos.	19	Tisbury	2nd	K	Cavalry.
McKenney, Thos. F.		Edgartown	42nd	C	Enlisted Boston.
McKenna, Bernard		Tisbury	42nd	C	Of Connecticut. Alien.
Newhard, Francis		Tisbury			Alien. Unassigned.
Nicholson, Angus G.		Tisbury	42nd	B	Alien.
Nickerson, Lucas M.	19	Tisbury	45th	H	
Norton, Damon Y.	34	Edgartown	45th	D	
Norton, Francis	35	Edgartown	3rd	G	
Norton, Frank	34	Edgartown	2nd	E	Artillery.
Norton, Shubael M.	23	Tisbury	3rd	F	Sergeant of Artillery
O'Brien, Cornelius	18	Tisbury	12th	I	Also 39th.
O'Brien, John		Edgartown	47th	I	Alien.
O'Connell, James		Edgartown	48th	H	Alien.
O'Leary, Timothy	45	Tisbury			Veteran Reserve Corps.
O'Shaughnessy, James		Edgartown	42nd	D	
Osborne, John		Tisbury	42nd	C	
Packard, Davis H.		Tisbury	45th	G	
Peak, William		Tisbury	45th	H	
Pease, Francis, Jr.	21	Edgartown	40th	D	
Pease, Wm. W.	42	Tisbury	45th	H	
Pent, Samuel		Edgartown	38th	H	Lieutenant of Cavalry.
Phillips, John		Chilmark	42nd	H	
Quinn, John	24	Chilmark	42nd	H	
Ripley, Alonzo	26	Edgartown	40th	D	
Ripley, Jos. A.	21	Edgartown	3rd	F	
Roberson, Chas.		Tisbury	56th	K	Enlisted Boston.
Rose, Alfred P.		Gay Head	23rd	U	U. S. Colored Troops.
Scotchard, Jos.	27	Tisbury	4th	E	Killed at Petersburg, Va.
Shute, Richard G.	18	Edgartown	40th	D	Musician.
Simons, John	26	Tisbury	2nd	E	
Smith, Benjamin	22	Edgartown	40th	D	
Smith, Chauncey C.	22	Edgartown	1st	H	
Smith, Christopher		Edgartown	42nd	D	
Smith, Elisha M.	18	Tisbury	20th	I	Gettysburg, July 3, 1863.
Smith, Eliakim M.	23	Edgartown	58th	E	d. Salisbury Prison, 1864.
Smith, James	31	Edgartown	3rd	F	
Smith, John	39	Tisbury	1st	G	Cavalry.
Smith, Marcus M.	22	Edgartown	1st	G	
Smith, Wm. W.	26	Edgartown	1st	H	
Sneffle, William		Edgartown	1st	E	
Swain, John T.	18	Tisbury	45th	H	
Thompson, William	20	Edgartown	42nd	H	Alien.
Thompson, David S.	44	Chilmark	20th	A	Musician.
Thompson, James		Tisbury	42nd	D	
Tilton, Cornelius L.	21	Chilmark	1st	C	
Tilton, James N.	27	Edgartown	3rd	F	

Name	Age	Credited to	Reg't	Co.	Remarks
Todd, Samuel	40	Tisbury	5th	F	Cavalry.
Totten, Wm. A. P.	19	Edgartown	1st	H	
Trembo, Christopher	40	Tisbury	19th	C	Also Trembley.
Vincent, Chas. M.	21	Edgartown	40th	D	Second Lieutenant.
Vincent, Frederick M.	24	Tisbury	3rd	L	1st Serg't; d. Ship Id., 1862
Vincent, Francis P.	30	Edgartown	3rd	F	
Vincent, Albert C.		Edgartown	23rd	D	Credited to New Bedford.
Vincent, James H.	20	Tisbury	45th	H	Corporal.
Waldron, Jos. B.	20	Tisbury	45th	H	
Weeden, Warren D.	31	Chilmark	43rd	K	Of North Carolina.
West, Thos. A.	22	Tisbury	3rd	C	Sergeant of Cavalry; k. at Winchester, 1864.
West, Wm. D.		Chilmark	43rd	C	
Wilbur, Henry C.	22	Edgartown	58th	E	
Wilbur, James	28	Tisbury	20th	I	
Wilbur, Jos. H.	19	Edgartown	3rd	F	
Widdup, John		Tisbury	3rd		Cavalry. Enlisted Boston.
Wilson, Chas. B.		Edgartown	42nd	D	Alien.
Wilson, Geo. E.		Tisbury	42nd	K	Alien.
Worth, Jethro	25	Edgartown	3rd	F	
Wright, William	43	Tisbury	5th	F	Cavalry.

The above lists show a total of 185 men credited to Martha's Vineyard, divided among the towns as follows: Tisbury 88; Edgartown 73; Chilmark (including Gay Head 2 and Gosnold 1) 24. This does not correspond, except in the case of Tisbury, with the statements in the text, pp. 425-8, taken from Shouler's "Massachusetts in the Civil War." The original returns of the Selectmen to the Adjutant-General were examined and checked by the author, and the result is as near as can be obtained when the system of quotas and credits in vogue at that time is considered. Towns were required to furnish certain numbers when a "draft" was made, and if the quota was not forthcoming from the legal residents, the Selectmen resorted to the payment of bounties and bought the necessary number from other places. Frequently our town officials went to Boston and bid for them among the transients of the metropolis, in competition with other towns, at the recruiting booths. In this way the strange names in the above lists are accounted for, and their connection with the Vineyard thus legalized. This confusion was increased in many cases where towns exceeded their limit and the State authorities credited this surplus to places that were deficient, and such

men were considered as belonging to their home town while filling a vacancy elsewhere. Frequently in the confusion of these large drafts no complete record of such transfers and credits would be made, and the result has been to create complications in the muster rolls and town credits that defy adjustment. This explanation may serve to show why it is impossible to establish a correct list of soldiers properly belonging to a given town during the war.

NAVAL SERVICE

The following list of persons belonging or credited to the Vineyard represents, as far as obtainable, the names of persons who served in the navy during the Civil War, with a record of the services of each. In addition to these persons, there were enlisted in the navy by the State at large and credited to the towns, 33 for Edgartown, 30 for Tisbury. The author is indebted to the late Dr. Winthrop Butler for much of the following information, particularly that relating to the character of the service rendered. The list includes a few persons now resident who did not live on the island during the war.

Name	Residence	Rating	Ships and Service
Adlington, Frank	Edgartown	Master's Mate	
Anderson, George	Edgartown		
Anthony, Joseph P.	Gay Head	Seaman	
Armstrong, Thos.	Edgartown	Seaman	
Barry, William	Tisbury		
Beetle, David S.	Edgartown	Ensign	"Emma"
Bell, Joseph	Edgartown		
Bradley, Henry, Jr.	Tisbury	Paymaster's Clerk	"Katahdin"
Bradley, Leander D.	Tisbury	Paymaster	"Katahdin," Gulf Squadron
Bunting, James H.	Edgartown	Ensign	"Ethan Allen"
Butler, Hebron V.	Edgartown	Master's Mate	
Butler, Winthrop	Tisbury	Ass't Surgeon	"Saratoga & Hornet" Gulf Squadron
Cannon, Loring	Tisbury	Ensign	Captured Sabine Pass, Texas
Casey, James	Tisbury		
Chadwick, John P.	Edgartown	Ensign	
Chirgwin, Thos. H.	Edgartown		
Cleaveland, Chas. W.	Edgartown		
Coffin, Edwin	Edgartown	Lieutenant	"Midnight," S. A. Squadron
Cooper, Thos. G.	Gay Head	Seaman	
Cooper, Thos. J.	Tisbury		
Cooper, Thomas	Edgartown		
Couch, Geo.	Tisbury	Master	"Adger"
Courtney, Chas.	Edgartown	Master	
Crocker, Frederick	Edgartown		"Clifton"

Naval Service

NAME	Residence	Rating	Ships and Service
Crosby, James E.	Tisbury		
Crowell, Jared W.	Tisbury		Also served in Army
Crowell, Jos. M., Jr.	Tisbury	Seaman	"Shawsheen," Captured and conf. Southern Prison
Curtis, James C.	Edgartown		
Daggett, John T.	Tisbury		
Dempster, George	Tisbury		
Dexter, Benjamin F.	Tisbury		
Dexter, Rodolphus W.	Tisbury		"Delight"
Dixon, James W.	Tisbury		
Dunham, Hiram N.	Edgartown	Seaman	"Mohican," credited to New Bedford
Earl, Wm. B.	Edgartown	Ensign	
Fisher, Alonzo D.	Edgartown	Seaman	"Mohican"
Fisher, Brazillai	Edgartown	Seaman	
Fisher, Chas. F.	Edgartown	Master's Mate	
Fisher, Geo. L.	Edgartown	Seaman	
Fisher, John P., 2d	Edgartown	Seaman	
Fisher, Thos. A.	Edgartown	Seaman	
Foss, Otis	Tisbury	Seaman	"Fearnought"
Foster, Henry D.	Tisbury	Ensign	"Baruna," with Farragut at New Orleans
Freeman, Robert	Tisbury	Seaman	
Gabrielson, Eric	Edgartown	Seaman	Later Capt. R. C. S.
Gibbs, Albion P.	Edgartown	Ensign	
Hammett, Hiram	Chilmark	Seaman	"Tobago"
Hancock, John	Edgartown	Seaman	"Hedden"
Hart, Matthew F.	Edgartown	Seaman	
Hedden, Edward F.	Edgartown	Ass't Engineer	Later in R. C. S.
Holmes, Jos. Wheldon	Tisbury	Pay Master	"Dunbarton"
Howes, Willis	Tisbury	Master	"Roanoke" & "Vanderbilt"
Johnson, Nathan	Gay Head	Seaman	
Johnson, Sidney	Gay Head	Seaman	
Kidder, Benj. H.	Edgartown	Surgeon	"Colorado." At capture Fort Fisher; now Medical Director U. S. N.
Lewis, Alan G.	Edgartown	Seaman	
Littlefield, Aaron D.	Edgartown	Master	"Georgia"
Luce, Irving	Tisbury	Seaman	
Manning, Thomas	Chilmark	Seaman	
Marchant, Cornelius	Edgartown	Ensign	"Genessee"
Marchant, Geo. W.	Edgartown		
Marchant, Wm. B.	Edgartown	Ensign	

NAME	Residence	Rating	Ships and Service
Morse, John O.	Edgartown	Master	"R. R. Cuyler"
Morse, Stephen H.	Edgartown		"Hunchback"
Nevers, Daniel	Edgartown		
Norton, Andrew J.	Edgartown		
Norton, Chas.	Edgartown	Master	
Norton, Ichabod	Edgartown	Ass't Paymaster	
Norton, Lott	Edgartown		
Norton, Martin V. B.	Edgartown		
Norton, Shubael C., Jr.	Edgartown	Ensign	
Norton, Wm. H.	Gay Head	First class boy	"Rhode Island"
Orswell, Geo. B.	Edgartown	Ass't Engineer	
Osborne, Abraham	Edgartown		
Osborne, John	Edgartown		
Owen, Leander C.	Tisbury	Ensign	"Seneca" with N.A. Squadron, capture Fort Fisher
Peakes, Thos. M.	Edgartown	Ensign	"Ethan Allan"
Pease, Geo. W.	Edgartown	Ensign	
Pease, Henry, Jr.	Edgartown	Ensign	
Pease, Isaac D.	Edgartown	Ensign	
Pease, John N.	Edgartown	Ensign	
Pease, Peter	Edgartown	Ensign	
Pease, Wm. H.	Edgartown	Master	
Ripley, Benj. H.	Edgartown	Seaman	
Roberts, Wm. H.	Edgartown		
Robinson, James B.	Tisbury	Ensign	"Queen"
Smith, Chas. G., Jr.	Tisbury	Master's Mate	"Penguin" and "Tuscarora"
Smith, Eliakim	Edgartown		
Smith, Geo. A.	Edgartown	Ensign	
Smith, Ivory H. L.	Edgartown	Seaman	
Smith, John M.			
Smith, Roland	Edgartown		
Spencer, John	Tisbury		
Stapleford, James W.	Edgartown	Ensign	
Starks, Daniel	Edgartown	Master's Mate	
Sylva, George	Oak Bluffs	Seaman	
Thaxter, Leavitt	Edgartown	Seaman	
Tilton, Walter H.	Chilmark	Master's Mate	"Fredonia"
Vanderhoop, Edwin D.	Gay Head	Landsman	"Mahaska"
Vincent, Francis W.	Edgartown		
Vincent, Wm. T.	Edgartown	Master's Mate	"Canandaigua"
Wade, Henry Clay	Tisbury	Master	Commanding Strs. "Gertrude" and "Yucca". With Farragut at New Orleans. Died (yellow fever) at Pensacola.

Naval Service

Name	Residence	Rating	Ships and Service
Waldron, Ebenezer	Edgartown	Seaman	
West, Abner	Tisbury	Master	"Potomska." At fight bet. "Monitor" & "Merrimac."
West, Nathaniel P.	Tisbury	Lieut-Commander	Was in Mexican War. Retired during Civil War.
West, Wm. L.	W. Tisbury	Seaman	"Mississippi"
Wilbur, Calvin H.	Edgartown		
Winn, Edward A.	Chilmark		
Worcester, Edward	Chilmark		
Worth, Jethro	Edgartown	Ensign	

INDEX OF NAMES

The following index includes all names of persons occurring in the text or foot notes. The names of those persons found in the appendix are not indexed for the reason that they are either arranged alphabetically, or are easily consulted in the form adopted for their presentation.

ABERCROMBIE 305 310 311 312
ADAMS 210 288 318 400 427 428 438 489
ADDINGTON 186 189
ALEXANDER 78 206
ALLEFONSCE 77
ALLEN 74 158 169 190 191 195 212 261 266 274-6 282-3 287 311 318-9 324 330 334-6 339 342 349 354 375 380 385 395 412-15 436 482-5 489
AMHERST 311-13
ANGEL 65
ANDRE 367 370-2 375 379 382 393
ANDROS 75 133 137 162 164-6 169 170 178-9 269
APTHORP 255
ARCHDALE 137
ARCHER 65
AREY 135 156 158 392 487 496
ARMSTRONG 308-9 312-13 317
ASHURST 180 251-2 485
ASPINWALL 124-6
ATHEARN (Athan, Atturn) 28 155-6 158 160 166 168-170 179 180 182 184-5 188-9 190-1 197-201 203 205 210 243 259 260-1 266 273-6 280-1 291-3 310 316 324 332-3 339 344 346 349 357 362 376 385-6 394 413 478 482-3 485-6 493 502
ATSATT 348-9 352

BABCOCK 364 409
BACKMAN 208
BACON 60 351 496
BAGLEY 429
BAKER 350-1
BANCROFT 211 368
BANKS 230
BARBERIE 206
BARCLAY 255
BARDSLEY 104
BARKER 262 453 456
BARNARD (see Bernard) 483
BARRINGTON 60
BARTER 108 113-4
BASSETT 49 262 271 273 282 311-2 316-19 324 330 342-4 346-50 353-6 361 375 385 395 482 502
BAXTER 138 332 350-1 355
BAYES 129 135 156 158
BAYLIES 256-7 426 456
BEEKMAN 206
BEERS 84-5 101
BEETLE 353 391 498 501
BELCHER 269 316
BERNARD (see Barnard) 210 211 274 276 317-8
BERRY 350
BESSEY 74
BINYON 351
BLACKFORD 350-1
BLAEU 76 78
BLAND 85 132 135 138 234 237 432 495
BLANEY 268
BLANKENSHIP 424
BLOCK 66 76
BLOME 76-7 79
BLOSSOM 350
BOBINOR 206
BOTERO 77
BOURNE 283 316
BOWNDE 106
BRACHER 110-11
BRADDOCK 309
BRADLEY 212 287-8 426-7
BRATTLE 314
BREBOEUF 47
BRENTON 37 47 56 151
BRERETON 25-7 30-1 41 46 62 64-5 76 79
BREWER 320
BRIDGE 313 317
BRIDGMAN 106
BRIGGS 78
BRIMHALL 350
BROCKHOLLS 172
BRODHEAD 59 141
BROMFIELD 483
BROWN 76 376 478
BROWNING 91-2 95-9
BUNKER 309-11 341 348 442
BURCHARD (Birchard, Bercher) 75 132-3 135 155-6 158-60 168 473
BURGESS 308-9 324 337 341 348 350-1 410
BURKE 450
BURNETT 206
BUTLER 74 90 93 132-3 135 156 158 185 190 207-8 264 273 275 308-13 315 318-19 329 337 341 344 346-7 349 351 353-4 357 387-8 390-2 415 417 427 433-4 444 472

CABOT 77 424
CADILLAC 75
CAHOON 351
CAMP 341
CARLETON 398-400
CASE 281 292 318 349
CASTLEREAGH 416
CATHCART (Kithcart) 198 305-7 314 463 482-5
CHALOWNES 68 87
CHAMPLAIN 65-6 76-7 87
CHAPMAN 309
CHARLES I 72 80 115
CHARLES II 139 146 164 174
CHASE 158 185 188-9 313 316-7 320 341-2 349 353-4 356 408-10 414 452-3 459-60 463-4 482-3 502
CHRISTIAENSEN 66 76
CHURCH 83 298 301 428
CHURCHILL 351
CLAGHORN 349 352 388 445 463
CLARENDON 139 140
CLARK 191 319 342 352
CLAUDIA (Queen) 59 77
CLAY 482
CLEVELAND 190 337 341 348 350 352-3 392 415 426 444 456
CLIFFORD 342 353
CLINTON 368-70 383 386 393 396-8
CLOUGH 449
COBB 280
CODE 106
CODMAN 135-6 156 158 167
COFFIN 187 203 259 261-2 275 287 318 337-8 341 348-9 353 388 390-1 415 417 426 441 446-7 449 502
COLLIER 457
COLLINS 335-6
COLVE 154
COMSTOCK 448
CONVERSE 260
COOKE 212 270-1 281-2 284-5 324 329 347 378 385 388 391 417
COOPER 49 52-4 474
CORLETT 237
CORNWALLIS 371 400
COTTLE 280 324 339 341-2 344 346-9 351-3 357-8 361-2 366 376 385 394-5 413 417 453
COTTON 33-4 45 236 239-42
COVENS 350
COVELL 135 158 320 341 348 352 355 391 479
COX 342 353
CRADDOCK 114-5 117-22 126
CRAFT 369
CREUXIUS 79
CREVECOEUR 79 441 443 455
CROCKER 350-1 378
CROMWELL 219 230 456-8

CROSBY 353
CROSSMAN 341 348 353 390 444
CROSSTHWAITE (Crossthout) 156 158 167
CROWELL 309 342 351 353 357 415
CUNNINGHAM 341 348 353
CURLEY 466
CUSHING 279
CUTLER 415
CUTTS 143 386

D'ABBEVILLE 79
DAGGETT (Doget, Dogget) 84 99 101 132-3 135-6 154 158 165-7 174 178 185 200 212 235 264-7 308-11 314 317-19 330 337 341-2 348 351 353-7 375 385 389 391 410 414-5 417 422 424 431 444 449 455-6 464 470 473 482 485-6
DAMON 378
DANFORTH 237 250 482-3
DAVIS 212 228 285-7 317-8 337 341 348-9 352 388 390-1 417 426 501
DAVISON 74 82 122-3 426
DEANE 419
DE BRY 77
DEE 77
DE LAET 34 78
DENNISON 484-5
DERMER 70 87
DES BARRES 34 79
DEVENS 256 456
DE WITT 154
DEXTER 424
DIAS 415 423-4
DICKERSON 323
DIGBY 402
DILLINGHAM 319
DIMOCK (Demik) 364 483
DODSWORTH 142
DONGAN 75 129 173-4 176-7 180 251-2
DONKIN 375-6 378
DOOMER (Dummer) 118
DORMONT 310-11
DOUGLASS 29 453
DOWNAM 53
DOWNS 342 417
DRAPER 341 351 415
DUDLEY 45 76 78 122
DUER 139
DUNCUM 124
DUNHAM (Donham) 212 285-6 313 337 341-2 348 352-4 378 390-1 394 407 422 436 444 480 482 487

EATON 130
EARLE 464
EDDY (Edy) 135 158 200
EDWARD VI 105
ELDRIDGE 351
ELLIOT (Eliot) 43 53 55 75 213 218 223 240-1 244-5 253 398 481
ELTON 105
EMMONS 405
ENDICOTT 74 119
ESTAING 368

FANSHAWE 369 371-2
FARRIS 351
FERDINAND (Prince) 370
FERGUSON 503
FESSENDEN 237
FISH 350 390 392
FISHER 212 424 426 429 448 450
FLANDERS 56 348 352
FLETCHER 187 191-4 300
FOGG 386
FOLGER 75 132-3 135 226-7 234-7 262 400 443
FORD 413
FORRESTER 137 481
FORRETT 79 81-4 89 137 155
FOSTER 319
FRANCIS 341 348 353
FRANCIS I 59
FRANKLIN 400 498
FRANQUELIN 77
FREDERICK 349 353
FREEMAN 33 90 92 283 365 369 452
FROTHINGHAM 337
FRYE 311
FULLER 320 350 378

GAGE 210 351
GALLION 118
GAMBIER 369 371
GARDINER (Garner) 67 143 145 165-6 184 187 191 259 354 356 415
GARRETT 228-9
GEE 135 432
GELSTON 498-9
GENNOR 223
GEORGE III 255 325 329 352
GERMAINE 369
GERRISH 351
GEYER 259
GIBBINS 123
GIFFORD 428
GILBERT 65 76-7 110-11 229
GILLSON 337
GLOVER 104 118
GODFREY 220 231 311 351
GOODELL 292
GOODSPEED 350
GOOKIN 33 37 57 75 86 94 114 119 122 228 236
GORGES 34 67-8 70 72 80-1 83 85 97 131-2 136-8 140 142 144 146 264
GORHAM 350-1
GOSNOLD 20 23 28 56 59-62 64 65 72-4 76-7
GRANNIS 365
GRANT 458
GRAY (see Grey) 287 330 353 450
GREEN 351 411
GREY (see Gray) 367 369-72 375-6 378-83 393-7 399 401
GROUT 465

HAKLUYT 77
HALE 405
HALL 350-1
HALLETT 350
HALLOCK 256
HAMLIN 317
HAMMOND (Hamon) 106 350
HAMMETT (Hamit) 313 315 318 337 341 354 428
HANCOCK 318 428
HARDING (Harden) 312-3 317 320 342 354 407 415 427 456
HARIOT 53
HARLEY 68
HARLOCK 135 158 178 190
HARLOW 351
HARRISON 206
HASLETON 337
HATCH 318 350-1 357
HATHAWAY 378
HAWES (Haws) 350 483-6
HAWLEY 256
HAZARD 132
HENNEPIN 77
HENRY II 77
HIGGINS 316
HIGGINSON 50 233
HILLMAN (Helman) 308-9 316 319 337 342 348 350 353-4 361 412 414
HINCKLEY 109 152 246-7
HINMAN 408
HOARE 106 111 314-5
HOBART 471
HOBSON 68
HOHEIM 77
HOLDER 481 484
HOLLEY 312-13 317 337 341 348 353 358
HOLMES 377-8
HOMES 23 471 478 484 496-7 499
HOPKINS 409
HORN 317
HOUGH 153
HOWE(S) 119 122 350-1 354-5 367-70 379
HUBBARD 75-6 79
HULL 96 295 464
HULSART 421
HUNT 67 70 87
HUSSEY 133
HUTCHINSON 105 402
HUXFORD 332 387-8 390 415 437

INCE 228

JAMES I 70 488
JAMES II 177-8 181
JANSSON 78
JAY 323 400-2
JEFFERSON 416-7 438
JENCKES 490
JENKINS 269 388 390 411 436 446-7
JERNEGAN 212 262 271 281 287 304 329 380 387 389 390 392 417 422 426
JOHNSON 74-5 117 127 309 341
JOLIET 77
JOLLIFF(E) 121-2
JONES (Joanes) 123 135 156 158 350 404 408-9 417 501
JOSSELYN 50 75

KARLSEFNE 58
KELLEY 351 353 388 392
KENDALL 34 91 441 455
KENISTON 426
KENNEDY 206 208
KIDDER 288
KING 106 142
KINGSBURY 338 378 390 444 499
KITHCART (see Cathcart)
KNOWLES 320

LA COSTA 77
LAFAYETTE 408
LAMBERT (Lumbert, Lumbard) 320 330 342 354 408 415 435 448 484 489
LANGLEY 110
LANE 466
LASSEY 354
LAURENS 400
LAWRENCE 421
LEA 60
LECHFORD 74 85 87 94 490
LEECH 415
LEISLER 178 194 299
LEMERY 491
LEONARD 395 397
LE SCARBOT 77
LESLIE 371
LEUSDEN 241
LEVERITT 156
LEWIS 309
LIMERICK (Earl of) 174 251 485

Index of Names

LINSCHOTEN 77
LINZEE (Linzey) 331 364
LITTLE 411 495-6
LIVERMORE 279
LOBDELL 341
LODGE 322
LOKS 77
LONG 83
LOOK (Luke) 200 310 311 315 317 319 333 342 349 353-4 356 394
LOPAR 431
LORD 383
LOUDON (Earl of) 309
LOUIS XVI 367
LOVELACE (Loflas) 75 142-3 145 147-50 153-4 164 168 180 205 243
LOVELL 120
LUCAS 212
LUCE 156 158 212 282 285 304 313 315 317-18 320 330 333 335-7 341-2 348-9 351-4 356-7 392 408-11 414-15 427 444 489
LUISA (Queen) 59 76 77
LYNDE 279

MAC KENZIE 178
MACLAY 404-5 407 419
MACY 112 262 433
MADISON 417
MAKER 350
MANCHESTER 342 354
MANLEY 408
MANTER 185 209 212 281 309-11 313 315 318 342 353-4 356 375 412 414 417 428 450
MARCH 301
MARCHANT (Merchant) 284-285 337 341 348-9 353 388 390 392 406-9 417 423-4 426 447
MARION 203
MARKHAM 371
MARTIN 16
MARVIN 419-20 442 445
MARY (Queen) 178-9 181 189 259 326
MATHER 76 79 168 180-1 239 241 249 251-2 270 498
MATSON 350
MATTHEWS 69 112 350 499
MAVERICK 231
MAYHEW (Mayhow, Mayhewe, Mayhue, Mayhoe, Maiho, Maio, Maihewe, Maiheu, Maiewe, Maho, Mahoe, Mayoo, Mao, Mayo, Maou, Mahu) 33-5 37 42-3 45 52-4 73-5 80-9 91-9 101 104-6 108-38 140-55 157-62 164-79 181-91 195-233 235-241 243-59 261-69 272 274 280-2 290 296-8 304-9 312-320 324 331 333 339-42 344 346-7 349-51 353 361 366 376 378 395-6 409 417 427-8 432 434-5 472-3 477-8 480-6 492 494-7 502
MEEDER 337 341 348
MEGEE 312-13 315-17 319 406 408-9
MELLEN 450
MENZIES 407
MERCATOR 59 77
MERRITON 65
MERRY 115 158 342 351 353-4 356 435 456
MILLS 429
MILTON 424 482
MOLINEAUX 77
MONTAGUE 498
MONTCALM 305 309 312-13 315
MORSE 212 354 450
MORTON 31 70 75 229
MULLER 47
MUNSTER 77
MURRAY 371

NEAL 320 341 348
NEIFERT 23 466
NEIGHBOR 474
NEWCOMB 186 188 190 299 342 415
NEWMAN 92 318
NEWPORT 65
NICANI 351
NICHOLAS 104
NICHOLLS (Nycoll) 140-3 147-8 161 183
NICHOLSON 178 301 350-1
NICKERSON 341 348 353 361 365
NILES 386
NORRIS 212 313 317 341 407 448
NORTON 21 95-6 99 101 135 156 167 182 185 188-91 195 212 247 262 268-9 275 279 291 305-9 312-15 318-320 332 334 337 339-42 344 346 348-54 361 366 372-79 383 385 387-8 390-393 395-403 405 407 410 417 422 424 428 441 444 450 470
NOTT 408
NUNEZ 429
NYE 355 364-5

OGILBY 76 79
O'HARA 398
OLIVER 138 268
ORTELIUS 77
ORROCK 406
ORTELIUS 77
OSBORNE 212 349 429 347
OTIS 314 331 340 376 380 382-3 405 484

PACKARD 496
PADDOCK 432
PAINE (Payne) 74 83 118-19 124 128 227 448
PARKER 315 350 357 453
PARKHURST (Parkus) 115
PATERSON 397
PEASE (Peas, Pees) 89 90 92-3 95-102 135 156 158 160 166 190 212 230 262-3 299 304 311 313 316 317 341 348-9 352-3 357 387-8 390-3 417 426 435-6 441 447 449 456 492
PECK 386
PELHAM 228
PENN 95
PENT 425
PEPPERRELL 302-4 321
PERCIVAL (Pacefull) 351
PERKINS 158 167 243
PETERS 120 220
PHILIP II 78
PHILLIPS 351
PHINNEY 456
PHIPS 75 181-2 185-7 189 191-4 196 198 200 259 299 300
PIGOT 368 371
PIERCE 84-5 94 101 121 228
PIERSON 233 235
PITT 309 321 400
POMEROY 371
POOLE 56
POPE 310 415
PORCACCHI 77
PORTER 408
PORTOLANO 77
POTTER 341
POWELL 386
POWNALL, 312
PREBLE 410 447
PRESCOTT 332
PREST 106
PRINCE (Prence) 126-7 153 215 222-3 226 232 236 240 245-6 248-9 253
PRING 61 78
PURCELL (Persell) 341 415
PURCHAS 65 70 78

QUADUS 77

SALE (Searle) 132 135 263
SALTERN 65
SANDERSON 496
SARSON (Sarsen) 135-6 154 158 169 170 174 178 188 190 195-6 261 264 266-8 434 460 464 478
SAVAGE 118 192
SCOTT 382
SELLAR 75
SEWALL 43 75 185 252-3 301 481-4 493
SHALER 17 19 21 25
SHAW 337 341 348 352 388 406 415
SHED 337
SHIRLEY 306 307 453
SHOULER 426
SHREWSBURY (Earl of) 299
SIMMONS 457
SIMPSON 111 424
SINCLAIR 484
SKIFFE 156 158 166-7 183 185 188-9 265 271 290 292 301-2 310 313 315 319 337 341-2 348 352 428 473 483-4 504
SLAFTER 58
SLOUGHTER 178-9 191
SMITH 34 36 67 69 70 84-5 101 115 130 132 135 154 156 158 178 187 190 195-7 262 281 316 318-19 329 334-7 340-4 346-9 352-4 357 362 375 380-1 385 388-92 404-6 414-15 417 421 423 427 431 448 450 455-6 478
SNOW 320 424
SOUTHACK 79 301
SOUTHAMPTON (Earl) 68
SPEED 76
SPOONER 283-4
SPRAGUE 284 349 353 444
STARBUCK 442
STEENWYCK 147
STERLING (Stirling, Starling) 72 80-3 85 97 131 133 137-9 142 144 146 148 156 157 162 371 374 376 380 393 396-7 481
STEVENS 56
STEWART (Stuart) 273 313 337 341 348 353 390 417
STILEMAN 82
STOBNICZA 77
STONE 502
STOUGHTON 200 202
STRACHEY 75
STREET 65
STUCKLEY 301
STURTON 69
STUYVESANT 154
SULLIVAN 368
SUMNER 275 279 281
SWASEY 337 354
SWAIN 349 352
SYMES 373

TABOR 132
TAILOR (Taylor) 351 483
TARNANCE 337
THACHER (Thatcher) 306 314 319-20 351 480 482 484
THAXTER 90 92 97-8 212 256 332 423 425 444 448-9 456 483-4
THOMAS 189 250 314
THOMPSON 253
THORNE 77
THORNTON 76
TILTON 212 318 330 344 346 349 350 353 361 375 385 395 423 428 435
TITUS 351
TOBEY 317
TOLMAN 486
TORREY 251-2 480 482-5
TOWNSEND 201 483
TRAPP 91 92 95-7 99 135 156 158 470
TRUMBULL 24 42 53 343
TRUXTUN 409
TUCKER 65 76 337 408
TUPPER 122
TURNER 108 111 483
TYLER 279
TYNG 123 303

ULPIUS 77
UNDERHILL 72 74 80 94

VANDERHOOP 49
VANNER 108
VAHANE 83 371
VERNON 302
VERRAZZANO 59 76 77
VINES 75 80 81 83 89
VINCENT (Vinson) 56 91-3 95-9 135 158 166 168 190 212 318 337 341 348 353 388 390-2 424 426 428 477

WAGENAAR 154
WAGNER 466
WALDO 273
WALDRON 209 319 348 408
WALKER 301
WALLEY (Waley) 185 188-9 337 341 348 481
WALPOLE 321
WARREN 57 231 321
WASHINGTON 314 355 368 386-7 392 400
WATERMAN 108
WATSON 158
WAYNE 370
WEBBER 350-1
WEBSTER 371 470
WEEKS 135 158 251 313 317-9 342 354 357 426 431 444 452 482
WELD 238
WEST 158 270 304 306-11 315-17 319 324 330 342 353 357-8 422 445 454-5 495
WHELDEN (Whelding, Whellen) 313 317 319 342 349 350 409
WHITE 350
WHITFIELD 52 54 73-4 128 214 221-3
WHITING 21
WHITMAN 257 284
WHITNEY 428
WHITTEN 158
WIGGLESWORTH 461 481 497
WILKINS 353
WILLIAM III 178-9 181 189 255 259 260 326
WILLIAMS 50 52-3 74 115 121 351 408
WILSON 128 219
WIMPENNY 410
WING 130
WINGFIELD 60
WINSLOW 34 70 74 306 342 353 410
WINTHROP 49 74-5 80 86 94 118 120 123 128 186-7 231 235 471 495-6
WISWALL 181 252 485
WOLFE 312-15
WOLLEN (Wolling) 190
WOOD 31 34 53 78
WORTH 187 262 275 329 338 390 422-3 425 447-8 463 483 485-6
WRIGHT 269

YORK (Duke of) 75 139-141 144-5 147 153-4 156 163 173 177 265 269
YOUNG 337 341 349

INDEX OF PLACES

The town names, Chilmark, Edgartown and Tisbury, and the names Massachusetts, Martha's Vineyard and Dukes County are not included in this index.

ABEL'S HILL 254 502 504
AGAWAM 41 70
ALBANY (N.Y.) 143 153 186 191 194 255 299 312
AMSTERDAM 78-9
ANNAPOLIS ROYAL (see also Port Royal) 314-5 317 319
ANJALACA ID. 499
AQUAMPACHE 383
AQUIDNET 32
AQUINNIUH 50-1
ASHAPPAQUONSETT 55
ATTLEBOROUGH 486
AZORES 60

BAFFINS BAY 435
BARNSTABLE 33 186 212 259 261 284 308 405 435
BARBADOES 435-6 487
BASINGBOURNE (Eng.) 104
BATAVIA 444
BEDINGFIELD (Eng.) 105
BELLE ISLE 370
BERING STRAITS 443
BERMUDA 120
BILLOCKLEY (Eng.) 105
BILLINGSGATE 231
BISCAY (Bay of) 61
BLACK WATER BROOK 39
BLOCK ISLAND 59 66 142 299
BOREHAM (Eng.) 110
BOSTON 40 71 80 94 119 125 128 138 143 154 160 167-9 178 180-4 188-9 191-2 195 210-11 223 228 231 234 236 244 247-9 252 254 259 260 266-8 273-4 277 295 301-3 306-8 328 332 349 351 364 368 397 406 408-9 413 434 436 461 465 471 481 483 485 491 493 498
BRAINTREE 75 461
BRAY (Eng.) 105
BRAZIL 435 439 450
BREST (Fr.) 408
BRISTOL (Eng.) 114 181
BRISTOL (Mass.) 56 259 482
BROOKLYN 258 458
BROUGHTON GIFFORD (Eng.) 104
BUFFALO 111
BUNKER HILL 332 367
BUZZARDS BAY 19 33 37 63 66 369 372 423 427 455

CALLAO 442
CAMBRIDGE 236-8 255
CAPE ANN 61
CAPE COD 17 18 23 27 58 61-2 65 67-9 72-3 77-8 85-6 100 138 142 181 193 256 299 320 350 409 431-2 435
CAPE MAY 142
CAPE POGE (Capawack, Capoag, Capawok) 17 21 27 34-6 67-70 72 79 83 137-8 181 189 193 196-7 215 267 499
CASTLETOWN (Ire.) 173
CHAPPAQUIDDICK (Chaubaquedick) 18 19 21 27 34 35 39 42 76 78 87-8 129 184 189 240 242 248 250-1 283 466 483 487
CHARLES RIVER 123-4
CHARLESTOWN 117-18
CHATHAM 67
CHESTER (Eng.) 65
CHICKEMMOO 25 40 55 199 432 460 475
CHRISTIANTOWN 40 53 240 251 486
CLARK'S COVE 369
CLEVES 66
CONNECTICUT 102 105 245 310 487 495
COSSOMSETT 37
COTAMY (see Katama)
COTTAGE CITY 21 458
CRACKATUXETT 21
CUMBERLAND (R.I.) 20
CUTTYHUNK 49 51 63 65

DANCING FIELD 53
DARTMOOR (Eng.) 423-4
DARTMOUTH (Eng.) 60
DARTMOUTH (Mass.) 347 355 359 364 366 399 405 455 499
DARTMOUTH (N.S.) 440
DAVIS STRAIT 450
DEDHAM 83
DELAWARE 89 94 100 140
DENNY SUTTON (Eng.) 110
DEVIL'S BRIDGE 49 51
DINTON (Eng.) 105-6 110-13
DORCHESTER 302
DORSET (Eng.) 104-5
DOUAY (Fr.) 113
DOVER CLIFFS (Eng.) 20 63
DUBLIN (Ire.) 308
DUNKIRK (Fr.) 303
DUXBURY 180 284

EAST CHOP 22 348 457 466
EASTHAM 70 432
EASTVILLE 55 421 445 448 455
EDINBURGH (Scot.) 322
ELIZABETH ISLANDS 17 18 21 35 49 60 63-4 72 78-9 82-3 138 145 151 173-6 184-5 196 198 208 244-5 251 258 260 268 275 277 346 349 355 358-9 361 365 466 487
ENFIELD (Conn.) 101-2
EXMOUTH (Eng.) 65

FAIRHAVEN 381
FALMOUTH (Mass.) 33 343 355 365 371 376 381-3 395 452-3 455 461 465 491
FALMOUTH (Eng.) 60-1 308
FALKLAND ID. 450
FARM NECK 383
FELIX NECK 223
FONTHILL (Eng.) 106 112
FORT EDWARD 310 316
FORT JAMES 142 144-5 147 165 172 179 265 267
FORT WM. HENRY 183
FORTON (Eng.) 415
FOVENT (Eng.) 113
FRAMINGHAM 125
FYDLETON (Eng.) 113

GAY HEAD (Cliffs) 17 18 20-1 25 47-8 50 63 177 198 230-1 237 239 243 248 250-1 254 256-7 424 466 475 482-5
GAY HEAD (Neck) 482 484-5
GERMANTOWN 370
GHENT (Bel.) 416
GLASTONBURY 102
GLOUCESTER 104-5
GOSNOLD 428
GRAVELLY ID. 262 498
GREAT BADDOW (Eng.) 95
GREAT HARBOR 28 95 98 101 131 136 146 151 161 216 223 293 460
GREAT HERRING POND 21 42 223
GREAT MARSHES 90 100
GREAT POND 90-1
GREAT ROCK 489
GREENLAND 435 437 443
GREEN HOLLOW 90 93 102
GRUNDESBURGH (Eng.) 60
GUERNSEY 370
GUILFORD 221
GUINEA 435

HALIFAX (N.S.) 210 314 351 364 407
HARLEM 355
HARTFORD 424
HATFIELD (Eng.) 60
HAVANA (Cuba) 370
HAXTON (Eng.) 113-14
HELMINGSTON (Eng.) 105 111
HEREFORD (Eng.) 104-5
HESSETT (Eng.) 60
HINGHAM 471
HOLMDEN (Eng.) 105
HOMES HOLE 39 78 184 238 278 288 315 331-2 335 347 371-3 376-8 381-2 384-5 395 404 407 412-14 421 424 433 445 452-3 456-7 460 463-4 481-3 485-6 497 499 502

HOPKINTON 125
HOWICK (Eng.) 370
HUDSON BAY 450
HUDSON RIVER 355
HUDSON (N.Y.) 447
HYANNIS 455-6

IPSWICH (Eng.) 95 115
ISLES OF SHOALS 72 120 193

JAMAICA 487
JAMESTOWN 65

KAMSCHATKA 443
KATAMA 20-2 55 223 459
KEEPHIGON 40 176
KELLWAY (Eng.) 104
KEMPLEY (Eng.) 105
KENNEBEC RIVER 137
KINGSMILL ID. 448
KINGSTON (N.H.) 499
KINGSTON (R.I.) 364
KITTERY 303
KUHTUHQUETUET 42
KUTTASHIMMOO (see Tashmoo)

LAGOON 18-21 42 410 445
LAKE GEORGE 306 309 311 316
LAKE CHAMPLAIN 305-6
LAMBERT'S COVE 347 444 453 461
LA SOUPCONNEUSE 66 76
LEBANON 310 470
LEITH (Scot.) 364
LEXINGTON 330-2
LINKENHURST (Eng.) 115
LONDON (Eng.) 67-8 78-9 105 114-15 118-19 121 174 178 181 194 223 228-9 240-1 248-9 304 322 396 400 406 413 488
LONG BURTON (Eng.) 105
LONG ISLAND 72 80 137 139 258 299 351-2 431
LOOE (Eng.) 104
LOSTWITHIEL (Eng.) 104
LOUISBURG 302-5 311-2 316 319 321
LUNENBURG (N.S.) 317
LYNN 80 124 490

MAINE 30 37 72 81 83 136-41 159 264-5 300-1 304-5
MALEBARRE 65
MANHATTAN 66-7 73 203
MANOMET 70
MARBLEHEAD 119
MASHACKET 42
MATTAKEESIT (Mattachist) 70 90 136 138
MATTOAX (Mattawack, see Long Island)
MEDFORD 117-21 126-7
MENDON 250
MENEMSHA 18 19 347
MIDDLETOWN 151 374 460
MILL BROOK 280 360
MILL HILL 57
MILTON 253
MINDEN (Ger.) 370
MONOMOY (Monamock) 65 67 70
MONUMENT BAY 455
MORVAL (Eng.) 104
MUSKEGET (Muskeekit) 18 61 82 262

NANTUCKET 18 21 23 33 37 49 61 71-2 75 77-84 91 112 124 133 137-40 145 149 150 152 155 162-3 165-6 173 181 184 187 189 193-4 196 201 203 208 212 231 243-5 256 258-61 264-6 269 271 277-8 286 290 296 299 300 343 372 375 379 405 423 431-8 440-3 446-8 455-6 461 466 498-9
NARRAGANSETT 37 57 59 72 121
NASHAMOIESS 25
NASHAQUITSA (Nashawaqueedsee) 20-1 176
NASHOWAKEMMUCK (Nashauekemmuk) 42 176 218 228 240 250
NATICK 43 225 245
NATUCK 21 35 184
NAUSET 70
NAUSHON 49 268 347 466
NEPISSIEH 40
NEMPANICKLICKANUK 44
NEWBURY(PORT) 85 364 465
NEW HAVEN 161 167 222
NEW JERSEY 140
NEWPORT 19 32 37 357 366 368-9 375 383 386
NEWTOWN 27 117
NEW YORK 17 35 59 73 77 139 140 152 154 160-2 166-7 171-3 176-7 179 180-1 186-7 191-2 194-7 206-8 243-4 255-9 261 265 267 294 296-9 301 306 313 316 354 364 368 372 376 386 393 395-6 399 400-1 422 425 461
NOMAN'S LAND 17 18 21 31-2 35 48 62 66 73-4 76 78-9 132 151 174-7 196 251 258 260 275 277 435 484
NONAMESSET 47
NOPE (Noepe) 32-4 37 45 49 50 52 66 70 87 189
NORUMBEGA 77
NOVA SCOTIA 36-7 301 303 316-7 368 443
NUNNEPOG 39 42 46 87 218 239 242 250 460
NYMEGEN (Hol.) 66

OAK BLUFFS 292 423 458-9 466
ONKOKEMMY(Onkonkemay) 42 240 250 484
OSWEGO 309
OTLEY (Eng.) 60
OXFORD (Eng.) 104-5
OYSTER BAY 65
OYSTER POND 27

PEAKED HILL 18
PEASE'S POINT 89 91
PEMAQUID 137 139
PENOBSCOT 57 67 409
PENNSYLVANIA 299
PEQUEET (Pequot) 72
PLAINS OF ABRAHAM 315
PHILIPPINES 429 466
PHIPSBURG 181
PHILADELPHIA 323 351 368 459
PLYMOUTH 45 57 70-1 90-1 109 119 136 143 152-3 169 180-1 239 240 243-4 246 259 260 264-6 268 284 302 307 355 394 407 409 431 461 465 491 496 501
PLYMOUTH (Eng.) 69 408 415
PISCATAQUA (Piscataway) 72 137 143 193 409
POCHA 21 25
POHOGANUT (Pahauknit) 46
POKANOKET 296
PONQUATESSE 39
PORTLAND 465
PORTSMOUTH (N.H.) 62 143 465
PORT PENN 89 94-5 100
PORT ROYAL (see Annapolis Royal) 301-2 485
POTOMAC 458
POWNET 70
PROSPECT HILL 18 485
PROVIDENCE 359 364 368 458
PROVINCETOWN 71 458

QUAKER HILL 368
QUANAIMES 55 176
QUANESSOWOG 176
QUEBEC 181 192 299 300 302 305 312-15 319
QUIBERON (Fr.) 408
QUICK'S HOLE 371-2 455

RAGGED PLAIN 19
READING 85
REDMAIN (Eng.) 104
ROCHEFORT (Fr.) 370
RHODE ISLAND 37 143 277 296 369 371 374 482 497 499
ROME 113
ROXBURY 167 366

SACO 83
SAGADAHOC 72
SALEM 83 95 101-2 115 119 324 465
SALISBURY 110 112
SANCHACANTACKETT (Sahnchecontuckquet, Sengecontacket) 18 40 42 243 250
SANDWICH 90 122 130 461 465 484
SARUM (see Salisbury)
SANKATY HEAD 21
SAUGUS 119
SAYBROOK 75
SCITUATE 167 461 465
SCRUBBY NECK 42
SECONQUIT (Seconkgut) 250
SECONNET 48 70
SEEKONK 235
SHREWSBURY 130
SHERBORN 262
SIERRA LEONE 423
SIMANCAS 77 78
SOUTHAMPTON (Eng.) 114
SOUTHBORO 125
SOUTH SHOAL 91
SOUTH WATER ST. 247
SOW AND PIGS 63
SQUIPNOCKET 20 21 50
STARBUCK'S NECK 91-2 167
STONY POINT 89
STRAUMEY 58-9 76
ST. COLUMB MAJOR (Eng.) 104
ST. CROIX 137
ST. JEAN DE LUZ (Fr.) 61
ST. KITTS (W.I.) 181 487
ST. LAWRENCE 302 305 315 435
SUCCONNESSETT 452 483

TAKEMMY 28 39 40 42 151 228 240 460
TALHANIO 240
TANGIERS 174
TARPAULIN COVE 142 186 331 348 364-5 371 423
TASHMOO (Kuttashimmoo) 18 19 25 39 40 461
TAUNTON 250 256

Index of Places

TEQUANOMAN'S (Tickanoman's) NECK 184
TETBURY (Eng.) 105
TEXIL (Hol.) 66 76 77 79
TICONDEROGA 311 313 316
TISBURY POND 21 42
TOTTENHAM (Eng.) 105
TOWER HILL 502
TRURO 355
TUCKERNUCK 18 82 261 466

UNCAWAMUCK (Uncaw) 55
UNNUNPAUQUE (see Nunnepog)
UTRECHT (Bel.) 241

VALLEY FORGE 367
VALPARAISO 448
VINEYARD HAVEN 21-3 56 374 377-8 380 411-12 414 444 459 466
VINEYARD SOUND 91 93
VINLAND 58
VIRGINIA 91 100 435
VLIELAND 76 77

WACHUSETT 253
WAREHAM 394
WASHINGTON 292 354 416
WATCHA (Woachet, Watsha) 39 131 485
WATERTOWN 80-7 94 96 115 118-25 127 332 334 338 352 499
WEAQUTTAQUAY (Wekwetuckauke) 39 42 131 184
WEST CHOP 17 18 22 30 342 459
WEST INDIES 302-305 407-8 436 447
WESTERN ISLANDS 435
WESTMINSTER (Eng.) 162 164 325
WEST TISBURY 292 502-3
WEYMOUTH 96
WHITESTONE 369 383
WHITSON'S BAY 78
WHITTLEBURY (Eng.) 119
WIGHT (Isle of) 68
WILTS (Eng.) 104-6 108 110-11 113-14
WILMINGTON 459
WINCHESTER (Eng.) 105
WINDHAM 102
WOOD'S HOLE 21 66 186 371 383 452-3 459 462 466 482-3 485

YORKTOWN 400

08-AKY-332